



Religion and Belief in Medieval Europe

Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference
Volume 4

edited by
Guy De Boe & Frans Verhaeghe

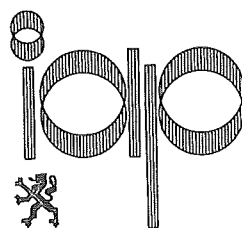
I.A.P. Rapporten 4

Zellik
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Prof. Dr. Guy De Boe



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Doornveld
Industrie Asse 3 nr. 11, Bus 30
B -1731 Zellik - Asse
Tel: (02) 463.13.33 (+ 32 2 463 13 33)
Fax: (02) 463.19.51 (+ 32 2 463 19 51)

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Preface

Religion and belief constitute fundamental components of all societies past and present and medieval and later times are no exception to the rule. In the medieval West, the three great monotheistic religions – Christianity, Islam and Judaism – very much pervaded most aspects of daily life and society, up to and including the spatial organisation of the landscape and settlements. Through its multiple specific organisations and its growing role as a political and economic power from late Roman times onwards, the Church also gained social and cultural control in a major way, expanding continuously its influence to the North and East. In later times, after the emergence of Protestantism, this would hardly change. And in the South, the confrontation with Islam equally pervaded society.

The monumental dimension of religion and belief – religious buildings of all kinds – has long enjoyed the attention of archaeologists, historians and art historians, not only because of the impact churches, monasteries and related structures had on past and present land- and townscapes but also because of their strong art historical connotations and their significance in terms of architectural history. To some extent and together with castles, they were the most readily accessible physical remains of the medieval and later past. Before the advent of a fullfledged medieval and later archaeology, they constituted one of the most 'popular' fields of research, to a large extent dominated by specialists of architectural history. But with the emergence of more modern questions and approaches, the attention seems to have been diverted to some extent and in the 1970s and part of the 1980s, the archaeology of religious buildings grew at a slower pace than the rest of medieval and later archaeology. Since then, the swing of the pendulum seems to have been reversed and the new approaches and questions – particularly in terms of spatial organisation, symbolisms of all kinds and

different types of social strategies – have given new life to the study of churches, abbeys and other religious buildings.

The archaeological study of religion and belief cannot limit itself to the excavation, description and art historical and historical study of religious buildings, because the latter are but one category of their visible and archaeologically detectable manifestations. Other ways to investigate them include the archaeological study of burial and mortuary practices, a whole range of symbolisms reflected in medieval and later art and architecture and many types of objects and the ways they are decorated. In addition, neither the physical spatial imprint of religion on towns, villages and rural areas nor the many meanings of the buildings themselves in terms of power, social strategies and gender-related situations can be neglected. All this illustrates rather well the many intricate links between religion and belief on the one hand and many if not most other aspects of the medieval and later world which are of direct interest to archaeologists on the other. In this sense, religion and belief again demonstrate the need for (medieval and later) archaeology not to isolate this topic from the many other subjects which confront them. And this in turn is in keeping with the philosophy of the international conference on medieval and later archaeology MEDIEVAL EUROPE BRUGGE 1997 which took place in Brugge, Belgium, on 1 through 4 October 1997.

For sheer practical reasons, however, a number of contributions presented on this occasion have been grouped in section 04 under the general heading *Religion and belief - Le monde de la religion - Religion und Glaube - Godsdienst en geloof*. The section was organized by Karen Høilund Nielsen (Denmark) and Hubert De Witte (Urban Archaeology Service, Brugge, Belgium).

The present volume offers a collection of pre-printed papers, a number of which were presented orally and debated during the sessions of section 04. Unfortunately, quite a few contributors to this section did not submit a text in time for inclusion in the present volume while other colleagues could not attend and present their contribution. This explains why the general structure and the contents of the present volume do not conform exactly to the programme of the conference. The volume has been organized keeping in mind both the complexity of the subject and the general lines of the structure of section 04 of the conference. This means that the contributions in the present volume have more or less been grouped according to the following topics:

- a first series of papers concerns monasteries and abbeys, with a number of contributions which discuss more general topics and/or take a regional approach. They are followed by a few studies which present the recent information for specific sites.
- The next section groups papers related to ecclesiastical organisation, churches and synagogues, with again a number of general and regional approaches and a number of site-related studies, this time followed by two contributions on synagogues.

- Finally, a last section groups papers concerning specific aspects of beliefs and different types of their material manifestations, including the processes of conversion, ex-voto's and aspects of magic.

The volume of course does not do justice to the many excavations and the wealth of other types of research work where religion and belief constitute basic issues or are of direct or indirect importance. Nor does it provide a complete overview of the results attained and knowledge acquired. Nevertheless, the 25 papers included in the present volume provide a good idea of the potential of this particular field of research, emphasizing at the same time the complexity of the subject. They also indicate that in a number of ways, the archaeological study of medieval and religious buildings is slowly but definitely changing while the interest in new aspects of and indicators for religion and belief is growing. This is even more true when this collection of papers is considered within the context of the other volumes in the present series – and particularly those on urbanism (01), death and burial (02), art and symbolism (05), rural settlement (06) and material culture (07).

Frans Verhaeghe & Guy De Boe

Le strutture monastiche altomedievali dell'Abruzzo interno e il loro rapporto con le grandi abbazie dell'Italia centro-meridionale

Il fenomeno monastico benedettino, in particolare per le sue fasi iniziali, costituisce un tema di grande interesse, per il quale in Italia mancano ad oggi dei contributi esaurienti, soprattutto per quel che concerne l'indagine archeologica¹.

La presente ricerca si è proposta pertanto di analizzare la presenza benedettina nell'Abruzzo interno, che costituisce una zona d'indagine privilegiata sia per la sua omogeneità storico-territoriale, sia per l'abbondante documentazione scritta relativa ai secoli dell'altomedioevo (tabella 1), che rende necessario un riscontro con le emergenze archeologiche, mai censite, ed una loro analisi, nel tentativo di individuare le modalità di inserimento delle strutture esistenti nel contesto territoriale. L'argomento si sviluppa seguendo tre direttrici di ricerca principali:

1. il rapporto tra gli enti monastici ed il territorio in cui si inseriscono;
2. i ruoli politico, economico e religioso assolti da queste fondazioni;
3. le forme materiali in cui questi si sono concretizzati.

Nonostante il contributo fondamentale della documentazione scritta, è necessario ribadire che le fonti monastiche sono le sole disponibili e pertanto offrono solo un quadro parziale della situazione storica generale².

Un altro limite, altrettanto significativo, è di natura cronologica: la prima documentazione monastica sulla regione in esame risale all'VIII secolo, quando si verifica una nuova diffusione della scrittura non letteraria, e mostra una situazione di cui non si conosce la genesi, né lo sviluppo. Restano dunque ignote le

dinamiche evolutive del contesto storico-territoriale, nonché le motivazioni e le vicende contingenti che hanno portato alla fondazione ed alla diffusione della struttura monastica. Se è vero che i documenti assumono un valore determinante in quanto costituiscono l'unica testimonianza esistente per il periodo altomedievale (VIII-XI secolo), occorre anche considerare che essi offrono una visione univoca del panorama territoriale³.

Di conseguenza, la ricostruzione dell'assetto di un territorio fondata esclusivamente sulle fonti storiche è destinata ad essere riduttiva, almeno per il periodo anteriore all'XI secolo, per il quale manca una pluralità di informazioni. E' necessario integrare le nostre conoscenze, per quanto possibile, con altri tipi di fonti, quali quelle cartografiche, e con i dati ricavati dalla lettura archeologica del paesaggio, dall'analisi della distribuzione degli insediamenti e dall'osservazione diretta delle strutture rimaste.

Dall'analisi delle fonti possono essere desunti tre tipi di dati, fondamentali per la ricostruzione dell'assetto del territorio nel periodo in esame. Il primo tipo riguarda le caratteristiche del paesaggio e le dinamiche dell'insediamento. Il secondo concerne l'entità della terra monastica e l'influenza nei rapporti politici e nella gestione economica del patrimonio fondiario. Il terzo, invece, consiste nelle informazioni che riguardano la funzione dei singoli edifici. I documenti, oltre a testimoniare storicamente i complessi monastici della regione, consentendo di delinearne le vicende fino ai secoli XII-XIII, sono risultati fonte preziosa per la localizzazione, per l'analisi delle proprietà e per la definizione del contesto territoriale.

¹ Eccezioni rare ed illuminanti sono gli scavi nelle abbazie della Novalesa, in Piemonte, di Farfa, nel Lazio, di S. Vincenzo al Volturno nel Molise. Per l'abbazia della Novalesa cfr. Cantino Wataghin 1988; Lambert & Grillette 1989. Per Farfa cfr. Whitehouse 1983. Per S. Vincenzo al Volturno cfr. Hodges *et alii* 1985; 1993.

² Le carte private, infatti, rare a causa della minore diffusione della scrittura dal IV all'VIII secolo, sono nella maggior parte dei casi andate perdute. Inoltre, i documenti trascritti nei *chartularia* costituiscono una scelta significativa di tutte le carte con-

servate negli archivi monastici. Cfr. Cammarosano 1991, 40-41, che imputa il fenomeno alla crisi della pubblica amministrazione, alla scomparsa delle scuole ed all'allontanamento dei laici dalla cultura scritta.

³ Infatti la documentazione relativa alla proprietà laica non è l'unica a non esserci pervenuta, ma sono andate perdute anche le fonti di alcuni archivi monastici di grande importanza quali, ad esempio, quello del S. Salvatore Maggiore in Sabina, monastero nominato spesso nei documenti farfensi come ente possessore di terre nella regione di Amiterno e nella Marsica.

Tabella 1
I monasteri dell'Abruzzo interno

Territorio di Amiterno

Monastero o cella	fonti
S.Bartolomeo in Collectario	RF III, 535, pp. 244-245, a.1021-1022; ChF II, p. 46, a.1021 ? 1022 ?.
S.Clemente in Lisina	ChCasaur V, coll. 917-920, a.1191.
S.Maria in Lauriano	<p>Per la chiesa cfr. ChF I, pp. 139-140, senza data; ChF II, p. 205, senza data; LL I, 79, a.926; RF V, 1303, senza data; RF V, Appendice, doc. II, fine XIII secolo. Conferme imperiali: RF III, 404, a.967; RF III, 407, a.981; RF III, 425, a.998; ChF II, pp. 6-9, a.998; RF IV, 675, a.1027; ChF II, pp. 98-99, a.1027; RF IV, 879, a.1050; RF V, 1099, a.1084; ChF II, pp. 173-179, a.1084 ?; RF V, 1318, a.1118; ChF II, pp. 279-287, a.1118 ?.</p> <p>Per la cella di S.Maria in Lauriano: RF II, 231, a.817; ChF I, pp. 352-362, 2a metà del IX secolo; LL I, 70, a.896; LL I, 172, a.955; LL I, 193, a.955; LL I, 324, a.969.</p> <p>Per la corte di Lauriano cfr. LL I, 58, a.879; ChF I, p. 228, 2a metà del IX secolo; ChF I, p. 233, a.894 ?; LL I, 70, a.896; LL I, 89, a.932; LL I, 90, a.933; LL I, 91, a.933; LL I, 96, a.935; LL I, 97, a.935; LL I, 107, a.938; LL I, 116, a.939; LL I, 138, a.947; LL I, 140, a.947; LL I, 151, a.951; LL I, 152, a.952; LL I, 156, a.953; LL I, 157, a.953; LL I, 159, a.953; LL I, 174, a.955; LL I, 169, a.955; LL I, 190, a.955; LL I, 194, a.955; LL I, 177, a.956; LL I, 178, a.956; LL I, 192, a.956; LL I, 180, a.957; LL I, 360, a.977; LL I, 385, a.992; LL II, 2068, a.1003.</p>
S.Mauro in Colle Amiternino	ChCasaur III, coll.803-804, a.XIV dell'imperatore Ludovico (863); ChCasaur III, col.800, a.873; ChCasaur Add., coll.973-974, a.981; ChCasaur V, col.900, a.1163; ChCasaur V, coll.901-903, a.1166; ChCasaur V, coll.917-920, a.1191.

Territorio di Furcona

Monastero o cella	fonti
S.Benedetto in Campo de Peta	LL II, 2068, a.1003; LL II, 2027, a.1017; LL II, 2025, a.1031 ? 1032 ?.
S.Benedetto in Colomente	<p>S.Benedetto: LL II, 2027, a.1017; LL II, 2025, a.1031 ? 1032 ?; RF V, 1099, a.1084; RF V, 1317, a.1116 ?; RF V, 1280, s.d..</p> <p>Per la corte cfr. ChF I, pp. 314-324, a.936-962; LL I, 157, a.953; LL I, 155, a.953; LL I, 328, a.967; LL I, 364, a.981; LL II, 2068, a.1003; RF V, 1280, senza data; ChF I, pp. 243-258, senza data; ChF I, pp. 352-362, a. ?.</p> <p>Conferme imperiali: Ottone I, RF III, 404, a.967; Ottone III, RF III, 425, a.998; ChF II, pp. 6-9, a.998; Enrico IV, RF V, 1099, a.1084; ChF II, pp. 173-179, a.1084 ?; Enrico V, RF V, 1318, a.1118; ChF II, pp. 279-287, a.1118.</p>
S.Emigdio	LL I, 31, a.864; LL I, 32, a.864; ChF I, p. 220, a. ? (terzo quarto del IX secolo); RF V, 1317, a.1116 ?.
S.Felicità	ChCass I, 37, a.873 circa; RBac, 228, a.953 (= <i>Diplomi</i> , VIII, pp.312-316, a.953); <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> , I, 261, a.964; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> , VIII, 120, pp.194-202, a.1137.
S.Giovanni de Colementis	in Antinori, <i>Introductio</i> , coll. 493-494, a.1077; in Rivera 1901, 76, nota 3, a.1126; in Rivera 1901, 78, nota 4, a.1130; in Antinori, <i>Introductio</i> , coll. 495-496, a.1178; <i>Patrologia</i> CCXV, CXV, coll. 396-398, a.1204; in Antinori, <i>Introductio</i> , coll. 498-499, a.1204; in Rivera 1901, 82-88, a.1215.
S.Mindio	LL I, 330, a.967; ChF I, pp.352-362, a.967 ?.
S.Salvatore in Colomente	LL I, 155, a.953; in Rivera 1901, 82-88, a.1215.

Territorio di Carsoli

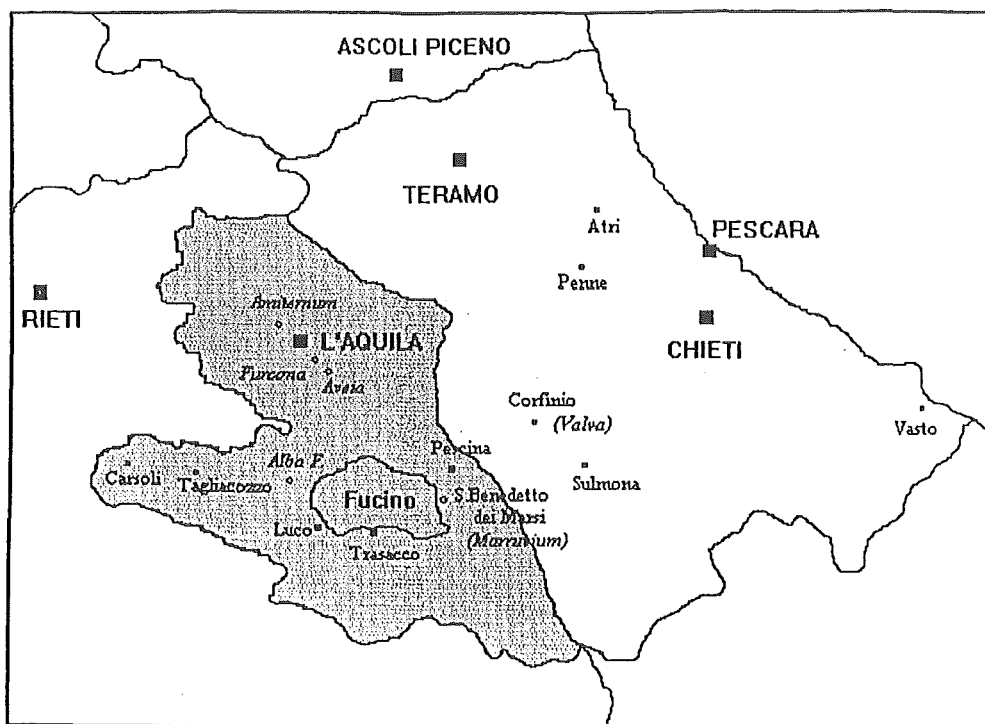
Monastero o cella	fonti
<i>Monasterium ad Sancto Vito</i>	CDL III,1, 44, a.772; RF V, 1017, a.1074; RF V, 1280, senza data; ChF I, pp. 243-258, a.?.; <i>Patrologia</i> , CCIV, coll. 1458-1461, a.1190; <i>Patrologia</i> , CCVI, coll. 948-950, a.1192; in Rivera 1901, 82-88, a.1215.
<i>Monasterium in Carsule</i>	RF II, 85, a.770; CDL V, 56, a.770; RF II, 86, a.771; CDL V, 57, a.771.
<i>S.Angelo in Carseolis</i>	ChCass I, 37, a.873 ?; <i>Diplomi</i> , VIII, pp.312-316, a.953; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> , I, 261, a.964; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> , II, 291, a.998; RF IV, 925, a.1062; RF V, 1002, a.1060 ? 1062 ?; in Gattola, <i>Hist.</i> , I, 222, a.1060; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> , VIII, 120, a.1137; ADM (= Archivio della Diocesi dei Marsi, Avezzano - AQ), A/2, XIII secolo; ADM, A/93, a.1567.
<i>S.Giovanni cum ipso hospitali</i>	ChF II, pp. 160-161, a.1074-1076; RF V, 1099, a.1084; ChF II, pp. 173-179, a.1084 ?; ChCass IV, 16, a.1096.
<i>S.Giovanni de Valle Calvula</i>	ChCass, IV, 16, a.1096.
<i>S.Giovanni in Barri</i>	RF IV, 809, a.1047-1089; ChF II, pp. 122-123, a.1047-1089; RF V, 1010, a.1073; ChF II, pp. 158-159, a.1073; RF V, 1099, a.1084; ADM, A/2, XIII secolo; <i>Rationes decimarum</i> , p.54, n.979, a.1324.
<i>S.Maria in Cellis</i>	ChCass II, 23, a.1000; RF V, 1298, senza data (inizi XI sec. ?); <i>Concilia</i> XIX, II, a.1057; ChCass III, 17, a.1058-1071; in Gattola, <i>Hist.</i> , I, p. 222, a.1060; ChF I, pp.243-258, seconda metà dell'XI secolo; <i>Patrologia</i> , CLXIII, coll. 338-340, a.1114 (= Ughelli 1720, col. 891, XII, a.1115); in Inguanez 1916-1917, I, 144-145, a.1117; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> VIII, 120, a.1137; in Bloch 1986, II, 920-925, a.1138-1143; in Inguanez 1916-1917, II, 145-149, a.1287; ADM, A/2, XIII secolo; in Gattola, <i>Hist.</i> , 226, a.1399; in Inguanez 1916-1917, III, 149-151, a.1400; in Inguanez 1916-1917, IV, 151-155, a.1402; ADM, A/65, a.1551.
<i>S.Pietro de Pireto</i>	ChCass IV, 16, a.1096; <i>Rationes decimarum</i> , pp. 39-40, n.677, a.1324; ADM, B/2, a.1640.

Territorio della Marsica

Monastero o cella	fonti
<i>S.Angelo</i>	RBac, 228, a.953 (= <i>Diplomi</i> , VIII, 312-316, a.953); <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> I, 261, a.964; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> II, 291, a.998; ChCass II, 26, a.1001; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> VIII, 120, a.1137.
<i>S.Angelo in Albe</i>	ChCass I, 37, a.873 ?; RBac, 228, a.953 (= <i>Diplomi</i> , VIII, 312-316, a.953); <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> I, 261, a.964; RS, 3, a.967; RS, 14, a.973; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> II, 291, a.998; RS, 21, a.1051; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> VIII, 120, a.1137; in Bloch 1986, II, 920-925, a.1138-1143.
<i>S.Benedetto de Auritino</i>	ChCass I, 34, a.872; ChCass II, 34, a.1017.
<i>S.Benedetto in Civitate Marsicana</i>	LP, I, LXVIII, Bonifacio IV, a.608-615; <i>Diplomatum Karolinorum</i> III, 24, 96-98, a.835; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> II, 291, a.998; ChCass II, 34, a.1017; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> VIII, 120, a.1137; in Bloch 1986, II, 920-925, a.1138-1143.
<i>S.Benedetto in Pascusano</i>	ChCass III, 17, a.1058-1071; in Gattola, <i>Hist.</i> , 226-227, a.1061; in Gattola, <i>Hist.</i> , 227, a.?.; ChCass III, 61, a.1077-1078; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> VIII, 120, a.1137; in Bloch 1986, II, 920-925, a.1138-1143.
<i>S.Benedetto in Tilia</i>	CDL III,1, 34, a.761; in Cuozzo & Martin 1991, 20, 144-148, a.818; <i>Diplomi</i> LVIII, 172-174, a.941; <i>Diplomi</i> LXVII, a.943; ChCass II, 8, a.981; <i>Rationes decimarum</i> , 55, n.990, fine XIII secolo.
<i>S.Cosma de Civitella</i>	ChCass I, 34, a.872; ChCass I, 37, a.873 ?; <i>Diplomi</i> , LXVII, 200-202, a.943; <i>Diplomi</i> , VIII, 312-316, a.953; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> I, 261, a.964; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> II, 291, a.998; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> VIII, 120, a.1137; in Bloch 1986, II, 920-

	925, a.1138-1143; <i>Patrologia</i> CCIV, CXLI, coll. 1458-1461, a.1190; <i>Patrologia</i> CCVI, LXXXIV, coll. 948-950, a.1192; in Inguañez 1915, I, a.1207; in Inguañez 1915, II, a.1221; in Inguañez 1915, III, a.1238; in Inguañez 1915, V, a.1279; in Inguañez 1915, VI, a.1279; in Inguañez 1915, VII, a.1281; in Inguañez 1915, VIII, a.1281; in Inguañez 1915, IX, a.1281; in Inguañez 1915, X, a.1288; in Inguañez 1915, XII, a.1319; in Inguañez 1915, XIII, a.1323; in Gattola, <i>Hist.</i> , 226, a.1399; ADM, E/2, fasc. 68, a.1790.
S.Euticio in Arestina	ChCass I, 37, a.873 circa; RBac, 228, a.953 (= <i>Diplomi</i> VIII, 312-316, a.953); <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> I, 261, 372-374, a.964; RS, 3, a.967; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> II, 291, 715-717, a.998; RS, 21, a.1051; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> VIII, 120, a.1137.
S.Maria de Luco	ChCass II, 7, a.949-986; ChCass II, 26, a.998-1010; ChCass III, 17, a.1058-1071; in Gattola, <i>Acc.</i> , 171, a.1070; ChCass IV, 6, a.1089; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> VIII, 120, a.1137; in Bloch 1986, II, 920-925, a.1138-1143; in Gattola, <i>Hist.</i> , 226, a.1399; in Inguañez 1916-1917, III, 149-151, a.1400; ADM, A/75, a.1556.
S.Maria in Apinianici	ChV I, 17, a.754; ChV III, Documenti Perduti 21, a.774-788; ChV III, Documenti Perduti 23, a.774-788; ChV I, 19, a.775; ChV I, 27, a.787; ChF I, pp.258-277, a. fine VIII - prima metà IX sec.; RF II, 242, a.820; ChF I, p.188, a.820; <i>Diplomatum Karolinorum</i> III, 24, 96-98, a.835; ChV II, Contratti dell'abate Maio, a.872-901; ChV II, 176, a.874; ChV III, Documenti Perduti 43, a.881-901; ChV I, Historia, post l'881; ChV II, 91, a.930; ChV II, 99, a.941; ChV II, 106, a.944; ChV II, 103, a.951; ChV II, 115, a.962; ChV II, 116, a.962; ChV II, 121, a.962-968; ChV II, 117, a.968; ChV II, 120, a.968; ChV II, 122, a.970; ChV II, 147, a.981; ChV II, 146, a.981; RF III, 406, a.981; RF III, 407, a.981; ChV II, 145, a.982; ChV II, 177, a.989; ChV II, 172, a.990; ChV II, 127, a.992; ChV II, 174, a.996; RF III, 413, a.996; ChV II, 149, a.997; ChV II, 178, a.998; ChV II, 179, a.998; RF III, 425, a.998; ChF II, pp.6-9, a.998; ChV III, 184, a.1012; ChV III, 185, a.1014; ChV III, 187, a.1038; ChV III, 204, a.1059; RF V, 1099, a.1084; ChF II, pp.173-179, a.1084 ?; ChV I, 54, a.1104 ?; RF V, 1317, a.1116 ?; RF V, 1318, a.1118; ChF II, pp.279-287, a.1118; RF V, 1280, pp.254-279, senza data; ChV I, 29, a. ?; RA I, LXXXII, p.77, a.1271.
S.Maria in Cesis	<i>Diplomi</i> LXVII, 200-202, a.943; ChCass II, 7, a.949-986; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> VIII, 120, a.1137; ADM, A/70, a.1554; ADM, A/89, a.1562.
S.Maria in Fundo Magno	ChCass I, 37, a.873 circa; RBac, 228, a.953 (= <i>Diplomi</i> , VIII, 312-316, a.953); <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> I, 261, a.964; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> II, 291, a.998; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> VIII, 120, a.1137.
S.Maria in Oretino	ChCass I, 37, a.873 circa; in Cuozzo & Martin 1991, 20, 144-148, a.818; RBac, 228, a.953; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> I, 261, a.964; ChCass II, 6, a.971; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> II, 291, a.998; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> VIII, 120, a.1137.
S.Maria in Valle Porclaneci	in Gattola, <i>Acc.</i> , 195, a.1048; ChCass III, 17, a.1063-1064; ChCass III, 61, a.1077-1078; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> VIII, 120, a.1137; ADM, A/2, XIII sec.; ADM, A/243, a.1671.
S.Martino in Trans Aquas	ChCass II, 7, a.949-986; ChF II, pp. 278-279, a.1313; ADM, A/175, a.1628; ADM, B/1, a.1637.
S.Paolo supra Civitatem Marsicana	ChCass I, 37, a.873 circa; RBac, 228, a.953 (= <i>Diplomi</i> VIII, 312-316, a.953); <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> I, 261, a.964; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> II, 291, a.998; RS, 21, a.1051.
S.Pietro in Apinianici	ChV II, 181, a.997; ChV II, 178, a.998; <i>Patrologia</i> CLXIII, CCCLXXVII, a.1114.
S.Sebastiano	RBac, 228, a.953 (= <i>Diplomi</i> VIII, 312-316, a.953); <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> I, 261, a.964; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> II, 291, a.998; ChCass II, 26, a.998-1010; <i>Diplomatum Regum</i> VIII, 120, a.1137; ADM, B/3, fasc.1, f.261, a.1665-1666.
S.Trinità in Avezano	ChCasaur III, coll. 803-804, a.XIV dell'imperatore Ludovico (863); ChCasaur Add., coll. 934-935, a.872; ChCasaur Add., coll. 961-962, a.970; ChCasaur Add., coll. 962-963, a.970; RF IV, 809, a.1047-1089; ChF II, pp. 122-123, a.1047-1089; RF IV, 919, a.1061; ChF II, p. 148, a.1061.
Ss.Benedetto e Felice	RS, 3, a.967.

Fig. 1. - Il territorio esaminato (in grigio scuro) con la dislocazione dei centri principali.



Questi dati, sono stati arricchiti da quelli derivati dai risultati della ricognizione e dall'analisi strutturale, per i complessi di cui sono stati rinvenuti i resti materiali.

Il territorio

La regione geografica presa in esame è la vasta area appenninica dell'Abruzzo, nell'Italia centrale, che comprende la Conca aquilana a Nord, il Carseolano ad Ovest, la Marsica, con la piana del Fucino e a Sud l'alta e la media valle del Liri a Nord di Sora (figg. 1-2).

Il territorio fece parte della *regio IV* dell'ordinamento augusteo ed in seguito della provincia suburbicaria di *Flaminia et Picenum* secondo la nuova suddivisione di Diocleziano. Alla fine del IV secolo, la regione fu compresa entro i confini della *provincia Valeria*, conseguentemente alla sua scissione dal *Picenum suburbicario*⁴. La *Valeria* includeva l'intera attuale provincia dell'Aquila, compresa la conca di Sulmona, che poi costituì il cuore della diocesi di

Valva, ed il circondario di Cittàducale, oggi in provincia di Rieti⁵. I centri urbani principali erano quasi tutti *municipia* di fondazione romana, quali *Ami-ternum*, *Aveia*, *Furcona* e *Pitinum* nella valle dell'Aterno⁶, mentre più a Sud, collegati dalla via *Tiburtina Valeria*, si trovavano le città di *Carseoli*, di *Alba Fucens* e di *Marruvium*⁷ (fig. 2). L'urbanistica romana delle città dell'Abruzzo interno non è conosciuta se non con poche eccezioni, poichè non sono state mai intraprese indagini archeologiche di ampio respiro, tali da poter chiarire l'origine e lo sviluppo della topografia urbana. Sono rare le informazioni in nostro possesso sulle fasi tardoantiche, anche per quei centri che divennero sedi vescovili e che le fonti testimoniano ancora vitali nell'altomedioevo⁸.

Non potendo individuare con esattezza i limiti geografici dei gastaldati e delle contee altomedievali, che sono estremamente variabili nel tempo, nonostante la tendenza della storiografia ad identificarli con i limiti delle circoscrizioni diocesane, noti da alcune bolle papali soltanto nel XII secolo, è stato scelto come territorio d'indagine quello delimitato dagli odierni confini amministrativi della provincia

⁴ Thomsen 1947, 103-109; Pavolini 1993, 185-187.

⁵ Cfr. Clementi 1987, 14; Giuntella 1994, 231.

⁶ Tra i centri della valle dell'Aterno è anche *Foruli* (od. Civitatomassa), unico *vicus* nell'amitermino attestato da fonti epigrafiche: Migliario 1995, 161-162.

⁷ *Marruvium* è probabilmente da identificare con la *Civitas marsicana* nota attraverso alcune iscrizioni (ad es. CIL IX, n. 3667) e la documentazione altomedievale. Il nome attuale di

S. Benedetto dei Marsi deriva dal nome del monastero ivi fondato forse già dall'inizio del VII secolo (LP, I, LXVIII), ma esplicitamente nominato soltanto a partire dal X secolo. cfr. Giuntella 1994, 234-235.

⁸ Per i centri minori alcune notizie sono riferite in Staffa 1992, 792-793. Per una sintesi dei dati archeologici disponibili cfr. Giuntella 1994.

dell'Aquila, con l'esclusione della più orientale diocesi valvense, che del resto ha caratteristiche geomorfologiche, insediative e territoriali diverse dalle regioni esaminate (fig. 1). Il confine attuale tra Lazio ed Abruzzo è, in definitiva, abbastanza vicino a quello che ha diviso a Nord Ovest lo Stato Normanno dai domini pontifici, mentre a Sud segue approssimativamente quelli della contea dei Marsi con il principato di Capua.

Strutture monastiche e territorio

L'aspetto geomorfologico del territorio, prevalentemente montano e caratterizzato da un alternarsi di massicci montuosi e di altopiani carsici, aridi e con scarsa vegetazione, ha da sempre condizionato la distribuzione della popolazione, che si è concentrata nelle conche intermontane e nelle valli, ricche di acqua e con suoli fertili.

Nell'area in esame, il quadro insediativo non ha subito nel tempo grandi mutamenti, eccettuata forse la lunga parentesi dell'età romana, nel corso della quale nelle aree più fertili sono sorti e si sono sviluppati importanti nuclei urbani, che hanno svolto la funzione di poli accentratori delle risorse economiche del territorio. Nonostante la forte spinta urbanocentrica, l'abitato sparso di tradizione preromana continua ad esistere ed a prosperare, soprattutto nelle aree collinose e di media montagna lontane dai percorsi principali e di più difficile accesso. Infatti, alcune aree dell'amiter-nino, il furconese e l'ampia fascia di territorio tra Carsoli e Tagliacozzo sono ancora oggi caratterizzate da una fitta rete di piccoli insediamenti d'altura⁹.

Nella tardoantichità, con lo sfaldamento della compagine statale, i centri urbani maggiori perdono il loro ruolo accentratore e cessano di essere le maggiori unità propulsive dell'economia del territorio¹⁰. Ciò nonostante, alcune città rimangono vitali per qualche tempo, tanto da essere sedi dell'autorità vescovile come Amiterno, Furcona, *Aveia* e la *Civitas Marsicana*, identificata con *Marruvium* (od. S.Benedetto dei Marsi)¹¹. Perdono d'importanza, ma continuano ad essere abitate anche altre città non sedi episcopali, come *Alba Fucens*, che mostra evidenti tracce di riuso delle strutture preesistenti, ascrivibili all'età tardoantica ed all'altomedioevo¹².

L'assenza della documentazione storica e la mancanza di contributi storiografici sull'assetto territoriale non consentono la ricostruzione delle dinamiche insediative ed un dettagliato inquadramento storico. Il vuoto di notizie perdura fino all'VIII secolo, quando le fonti monastiche iniziano a produrre documentazione. Dalla seconda metà dell'VIII secolo, invece, quando compaiono le prime menzioni dei monasteri benedettini della regione, il territorio risulta in gran parte sotto il controllo delle grandi abbazie dell'Italia centro-meridionale (fig. 3), che allora godevano della protezione dei sovrani longobardi, poi di quelli carolingi, e del papato. Le città ed il potere laico in questa fase sembrano avere un peso irrilevante nel controllo del territorio.

Nel X secolo, invece, quando la nobiltà laica locale finalizza le proprie risorse alla conquista di terre da governare, gli antichi centri urbani risultano ormai decaduti ed abbandonati, come è testimoniato nella descrizione di Sigeberto del viaggio del vescovo di Metz, Deoderico, alla ricerca di reliquie nelle principali città dell'Italia centrale¹³.

⁹ Con questa tesi concorda la Migliario, che per l'amiter-nino ed il furconese ha riscontrato una sorprendente continuità del sistema insediativo paganico-vicano: Migliario 1995, 193-198.

¹⁰ Sulla crisi delle città dell'Abruzzo interno cfr. Giuntella 1994, 233-238; Staffa 1992, 790-793; Migliario 1995, 15; mentre sulle cause che in generale determinarono la crisi economica nell'età tardoantica rimando al recente contributo del Lo Cascio (Lo Cascio 1993, 247-282). Sui rapporti tra demografia e territorio nel VI secolo nell'Italia centro-meridionale cfr. Martin 1994, 351-358.

¹¹ Ad *Amiternum* il primo vescovo, *Valentinus*, è testimoniato alla fine del V secolo; non sono note le successive vicende della cattedra vescovile, tuttavia nel corso dell'VIII secolo sembra che la diocesi assorbì quella confinante di *Pitinum* (l'odierna Pettino, inglobata nella periferia nord-occidentale di L'Aquila): tale avvenimento suggerisce la vitalità del centro almeno fino ad allora: RPR I, 91. Il definitivo abbandono della città, testimoniato dal vescovo di Metz alla fine del X secolo (*Vita Deoderici*, 473, a.970), sancisce anche la decadenza della cattedra episcopale, che venne assorbita dalla diocesi reatina probabilmente nel corso del XII secolo ed infine definitivamente trasferita a L'Aquila nel 1257: cfr. Pani Ermini 1971-1972, nota 2, 257-258. *Furcona*, a Sud Est di Amiterno, importante *vicus* ricordato da Paolo Diacono quale centro principale del territorio vestino (*Historia Langobardorum*, II, 19-20, 100), divenne sede diocesana in un momento imprecisato *ante* il 680, quando è documentato il vescovo Floro, probabilmente in seguito alla soppressione della sede vescovile della vicina *Aveia*: *Concilia*, XI, col. 303. Cfr. Lanzoni 1927, 370-371. La cattedrale, i cui resti sono da attribuirsi alla fase romanica di XI-XII secolo, sorge nell'odierna Civita di Bagno, a Sud Est dell'Aquila. Nel *municipium* fucense di *Marruvium*, nella Marsica, è attestata la sede vescovile nella cattedrale suburbana di S.Sabina. Un *Ioannes Episcopus Ecclesiae Marsorum*, al seguito di papa Vigilio, sottoscrisse il secondo Concilio di Costantinopoli contro lo scisma dei Tre Capitoli: *Patrologia*, LXIX, col. 112. Cfr. inoltre Giuntella 1994, 234-235.

¹² La progressiva contrazione e decadenza dei centri urbani dell'Abruzzo interno nell'altomedioevo è principalmente la diretta conseguenza di una molteplice serie di fattori di carattere storico ed economico (effetti della crisi politica generata dall'assenza del potere centrale, presenza sul territorio delle popolazioni germaniche, ritorno ad un'economia a corto raggio basata sulle risorse di un territorio ristretto ed isolato). Contribuiscono a questa trasformazione l'inserimento di edifici di culto cristiani nel tessuto urbano, come attestano le rare indagini archeologiche condotte in alcuni centri, come S.Benedetto dei Marsi ed *Alba Fucens*. Sulla vitalità di *Marruvium* nell'altomedioevo e dei centri fucensi a partire dall'XI secolo cfr. Feller 1994, 219, per Alba cfr. Mertens 1991, ivi bibliografia precedente.

E' comunque innegabile la correlazione tra i monasteri altomedievali ed i centri urbani principali di età romana tra l'VIII ed il X secolo, fenomeno dovuto soprattutto alla loro coincidente posizione sulla viabilità principale ed in prossimità dei più importanti nodi stradali. La relazione tra i monasteri altomedievali e la rete viaria romana, ben attestata dalle fonti monastiche, è un elemento ulteriore a conferma della sua sopravvivenza nell'altomedioevo, motivato anche dal forte condizionamento imposto dalla morfologia fisica della regione, che tuttora consente il passaggio soltanto attraverso valichi e valli fluviali. I percorsi esistenti sono quindi gli unici che consentano l'attraversamento di alcune zone e lo svalicamento dei massicci montuosi. Grazie alla sopravvivenza della toponomastica è stato possibile verificare i percorsi delle strade principali e ricostruire parzialmente la rete viaria secondaria. Nelle fonti altomedievali, le maggiori testimonianze della rete viaria in uso restano quelle relative alle zone di Amiterno e di Furcona (fig. 2).

Nella regione di Amiterno, i due monasteri di S.Mauro e di S.Bartolomeo in *Collectario*, pur sorgendo in luoghi d'altura, sono prossimi alla via che il Radke chiama *Calatina*¹⁴. S.Mauro si trova a breve distanza da S.Vittorino, che controlla lo snodo viario tra la c.d. via *Calatina*, la via *Caecilia*¹⁵ e il diverticolo che, più o meno all'altezza di *Pitinum* (Pettino), si congiungeva con la *Claudia Nova*¹⁶. S.Bartolomeo, inoltre, non dista dal percorso secondario che univa la *Calatina* alla *Quinctia*¹⁷ e, a Sud, attraverso la Valle di Varri, l'amiternino al carseolano.

Nel circondario di Forcona, S.Emidio, localizzato nel sito dove oggi sorge la chiesa di S.Maria di Bagno, si pone lungo un diverticolo della *Claudia Nova*, lo stesso che portava a Forcona, mentre la *curte de Colomento* ed il monastero di S.Giovanni,

presso l'attuale Lucoli, potevano servirsi di un percorso che dalla *Claudia Nova*, attraverso il Piano di Campo Felice, portava al valico della Brecciarra e a Rocca di Mezzo, congiungendosi alla via che collegava Forcona ad *Alba Fucens*. S.Benedetto in *campo de Peta* si trovava sulla via di congiunzione tra *Foruli* e la via *Quinctia*, attraverso il territorio di Tornimparte, a breve distanza dallo svincolo tra questo diverticolo e la *Calatina*.

Per la Marsica è possibile ricostruire la viabilità soltanto nell'area del bacino fucense, in cui si distingue per importanza l'antico *municipium* di *Marruvium*. In questa zona, assai fertile e con ampi terreni pianeggianti, si riscontra un'alta densità di fondazioni monastiche. Lungo la via *Valeria*¹⁸ si hanno le maggiori attestazioni di complessi monastici: nel territorio di Carsoli S.Maria in *Cellis* sorge su un breve diverticolo a poca distanza dalla consolare romana, mentre il monastero di S.Angelo in *Carseoli* era facilmente accessibile dalla direttrice principale, attraverso la rete viaria urbana. Lo stesso avveniva per S.Cosma di Tagliacozzo, centro attraversato dalla *Valeria*, e per S.Pietro di *Alba Fucens*, dove la via romana costituiva nel tratto urbano uno degli assi stradali principali. Lungo la stessa strada, tra Paterno e Celano, in corrispondenza della sponda settentrionale del Fucino, sono attestate le celle di S.Maria e di S.Benedetto in *Auretino*, mentre sul tratto della *Valeria* che piegava a Sud, seguendo la sponda orientale del Fucino, era il monastero di S.Benedetto, a *Marruvium* e, proseguendo ancora più a Sud, oltre il municipio romano, sorgeva la cella di S.Euticio in *Arestina*, posta quasi al bivio tra la *circumfucense* e la via per Pescasseroli e *Aufidena*, attraverso la valle del Sangro. Un diverticolo di questo tratto della via raggiungeva Pescina ed il complesso monastico di S.Maria e S.Pietro in *Apinianici*.

¹³ *Vita Deoderici*, p.473.

¹⁴ Il percorso ricostruito dal Radke partiva da Roma e attraverso *Nomentum* e *Reate*, raggiungeva *Cutillae*, *Interocrium*, *Foruli*, *Amiternum*. Dopo questa ultima località la strada, in base ad alcuni resti rinvenuti a Pizzoli, passava attraverso la valle del Tronto, fino a ricongiungersi con la *Salaria* (Radke 1981, 330-333). Per il percorso della *Salaria* in età romana cfr. Radke 1981, 325-343, che lo fa coincidere con quello della via *Caecilia* fino ad Ascoli.

¹⁵ Secondo il Persichetti, la via *Caecilia* collegava Amiterno ad Atri. Di diversa opinione è il Radke: sui problemi di identificazione delle vie rimando a Persichetti 1898, 216, tav. VII e Radke 1981, 333-335.

¹⁶ Per la *Claudia Nova* cfr. Gardner 1913, 204-232 e Radke 1981, 343.

¹⁷ La via raggiungeva il territorio albense al valico delle Forche. Subito dopo la confluenza con la via *Valeria*, la strada entrava ad *Alba Fucens* (Van Wouterghem 1991, 423-424). Per la Migliario, che riprende il Persichetti, alcuni tratti della via coincidono invece con il percorso della *Caecilia*: Migliario 1995, 77-84.

¹⁸ La via *Valeria* raggiungeva Carsoli e da qui si dirigeva verso Tagliacozzo ed *Alba*, per passare sulla sponda settentrionale del bacino del Fucino, verso *Marruvium*, via *Cerfennia* (*Tabula Peutingeriana*, segmento VI, 2). Da quest'ultima località proseguiva con il nome di *Claudia Valeria* (Radke 1981, 345-351). Per il tratto Carsoli-*Marruvium* cfr. inoltre Van Wouterghem 1991, 424-430. Dalla via partivano alcune importanti diramazioni che collegavano i centri urbani principali: a Nord, da *Alba Fucens* una direttrice collegava la città ad Aveia e Forcona, attraversando l'altipiano delle Rocche (identificata con la via *Poplica Campana*: cfr. Orsatti 1991); sempre a Nord, un'altra strada si biforcava dalla *Valeria* a *Statulae* (Goriano Sicoli), passando per *Superaequum* (Castelvecchio Subequo) e dirigendosi nuovamente verso Forcona. A Sud una strada partiva da *Alba* e percorreva la valle del Liri verso Sora; un'altra costituiva, invece, la prosecuzione del tratto della *Valeria* che raggiungeva *Marruvium* e proseguiva verso Sud-Est raggiungendo *Aufidena* (Alfedena).

La via *circumfucense* costeggiava la sponda del lago, collegandosi alla *Valeria* ad *Alba Fucens* ed a *Cerfennia* (Collarmele). Essa serviva centri importanti quali Ortucchio, Trasacco e Luco, quest'ultimo sede dell'importante monastero di S.Maria. Un diverticolo di questa via che si biforcava a Trasacco o più ad Ovest, seguendo il fossato di Rosa, che attraversava Collelongo e Villavallelonga e raggiungeva Pescasseroli, è la direttrice che probabilmente serviva il monastero di S.Martino, a Sud di Trasacco.

S.Benedetto in *Pascusano* era invece raggiungibile percorrendo l'asse che da *Alba Fucens* si dirigeva a Sud attraverso tutta la valle Roveto, fino a Sora.

A Nord della *Valeria*, nel tratto da Carsoli ad *Alba*, si dipartivano almeno tre assi che si dirigevano verso Nord. Il principale è la via *Quinctia*, che da *Alba* giungeva nel capoluogo sabino: a Sud del monte Velino, a breve distanza dal confine tra la diocesi dei Marsi e quella di Rieti, passava in prossimità del monastero di S.Maria in *Valle Porclaneta*. Sul diverticolo che univa la *Valeria* alla via *Quinctia*, attraverso la Valle di Varri, sorgevano S.Benedetto di Tremonti e, più a Nord, sul confine diocesano, S.Giovanni in *Barri*.

E' invece risultata di scarsa rilevanza l'interrelazione tra i monasteri abruzzesi e la rete tratturale, dato che avvalora le tesi degli storici sulla completa decadenza di tale pratica su larga scala nell'Alto-medioevo¹⁹.

Ruolo politico dei monasteri

La presenza dei monasteri nella regione risulta stabile per quattro secoli, almeno a partire dalla seconda metà dell'VIII secolo, quando si hanno le prime testimonianze delle fonti. La prima grande diffusione della struttura monastica si verifica sotto i Carolingi, che hanno favorito la distribuzione di ricchezze ai monasteri "imperiali" ed alla nobiltà locale²⁰. Tale politica, se da un lato ha incrementato ulteriormente la crescente acquisizione dei beni fon-

diari da parte delle grandi abbazie nel corso del IX secolo e nel successivo, ha agevolato nel contempo il nascere di una potente dinastia laica locale, che ben presto rivaleggia con gli enti monastici per il possesso della terra²¹. Non si hanno notizie, invece, di autorità cittadine, laiche od ecclesiastiche, che contemporaneamente si oppongono alle signorie "rurali" ed agli enti monastici²². Questi ultimi sembrano in definitiva essere la sola e forte presenza nella regione fino al X secolo.

I centri monastici principali nell'Italia centro-meridionale, quali Montecassino, Farfa, Subiaco, S.Vincenzo al Volturno e S.Clemente a Casauria, acquisiscono numerosi beni fondiari in Abruzzo, in particolare tra il IX e l'XI secolo. Dall'analisi dei monasteri e delle celle nominati dalle fonti nelle zone di Amiterno, di Furcona, della Marsica e di Carsoli, risulta evidente una netta spartizione del territorio, con maggior concentrazione di monasteri minori e di celle nelle aree dislocate in prossimità delle vie di traffico ed al centro delle zone più fertili. S.Maria di Farfa annovera il numero maggiore di proprietà monastiche nelle zone di Amiterno e di Forcona, entrambe prossime alla Sabina e ad essa ben collegate tramite la via Salaria. La presenza cassinese è invece preponderante nella Marsica, dove ben diciassette su ventuno tra monasteri e celle appartengono al patrimonio di S.Benedetto. Risulta invece minima la proprietà volturnese nella Marsica, ristretta al monastero di S.Maria ed alla cella di S.Pietro, entrambi nella stessa località di *Apinianici*, a Nord di S.Benedetto dei Marsi (*Marruvium*) e prossima all'odierna Pescina; l'area è tuttavia ancora oggi la più fertile del bacino fucense²³. All'abbazia di S.Clemente a Casauria appartengono i due monasteri di S.Mauro presso Amiterno e quello dedicato alla Trinità, ad Avezzano, che tuttavia passa nel patrimonio farfense intorno alla metà dell'XI secolo. Il territorio di Carsoli è invece caratterizzato dalla presenza paritaria di Farfa e di Montecassino.

Le grandi abbazie concentrano dunque i possedimenti nei territori più vicini alla loro diretta ed imme-

¹⁹ Wickham 1982, 53. Sulla decadenza della transumanza nell'Alto-medioevo concorda anche il Paone 1987, 20-21. In alcune zone, tuttavia, soprattutto in Sabina e nell'Amiternino, l'uso di condurre le greggi dalle pianure sui pascoli montani in estate venne mantenuto, almeno per percorsi a breve raggio: alcuni documenti farfensi dell'VIII e del IX secolo nominano pascoli estivi e greggi pubbliche su pascoli pubblici: cfr. Gabba 1985, 387, nota 15.

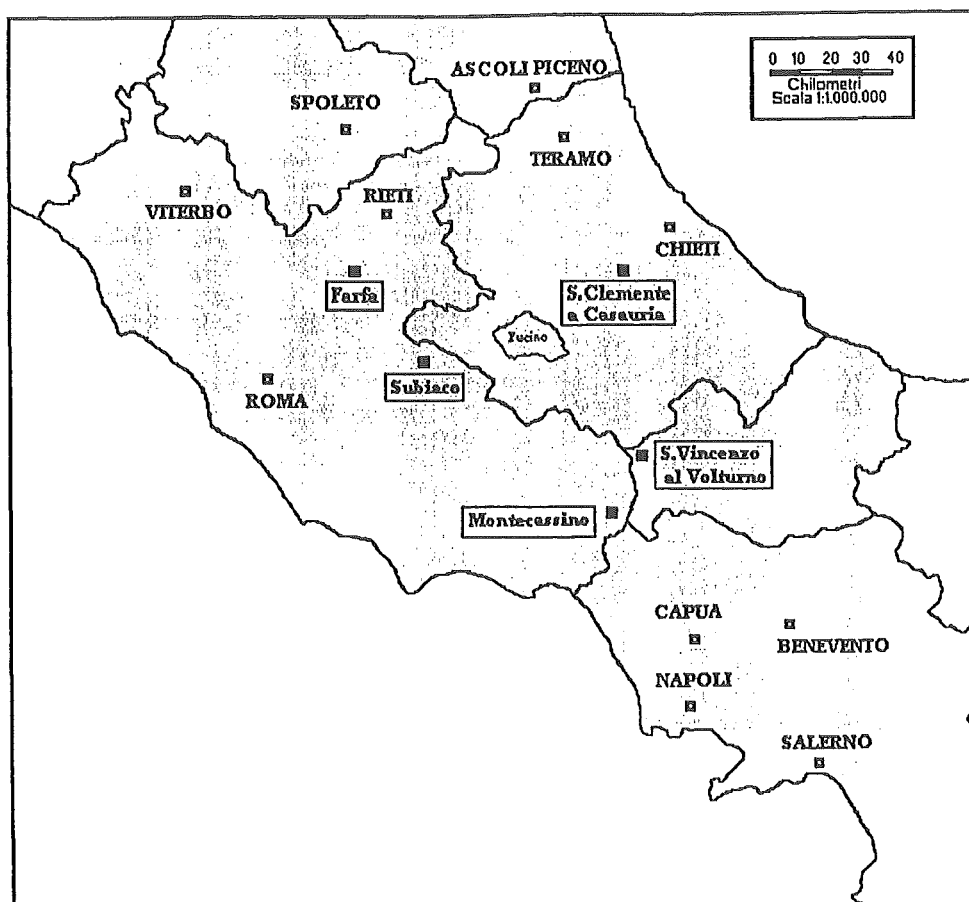
²⁰ La bibliografia sull'argomento è assai ampia: cfr. Pacaut 1989, 80-96; Cammarosano 1991, 48-49.

²¹ Sull'acquisizione farfense dei beni fiscali longobardi nel territorio del ducato di Spoleto rimando a Migliario 1995, 28-29; in particolare per i territori di Amiterno e Furcona pp.49-72. L'accumulare ricchezza fondiaria assicurava alla nobiltà locale il seguito di numerosi vassalli: cfr. Fumagalli 1989, 117, che rileva lo stesso fenomeno nei territori dell'Italia settentrionale legati ai Canossa.

²² Sono al contrario ben noti per il vicino territorio della Valle Trita, compreso nella diocesi di Valva, la disputa tra le comunità rurali ivi residenti e S.Vincenzo al Volturno sullo sfruttamento di beni fondiari in passato appartenenti al fisco longobardo: cfr. Wickham 1982, 20-22. Sull'argomento, in generale cfr. Fumagalli 1989, 108-109.

²³ L'alta produttività agricola della zona è ancora testimoniata in un fascicolo della fine del XVI secolo conservato presso l'archivio vaticano: cfr. Piccioni 1986, 348-353.

Fig. 3. - Le principali abbazie dell'Italia centro-meridionale.



diata area d'influenza, con una tendenza preferenziale ad installare i monasteri di loro pertinenza lungo le vie di comunicazione ed i principali nodi viari. Farfa e Montecassino, che annoverano tra i loro beni la percentuale maggiore dei complessi monastici, si dividono il territorio utilizzando la *Tiburtina Valeria* come spartiacque. Tale distinzione appare ovvia se si considera che l'Amiternino, il Furconese e la parte settentrionale della Marsica sono territori attraversati da strade che confluiscono nella Salaria, l'asse principale della Sabina, mentre i territori a Sud della Tiburtina sono ben collegati da direttrici che conducono, attraverso le Valli del Liri e del Sangro, nella zona che costituisce il cuore dei possedimenti cassinesi.

Il concentrarsi dei monasteri in alcune zone, può costituire un indizio della maggiore vitalità di tali aree rispetto ad altre, con una più alta percentuale abitativa e con il servizio di una buona rete stradale. Particolarmente favoriti sembrano, a tale proposito, i territori intorno ad Amiterno e Forcona, entrambe sedi diocesane, prossime ad importanti nodi viari, nonché l'area del bacino fucense, che oltre ad offrire terre in pianura, più facilmente coltivabili, e le risorse alimentari del lago, era attraversata da una fitta rete di strade e costellata da numerosi insediamenti la cui esistenza è testimoniata dalle fonti altomedievali.

Il predominio dei monasteri sul territorio rimane incontestato fino al X secolo inoltrato, quando una

serie di fattori mutano il quadro storico generale. Tra le cause maggiormente destabilizzanti concorrono la progressiva perdita di importanza politica delle grandi abbazie e l'accresciuto potere della nobiltà laica, in particolar modo quello dei Conti dei Marsi, che giungono in Italia al seguito di Ugo di Provenza e si stanziavano in Abruzzo all'inizio del secolo²⁴. La loro scelta politica è senza dubbio influenzata dalla volontà di imporre il loro controllo sulla regione, in particolare nel Carseolano e nella Marsica, entrando in competizione con gli enti monastici, ricchi di redditizie proprietà fondiarie e ubicati in posizioni strategiche. Per ampliare il proprio potere sul territorio, il ceto emergente comincia inoltre a fondare monasteri, dotandoli di ricchi beni fondiari; la donazione ad una delle grandi abbazie costituisce soltanto un atto formale, che non interrompe definitivamente il legame con la famiglia fondatrice²⁵. I Conti dei Marsi concedono i monasteri in via preferenziale a Montecassino, con le eccezioni di S.Trinità di Avezzano che il conte Berardo destina all'abbazia di Casauria e di S.Giovanni in Collimonto che il conte Oderisio rende dichiaratamente indipendente, ponendola sotto la protezione diretta del papato.

²⁴ Sennis 1994, ivi bibliografia precedente.

Ruolo religioso dei monasteri

Nell'Abruzzo interno, nel corso del V e VI secolo, si assiste alla proliferazione delle sedi diocesane (*Aveia*, Forcona, Amiterno, *Pitinum*, Marsi), alcune delle quali destinate precocemente a scomparire (*Aveia* e *Pitinum*), sia per fattori esterni come guerre ed invasioni, sia e soprattutto per motivi collegati alla ridistribuzione della popolazione, al fallimento del sistema urbanocentrico di età romana ed alla sopravvivenza della *facies* insediativa preromana, organizzata in *pagi* e *vici*²⁶. La mancanza di dati desumibili dalle fonti storiche non consente di delineare, anche per sommi capi, l'organizzazione ecclesiastica del territorio sottoposto all'autorità episcopale, nè di identificare chiese con funzione di cura d'anime, del resto mai documentate neppure dalla ricerca archeologica. I documenti non testimoniano chiese battesimali nell'Abruzzo interno per tutto l'altomedioevo, in contrasto con la regione costiera, dove la distrettuazione plebana è attestata con le funzioni che le sono proprie²⁷.

I monasteri della regione appenninica sono testimoniati dalle fonti a partire dalla seconda metà dell'VIII secolo, ma il movimento monastico si diffonde certamente assai prima. Infatti, proprio l'amiternino è teatro dell'attività di Equizio, che, probabilmente nella prima metà del VI secolo, vi istituisce alcune comunità prebenedettine²⁸. Le più antiche attestazioni di monasteri si registrano nella zona di Carsoli, confinante con la Sabina, e nella Marsica, sulla sponda settentrionale del Fucino. Entrambe le aree sono attraversate dalla *Tiburtina-Valeria*, che è stata dunque un vettore importante per la penetrazione del monachesimo.

Se in Abruzzo la forza del messaggio monastico, precoce e diffuso capillarmente, è ampiamente recepita dalla società altomedievale, al contrario l'area d'influenza delle diocesi sembra essere limitata ed il panorama dell'organizzazione ecclesiastica appare confuso e disgregato. La contrapposizione diocesi-monasteri, sul controllo del territorio, ma anche nelle funzioni pastorali, è un fenomeno che è stato ampiamente studiato, anche sotto l'aspetto istituzionale²⁹. La flessibilità delle prerogative dei monaci, che potevano esercitare anche il sacerdozio con le funzioni proprie all'amministrazione del culto, e l'ampia autonomia di

cui godevano alcune fondazioni monastiche nei confronti dell'autorità vescovile generavano una certa confusione sui ruoli e sulle funzioni proprie a ciascun ente³⁰. In questo clima, nell'Abruzzo appenninico i monaci, approfittando dell'autonomia loro concessa o di fatto riconosciuta e dalla debole presenza vescovile, si arrogano la funzione della cura d'anime. Ad aggravare la situazione, in un momento difficile per il potere vescovile, sono le fondazioni monastiche della nobiltà laica, che con la loro influenza ed il loro bisogno di imporsi nel territorio tramite l'acquisizione di un numero sempre maggiore di possessi fondiari, creano un ulteriore elemento destabilizzante nel processo di coesione delle circoscrizioni diocesane.

Tali affermazioni, che del resto confermano una tendenza comune, da anni oggetto di studio della storiografia, si fondano su un documento particolarmente significativo in merito alla contrapposizione tra monaci e clero secolare diocesano. Nella conferma di beni del 1115 di Pasquale II al vescovo dei Marsi Berardo, il pontefice ribadisce i diritti episcopali contro i monaci che esercitano la cura delle anime senza averne i diritti e senza autorizzazione alcuna³¹. Ancora agli inizi del XII secolo il documento attesta uno stato di fatto che il rinnovato potere vescovile non tarderà a modificare in suo favore.

Ruolo economico dei monasteri

Le proprietà dei monasteri dell'Abruzzo interno consistono in beni fondiari, raramente in immobili, spesso legati ad edifici di culto sussidiari. Talvolta viene specificata la presenza di vigne e selve tra le fonti di reddito, che comunque non sembrano prevalere rispetto alle semplici terre. Queste generalmente si collocano nelle conche intramontane e nelle valli, in luoghi pianeggianti o di bassa collina, caratterizzati da una grande disponibilità d'acqua offerta da fiumi e ruscelli. I documenti testimoniano che il bacino fucense costituisce un'area privilegiata, dove il monopolio dei monasteri marsicani è pressoché totale³². L'agricoltura sembra dunque la principale fonte di reddito, almeno per quei cenobi che detengono i possessi fondiari più vasti ed organizzati in nuclei

²⁵ Clementi 1988, 77-79. Non è da sottovalutare che spesso le famiglie nobili esercitavano pressioni dirette sulla scelta dell'abate: a tale proposito cfr. Leccisotti 1980, 81-84, che esamina il problema per Montecassino.

²⁶ Gabba 1972. Per l'amiternino ed il furconese Migliario 1995, 153-188. Nell'area vestina, limitrofa a quella in esame, si assiste allo stesso processo: cfr. Wickham 1982, 30-37.

²⁷ L'istituto plebano è testimoniato nell'Abruzzo interno soltanto dal pieno medioevo, come in *Rationes decimarum*.

²⁸ L'opera di Equizio ci è stata tramandata da Gregorio Magno,

che ne esalta la figura: Gregorio Magno, *Dial.*, 1, 4, II, 38-39. Cfr. inoltre Pani Ermini 1983, 563-564, con ampia bibliografia sull'argomento.

²⁹ Miccoli 1974.

³⁰ Sulla *libertas monachorum* ed in generale sui privilegi della condizione monastica in rapporto con il clero diocesano rimando a Picasso 1993, 228-232, ivi ampia bibliografia sull'argomento.

³¹ Ughelli 1720, col. 891, XII.

³² Le fonti relative a ciascun monastero sono indicate nella tabella alla fine del testo.

compatti. Alcuni raggruppamenti di proprietà non si pongono in zone utili alla coltivazione, come quelli sulle alture a Nord di Tagliacozzo e nel Carseolano, adatti, invece, al pascolo montano.

Come costante si è riscontrata la prossimità alla viabilità principale, attestata anche, a partire dal X secolo, dalla presenza di fortificazioni e castelli lungo i percorsi o a controllo di essi³³.

I rapporti con la rete insediativa sono molto stretti, in funzione della viabilità e della concentrazione di abitati nelle aree pianeggianti e più facilmente coltivabili. Non conosciamo a sufficienza la geografia urbana della regione per determinare la tipologia e la densità degli insediamenti prima del XIII secolo; tuttavia l'immagine suggerita dalle fonti è quella di una campagna popolata da braccianti stanziali che lavoravano per i monasteri, i *servi* e le *ancillae* tanto spesso nominati come complemento inscindibile delle proprietà.

Nonostante la diffusione delle aziende curtensi nella regione in esame tra il IX ed il X secolo, ben poche risultano essere sottoposte ad un monastero gregario. La maggioranza di esse, infatti, sembrano dipendere direttamente dall'abbazia madre, senza alcuna relazione con un edificio di culto. E' poi da sottolineare l'appartenenza quasi esclusiva delle *curtes* della regione a S.Maria di Farfa, che concentra i suoi possedimenti nell'amiternino e nel forconese³⁴. Le *cellae* sono numerose e presenti in tutto il territorio in esame. Nella maggior parte dei casi, il termine sembra riferirsi a strutture autonome, a diretta gestione del patrimonio monastico, con proprietà indipendenti e con personale proprio. La diretta relazione tra cella ed edificio di culto è una costante; il legame doveva essere anche spaziale, come testimonia una fonte farfense in cui la chiesa di S.Mindio nel territorio di

Forcona è descritta *cum cella et orto ante ipsa aecclesiam* (LL I, 330, pp. 183-184, a.967).

Quasi tutti i documenti che attestano le proprietà dei monasteri dell'Abruzzo interno risalgono al periodo compreso tra i secoli X ed XI. In seguito, qui come altrove, si assiste al progressivo impauperamento dei beni monastici, determinato da una complessa serie di fattori, tra i quali il mutamento del quadro economico, la crescita dei centri urbani e l'accrescersi del controllo territoriale della nobiltà locale, nonché il rafforzamento del potere vescovile. A questi elementi si aggiunge la progressiva alienazione dei beni da parte degli affittuari laici, per la reiterazione dei contratti di livello che effettivamente si trasformano in "fitti perpetui"³⁵.

I dati strutturali

Il censimento delle strutture monastiche note dalle fonti scritte ed una capillare ricognizione del territorio ha permesso di localizzare 26 tra monasteri e celle su un totale di 40 centri noti dalle fonti scritte, offrendo dati sufficienti per uno studio del fenomeno di tipo topografico, infrastrutturale e storico-territoriale.

Di grande interesse sono alcune peculiarità comuni riscontrate sia nella scelta dei siti, che nell'estensione delle aree occupate dai complessi monastici.

In primo luogo, si evidenzia l'assoluta preferenza per i luoghi d'altura, sui crinali dei monti o a mezzacosta, a dominio delle vallate sottostanti e della viabilità, anche in zone dove c'è ampia disponibilità di spazio nel fondovalle, con corsi ricchi d'acqua ed estensioni di terreno coltivabile. Su 26 complessi localizzati, occupano aree in pianura soltanto cinque mona-

³³ Cfr. l'intervento di M.Carla Somma in questi stessi Atti.

³⁴ Le fonti farfensi ci informano della presenza di dieci *curtes* nell'Amiternino, da ubicarsi nel territorio dove oggi sorge L'Aquila (amiternina = S.Vittorino: RF II, 53, a.763; RF II, 153, a.792; in Praetorio, od. Preturo: RF III, 341, a.928; di Marruce, tra Pizzoli ed Arischia: RF III, 601, a.1014-1024; RF V, 1285, senza data; *de Lavareta* (od. Barete) (LL I, 152, a.952); *de Columnellis* (= od. Colonnella), a Sud di Amiterno e di Mozano presso *Foruli* (LL I, 325, a.973); in *Poplito*, od. Coppito: RF III, 601, a.1014-1024; RF V, 1285, senza data; in Pile e S.Sisto: RF V, 1280, senza data; in S.Sisto: RF V, 1280, senza data; RF V, 1317, a.1116?, ed a S.Maria in Lauriano: RF III, 425, a.998. Sempre di pertinenza farfense sono tutte le *curtes* nel territorio di Furcona, delle quali una si trova nel territorio di Vallecupa, a Sud di S.Demetrio ne' Vestini (IGM 146 IV NE) (LL I, 151, a.951), una è legata al monastero farfense di Collimento (RF III, 404, a.967; RF III, 425, a.998; RF V, 1099, a.1084), una terza si trova ad Ocre, che diverrà presto la sede di un'importante fondazione cistercense: (RF V, 1317, a.1116?), un'altra a Sassa, nella valle dell'Aterno (LL I, 330, a.967) ed altre due sono legate alle celle di S.Emidio e di S.Benedetto in *Campo de Peta*, ad Ovest di Furcona (tav. I). Nella Marsica, invece, le *curtes* si concentrano sulla riva del Fucino, come quelle di Trasacco, intorno alle chiese di S.Maria e di S.Leucio, una delle quali è forse nominata anche in un documento sublacense del 973 (RF II, 242, a.820; RF III, 425, a.998; RF IV, 675, a.1027; RF IV, 879, a.1050; RF V, 1099, a.1084; RF V, 1298, senza data e RS, 14, a.973); di S.Adriano, forse sulla riva settentrionale del Fucino (RF V, 1099, a.1084) e di Apinianici, presso Pescina, legata al monastero farfense di S.Maria (RF III, 425, a.998). Le uniche *curtes* non appartenenti a Farfa sono entrambe nella Marsica: di quella casauriense non è possibile determinare l'ubicazione (ChCasaur III, coll.827-829, a.967), mentre l'unica cassinese, testimoniata alla fine dell'VIII secolo, è da ricercarsi nel territorio di Paterno, sulla riva settentrionale del lago (ChCass, I, 14, p.590 / I, 14, p.50, a.782).

I documenti dicono troppo poco sulla gestione del patrimonio pertinente ai monasteri dell'Abruzzo interno, che tuttavia sono stati oggetto di studio dalla storiografia più e meno recente. Per le corti farfensi della zona di Forcona e di Amiterno: cfr. Luzzatto 1910 (1966), 30-41, 49-55; Wickham 1982, 42-44; Migliari 1995, 49-72.

³⁵ Cfr. Nasalli Rocca 1966, 455-458; Wickham 1985, p.45, ai quali rimando per la problematica generale.

steri nella Marsica (S.Benedetto nella *civitas Marsicana*, S.Euticio in Arestina, S.Maria in *Cesis*, S. Maria e S.Pietro in *Apinianici*, S.Trinità di Avezzano) ed uno (S.Maria in *Cellis*) nel territorio di Carsoli. Tuttavia gli esempi marsicani vengono a costituire un caso anomalo, poichè la scelta del sito è stata condizionata dalla presenza del lago Fucino e dell'estesa piana rivierasca coltivabile, servita da una capillare viabilità.

La preferenza per la quota elevata prevale anche quando il monastero o la cella sono di ambito urbano, come avviene per S.Maria di Luco, S.Angelo di *Alba Fucens*, S.Cosma di Tagliacozzo e S.Angelo di Carsoli; in questi casi è interessante notare che la posizione delle strutture è tale da consentire il controllo visivo del territorio di fondovalle e non dell'area urbanizzata.

Un'altra caratteristica comune riscontrata è la vicinanza con un corso d'acqua oppure con una sorgente naturale. L'alta densità di complessi monastici nel bacino fucense si spiega anche con l'elevata fertilità della terra determinata, oltre che dalla posizione e dalla qualità del suolo, anche dall'abbondanza di acqua.

L'esistenza di preesistenze può aver influito sulla scelta del sito. Ad *Alba Fucens*, la chiesa di S.Pietro, sul colle a Sud della città, rioccupa la cella del tempio di Apollo, di cui riusa parzialmente gli alzati.³⁶ Il riuso di strutture preesistenti è documentato anche per S.Maria di Luco, il cui muro perimetrale Ovest si imposta su tre filari di grossi conci squadrati, facenti parte di un recinto o di un edificio, di età romana o addirittura antecedente.

Il recupero di materiale da edifici romani caratterizza invece le chiese di S.Bartolomeo in *Collectario* e di S.Maria in *Cellis*. La chiesa di S.Bartolomeo ingloba in facciata e nella cortina della navata destra frammenti di rilievi di età imperiale, mentre presenta nella parte inferiore della facciata alcune file di grossi blocchi calcarei ben squadrati e disposti di testa e di taglio; che mostrano in facciavista segni di grappe, a testimonianza del loro riuso nella struttura dell'edificio di culto. Sia i frammenti scultorei che il materiale edilizio documentano l'esistenza sul luogo di una costruzione di età imperiale, forse un sepolcro monumentale. Grossi conci squadrati e alcuni bassorilievi di età romana sono reimpiegati nella muratura inferiore del campanile di S.Maria in *Cellis*, che il Moretti ritiene essere l'unica testimonianza strutturale della fase altomedievale della chiesa³⁷.

Per quanto riguarda le strutture sopravvissute, la frammentarietà dei dati raccolti, determinata generalmente dalla scomparsa del complesso monastico, rende improponibile una sintesi organica di carattere archeologico. Nella maggior parte dei casi, è infatti sopravvissuta soltanto la chiesa, che spesso non conserva nessun elemento strutturale o decorativo originario; in percentuale minore, troviamo monasteri ancora perfettamente funzionanti, con la sovrapposizione di fasi più tarde che rende ormai illeggibile il nucleo più antico. Soltanto indagini archeologiche sistematiche potrebbero aggiungere dati sostanziali e chiarire l'effettiva dislocazione degli edifici e la cronologia delle strutture.

In via preliminare e nonostante tali limiti, sono state analizzate alcune caratteristiche proprie dei complessi esaminati, che hanno consentito di trarre alcune considerazioni di carattere generale.

In primo luogo si è riscontrata la notevole estensione dei complessi che, a giudicare dalle evidenze monumentali, dovevano occupare vaste aree ed essere assai articolati. A S.Giovanni in *Barri* e a S.Benedetto di Tremonti sono stati rinvenuti i resti di grossi muri di recinzione, a delimitazione dell'area al cui interno sorgevano gli edifici del monastero, secondo una prassi diffusa nei complessi monastici d'oltralpe³⁸. L'estensione dell'area occupata esclude la presenza di strutture compatte e raccolte intorno all'edificio di culto e ad uno o più chiostri, ma piuttosto suggerisce l'esistenza di un complesso "a maglie larghe", con edifici di dimensioni limitate ed indipendenti all'interno del recinto, la cui disposizione non segue uno schema fisso nell'articolazione spaziale e planimetrica. Tale strutturazione, altrove testimoniata archeologicamente per i complessi anteriori all'età carolingia, anticiperebbe la cronologia delle fonti, che nominano per la prima volta S.Giovanni in *Barri* nel 1073 e S.Martino in *Transaquas* intorno la metà del X secolo. E' comunque possibile che in un'area periferica come quella esaminata e per complessi di minore importanza il rinnovamento edilizio di età carolingia, che si concretizza in una programmazione progettuale più rigorosa con un effettivo accentramento intorno al chiostro, abbia avuto una minore incidenza.

In due casi, a S.Benedetto di Tremonti ed a S.Giovanni in *Barri*, un percorso viario, facilmente riconoscibile, collega il monastero alla viabilità principale.

La presenza di un'area destinata a sepoltura è accertata in tre casi, all'interno del recinto ed in

³⁶ L'edificio di culto cristiano è testimoniato dal VI secolo da frammenti di arredo liturgico, attualmente conservati al Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo a L'Aquila, che furono riutilizzati nelle ricostruzioni successive della chiesa: cfr. Moretti 1972, 6.

³⁷ Moretti s.d., I, pp. 142-147. S.Bartolomeo è nominato per la

prima volta in un documento farfense del 1021-1022 (RF III, 535); S.Maria in *Cellis* è invece citata dalle fonti cassinesi a partire dall'anno 1000, quando viene affiancata dal monastero fondato dal conte dei Marsi Rainaldo (ChCass II, 23).

³⁸ Cantino Wataghin 1989, 94 e note 66 e 67.

prossimità degli edifici del monastero. Tombe con copertura a lastre sono state rinvenute in località S. Pietro, a Sud di Pescina, in relazione al monastero di S. Maria od alla cella di S. Pietro in *Apinianici*, nel corso dei recenti lavori di costruzione di un grande capannone per l'immagazzinaggio di prodotti agricoli.

Sepulture simili per tipologia sono emerse nel corso di lavori agricoli a Sud Ovest di Pallocco, nella Valle Roveto, nel sito del monastero di S. Benedetto in *Pascusano*. Infine, a S. Martino di Trasacco a Sud Est di un ambiente del monastero, scavi clandestini hanno messo in luce alcune tombe, forse in muratura, delle quali non è stato possibile definire l'orientamento, nè stabilire con precisione la tipologia a causa della fitta vegetazione e dei tagli di sconvolgimento.

L'esistenza di sepolture altomedievali nella chiesa di S. Pietro ad *Alba Fucens* è testimoniata indirettamente da alcuni graffiti all'interno dell'edificio, sui blocchi del tempio di età romana inglobati nell'aula di culto, sia nella navata destra che in quella sinistra.³⁹

Per affrontare l'analisi delle strutture murarie delle emergenze rinvenute, è stato necessario estendere la ricerca ad altri contesti, sempre di area abruzzese, ma non di ambito monastico, confrontabili sia per il tipo di materiale utilizzato che per la tecnica della messa in opera, per i quali fosse possibile avanzare un'ipotesi di datazione fondata su dati di scavo. Tale procedimento si è reso indispensabile a causa della mancanza di studio e catalogazione delle strutture post-classiche abruzzesi (ma, pur in misura minore, anche di quelle di età romana), nel tentativo di acquisire parametri utili per una scansione cronologica.

La presenza prevalente del calcare, di facile reperimento e lavorazione, fa dell'opera quadrata e di quella in pezzame le tecniche più largamente diffuse, mentre l'uso del laterizio è sporadico e raramente impiegato da solo. Va precisato che tutte le tecniche analizzate, anche quelle in grossi conci squadrati, costituiscono il paramento esterno di strutture con nucleo in conglomerato cementizio e rientrano nella tipologia costruttiva a doppia cortina.

L'utilizzo del laterizio o delle tegole di reimpiego è una caratteristica dei siti dove è attestata una fase monumentale romana; quest'uso va progressivamente rarefacendosi, fino a scomparire quasi del tutto. Di conseguenza, la presenza di materiale fittile nelle murature in pezzame litico ed il suo quantitativo in percentuale possono essere utilizzati come importanti indicatori cronologici.

L'uso di fittili frammentari e inseriti senza ordine nel paramento in pezzame è documentato nelle strutture di S. Martino di Trasacco, S. Giovanni in *Barri* e S. Benedetto di Tremonti, unici complessi dei quali sono rimasti resti monumentali, forse a causa della loro posizione d'altura e lontana dalle aree urbanizzate.

A partire dall'XI secolo sembrano divenire esclusive le tecniche che contemplano l'uso esclusivo del calcare, sia sotto forma di cortine in blocchi squadrati di grandi e medie dimensioni, come nella prevalenza delle chiese costruite tra XI e XII secolo, che in pezzame grossolanamente sbizzato e posto in opera in filari irregolari, tecnica privilegiata dalle strutture fortificate dell'Abruzzo interno, tra il XIII ed il XV secolo.

Se per l'opera in pezzame è difficile stabilire se si tratti di materiale di uso primario o di reimpiego e se esista una differenziazione nella lavorazione, al di là della posa in opera, per la cortina in blocchi squadrati è più facile individuare le modalità di realizzazione. In alcuni casi è eclatante il reimpiego di materiale edilizio di età romana, anche con intenti decorativi, nel caso del riuso di bassorilievi scultorei. Altrove si può rilevare la tecnica di lavorazione della pietra, rifinita con il pettine o a martellina, come si riscontra nei rifacimenti romanici di molte chiese abruzzesi e che in molti casi denuncia l'uso di materiale appositamente prodotto, come rilevato a S. Pietro di *Alba Fucens*.

I paramenti in pezzame litico non lavorato e disposto in filari irregolari caratterizzano le strutture monastiche di S. Bartolomeo in *Collectario*, S. Angelo in *Albe*, S. Maria di Luco e S. Angelo in *Carseolis*. La medesima tecnica muraria è testimoniata in molte strutture fortificate abruzzesi, quali Alba, Trasacco, Avezzano, Rovere, S. Benedetto in Perillis, Ortucchio, datate tra il XIII ed il XV secolo⁴⁰.

Il lavoro di classificazione e studio delle strutture murarie abruzzesi di epoca post-classica è ancora *in fieri*, tuttavia i dati fin qui raccolti contribuiscono ad avvalorare alcune conclusioni che la ricerca allo stadio iniziale aveva già enucleato.

In via di ipotesi, possiamo genericamente definire altomedievali le strutture con paramento in pezzame con inserzioni di fittili, al seguito degli esempi datati di *Alba Fucens*, Amiterno e Corfinio⁴¹, mentre il semplice pezzame, più o meno sbizzato e disposto in filari irregolari trova vasto impiego in Abruzzo ed ha esempi nelle strutture fortificate risalenti al XIII-XV secolo. Il paramento in grossi conci squadrati e perfettamente connessi è invece una peculiarità del romanico abruzzese e caratterizza generalmente gli edifici di culto costruiti in Abruzzo tra l'XI ed il XII secolo.

³⁹ ICI, 42-34, nn. 31-34: *VI k(a)l(endas) septe(m)[b]r(es) deposicio Adel[b]erti sacerdotis*. Da rilevare l'origine germanica dell'antroponimo. Il secondo graffito, *III id(us) m(a)r(tias) deposicio Bennedic(ti)*, presenta la M e la E onciali. L'uso del termine *sacerdos* e di alcune lettere onciali denuncia la connotazione ecclesiastica ed indica come ambito cronologico l'età altomedievale.

⁴⁰ Cfr. l'intervento di M. Carla Somma in questi stessi Atti.

Un altro elemento importante per la cronologia degli edifici di culto è costituito dalla suppellettile scultorea che, reimpiegata nei paramenti o creata appositamente, rappresenta un insostituibile elemento datante e resta spesso l'unica testimonianza delle fasi originarie. Tutti i frammenti di scultura sembrano far parte dell'arredo liturgico di alcune delle chiese monastiche ed appartengono all'età altomedievale, fatta eccezione per i frammenti di pluteo decorati da croci lisce a terminazione espansa provenienti da S. Pietro ad *Alba Fucens*, che sono ascrivibili al VI secolo⁴² ed al capitello coevo rinvenuto presso Pescina, certamente pertinente alle chiese di S. Maria o di S. Pietro in *Apinianici*⁴³. All'VIII-IX secolo sono invece ascrivibili i numerosi frammenti di S. Pietro di *Alba Fucens*, che documentano una nuova fase costruttiva della chiesa o una sua completa ristrutturazione, ed una lastra di pluteo frammentaria del complesso di *Apinianici*⁴⁴. Una siffatta datazione anticiperebbe di molto la prima menzione delle fonti, che nominano per la prima volta il monastero di S. Maria in *Apinianici* nel 754 (ChV I, 17, a.754) e la cella di S. Pietro in *Apinianici* nel 997 (ChV II, 181, a.997).

Per altri complessi la cronologia della suppellettile scultorea concorda con la data della prima menzione delle fonti. A S. Maria di Luco, il cui impianto attuale è del XIII secolo, gli unici resti probabilmente riferibili alla fase originaria dell'XI secolo sono due transenne frammentarie reinserite nel corso di un recente restauro in due delle finestre che si aprono nella parte superiore della facciata; tutti gli altri rilievi sono coevi alla ricostruzione della chiesa in età romanica⁴⁵. La fase originaria della chiesa monastica di S. Maria in *Valle Porclaneta* è documentata dal suo ricchissimo arredo, costituito dall'ambone, dall'iconostasi e dal ciborio, completi in tutte le loro parti e perfettamente conservati, risalenti all'XI secolo. Coeva è la tomba dell'architetto, mastro Nicola, noto da un'iscrizione murata nella chiesa⁴⁶. Il monastero di S. Giovanni di Collimento, nel territorio di Furconia, è stato interessato da consistenti restauri a partire dalla fine del secolo scorso. Alcuni elementi

architettonici, tuttavia, appartengono alla fase originaria dell'edificio (fine dell'XI secolo). Tra essi merita menzione un frammento del ciborio ornato da un rilievo geometrico secondo gli schemi classici del romanico abruzzese. Infine, gli elementi scultorei che ornano la chiesa di S. Maria in *Cellis* risalgono tutti al XII secolo⁴⁷; la fase originaria dell'edificio di culto, anteriore al 1000, potrebbe invece essere testimoniata da un capitello ed un frammento di lastra attualmente murati sul retro della chiesa⁴⁸.

I risultati presentati in questa sede costituiscono soltanto un aspetto parziale delle dinamiche insediative e delle trasformazioni del paesaggio altomedievale di una regione, l'Abruzzo interno, caratterizzata da una profonda continuità. La prosecuzione della ricerca si dovrà fondare sia sull'approfondimento dell'analisi territoriale, condotta su vari livelli d'indagine e su scala cronologica differenziata, sia sull'ampliamento delle nostre conoscenze sui singoli siti e sui centri urbani, grazie all'apporto di nuovi dati derivati dall'indagine archeologica.

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⁴¹ Per Corfinio cfr. Giuntella *et alii* 1990, 500-502.

⁴² Rimando per la puntuale descrizione dei reperti e per i confronti a Moretti 1972, 15-26 e p.64; Pani Ermini 1975, 69-72.

⁴³ Il capitello, inedito, in calcare bianco rifinito a pettine, alto circa trenta centimetri, con colonnina cilindrica monoblocco, utilizzato come sostegno di ciborio o più probabilmente di altare, è caratterizzato da quattro larghe foglie angolari dalla punta aggettante nascenti dal collarino liscio, che avvolgono interamente la parte a campana. Le foglie sono separate l'una dall'altra da una profonda incisione verticale e lasciano superiormente uno spazio triangolare, parzialmente coperto da cemento, che copre il motivo inciso (forse un elemento gigliato). La colonnina, di circa 15 centimetri di diametro, è rotta quasi immediatamente al di sotto del

collarino. Confronti simili in Casartelli Novelli 1974, fig. 88 a, 156-158, tavv. LXVII-LXIX, inizi del VII secolo ed in Tagliaferri 1981, n. 439, 292, tav. CLI, fine del VII-primi decenni dell'VIII secolo.

⁴⁴ La lastra frammentaria, in calcare, è decorata con un motivo vegetale a racemi a rilievo piuttosto basso: confronti simili in Moretti 1972, LXVI, 61 e 124, VIII secolo ed in Raspi Serra 1974, n. 131, 121, tav. LXXXV, fig. 148, inizi del IX secolo.

⁴⁵ Cfr. Moretti s.d., 262-267.

⁴⁶ Moretti s.d., 86-97 e Moretti 1972, 45.

⁴⁷ Cfr. Moretti s.d., 142-147.

⁴⁸ A.M. Giuntella, comunicazione personale.

⁴⁹ Per i periodici sono state adottate le abbreviazioni dell'*Archäologische Bibliographie*.

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Laura Saladino
Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità
Università "G. d'Annunzio"
66013 Chieti Scalo
Italia

Within these Walls: Monastic Locational Strategies

‘The Benedictine monasteries were the symbol of stability and immutability in a world of flux; they were the gate to heaven; they were replicas of heaven on earth. They were institutions designed to stem the tide of change’

(Southern 1970, 28)

Introduction

The most prominent social and structural phenomena of the early medieval world were undoubtedly the multitude of monks and monasteries scattered across all of the former Roman world and extending beyond these into less ‘civilised’, yet in many ways more Christianised, realms such as Ireland and the Scottish islands (see in general Lawrence 1984, 1-75; Leonardi 1987; Picasso 1987; and papers in *Dall’eremo al cenobio*). The Church dominates the written word in the early Middle Ages and communicates between ancient and medieval contexts; archaeologically and physically the Church and its semi-dependent monasteries likewise are dominant, being stone-built, prominent, and the foci of artistic and other patronage. Most churches and many monasteries have evolved continuously: as seats of worship, patronage, influence, hope, and burial, they have expanded, waxed or waned, often obscuring their pre-maelval origins. Yet whilst they have often been extensively studied, only recently have studies veered from the historical/documentary, architectural or artistic to the archaeological and socio-economic (cf. Cantino Wataghin 1989, 74). In addition, too often we are coloured heavily by knowledge of medieval monasticism, by reformed Benedictinism and related and semi-related orders, and thereby consider such sites in over-developed formats. Yet expanding archaeological research now requires us to examine such sites with different and more searching eyes and to understand in closer detail their roles, needs, contacts and aims. In particular we need to assess more carefully how the monks themselves viewed their roles and to

see whether the sites were designed with such roles in mind.

The period under scrutiny is that of c. 450-750, a broad period marked by an array of foundations across Europe, the movement of missionaries and thus the expansion of Christianity. The period is one of restricted documentation bar the transmission of illuminated manuscripts and classical texts and the circulation of questionable hagiographies (cf. Bitel 1990, 1-13 on sources for Ireland). It is a period of political fragmentation and struggling kingdoms wherein the Church formed a focus of stability. It precedes the phase of progressive regeneration of the economy and thus of social and secular elites from the eighth century; with this the monasteries expand to compete and in part they secularise themselves to survive. Does this phase – coinciding with the classic Carolingian St. Gall plan of c. 820 – mark a new monasticism and a new role? Do the ‘old’ sites accordingly lose out to the practitioners of the medieval monastic world and do their sites reflect this? This paper aims to assess briefly the nature of the earlier monastic establishments to provide a clearer forum for comparison. The emphasis is on monasteries within Italy, but with some attempt to draw in data from across western Europe.

The Order and Ideals

Whilst the deeds of saints and martyrs provided the stirring banner behind which followed much of the Christian population of Europe in the late and post-Roman periods, their vestiges were tangible and visible to many surviving urban populations within and below and around churches. Patronage and donations of all sizes are evident and reveal fully the hold which the still young Church possessed in these epochs of secular fragility (in general, Brown 1971). Royalty too duly recognised this hold and their need to be active and public supporters. For many people church attendance, prayers and offerings, saint days veneration, and trust were sufficient, and reflected

the views of God-fearing citizens; nonetheless, these citizens had other lives to lead, since towns still functioned, soldiers still fought, farmers still farmed, and artisans still worked. Bishops and their priests served to oversee these urban and rural flocks. But beyond, yet still part of this world were Christians who saw the need to do more for their protector and guide: these were the monks and hermits who sought to devote themselves to God through private or communal prayer, worship and labour. Their numbers, globally, were few, but their impact was substantial and, as is well known, the communal monasteries formed the transmitters of classical and Christian teaching and learning.

The internal organisation and external role of such communities are well attested and established by the ninth century when the Carolingians in particular encouraged and exploited them: from then these monasteries become quasi-urban in terms of populations, production and territorial control; from then also their planning becomes more formalised, as witnessed above all in the St. Gall blueprint (Conant 1978, 55-68; Horn & Born 1979), and their Rule becomes more a focus of discussion than mere guidance – here in effect a new monasticism is emerging. But what was the nature of the earlier communal monastic units: how far can we see in these individualism or unity and cohesion? How far was direction and nature dictated by secular ties? Central to this discussion, it can be argued, is location: does topographic setting provide in itself a statement of direction?

Before assessing this, it is first useful to touch on the Bible for many of these communities, namely the Rule of St. Benedict. As Southern states (1970, 218), 'It had been drawn up in the middle of the 6th century when the bonds of civil society were everywhere dissolving; and it was not written to restore these bonds, but to point the way to a new order accessible only to those who were willing to leave the world to its own devices'. Recruits were many and not selective in terms of age, wealth or sex. Within this 'new order' obedience and prayer combined to demonstrate piety, to ward off spiritual enemies and to assist the salvation of the secular world around; the secular elite of course sought succour for themselves, and patronage through structures, land and rights allowed the prominence of their names in the abbot's prayers – since 'they believed that their temporal and eternal welfare equally depended on the warfare of the monks' (*ibid.*, 225). At the end of the 6th century the writings and letters of Pope Gregory I (the Great) fully reveal lapses in discipline, cases of migrating monks and even cases of individual landowning: Gregory sought to reinforce the monastic goals and

orders, commissioning bishops as overseers and officials to deal with secular needs. The pope himself did much to publicise Benedict's life and rule as yardsticks to follow and, perhaps unconsciously, to promote this further afield through missions (Richards 1980, 252-254).

Despite this, however, dissemination was not rapid and only properly commences from the later 7th century beyond Italy (Richards 1980, 252-253; Lawrence 1984, 17-34). Benedict's Rule was itself a synthesis and improvement of earlier and current rules; elsewhere his contemporary in Gaul, Caesarius had produced a rule for his own foundations at Arles, whilst further west from the 590s Columbanus' stricter and more ascetic rule held sway – each derived in some part from Egyptian monastic practice and from early western pilgrims such as Martin and Cassian. Sites founded and living under these alternate or 'home-grown' rules understandably did not want automatically to transfer to another rule. But pilgrims, notably the wandering Irish monks and, conceivably Gregory's missions, were the key: in Britain Italian and Celtic forms met and pilgrimages to Rome brought exchanges of ideas; whilst at Bobbio in Italy Columbanus' house cannot have been untouched by Benedictinism even if located on Lombard soil. In between lay Gaul, more aristocratic and thus Irish in monastic nature, but from the early 7th century already merging rules at Luxeuil (see papers in Clarke & Brennan 1981); the greatest prompt, however, comes with the 'translation-theft' in the 680s of the bodies of St. Benedict and his sister St. Scholastica from a still ruinous Montecassino by monks from Fleury and Le Mans – a theft logical only if Benedict's Rule had gained great prominence within the Merovingian sphere (Lawrence 1984, 47-48).

Sites and Strategies

Early Western monasteries offer a variety of locational strategies, ranging from sites of rural isolation, to ones of urban prominence. Various needs and ideals are enshrined within the concept of coenobitic monasticism, as expressed in Benedict's Rule, and each of these had specific locational requirements. These broadly can be defined as:

- monks: require retreat, privacy and prayer:
- monastery: requires outside access (for monastic interchange – e.g. transmission of mss.) but level of inaccessibility for privacy ideal (Rule, ch. 66); rural units require land and fields for support and settlements for material exchanges (chs. 48, 55); urban units draw upon urban Church or on rural units for supply.

Structurally these are manifested thus:

- cells for private prayer and reading;
- church and rooms for communal prayer; often scriptoria for texts;
- walls to define and enclose the internal space; walls to ensure privacy and spiritual and 'real' defence; walls to symbolise the monastic unit. Use of stone for status;
- separate space for guests: for sleeping and eating;
- workshops and stores (eg. cellars) for tools and for produce from land.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, there is overall an absence of detailed reference in the Rule to the internal plan of the monastery, although he does mention rooms and functions, such as cellars, kitchen, oratory, tool shed and guest house, but these are noted simply as if they were the expected/usual units – e.g. chapters 22, 31, 32, 35, 46, 53). In chapter 66, however, Benedict states that 'The monastery ought, if possible, to be so constructed as to contain within it all necessities, that is water, mill, garden and the various crafts which are exercised within, so that there be no occasion for monks to wander abroad, since this is in no way expedient for their souls'.

From these comments and the Rule's general guidance we see how Benedict's model 'is completely coenobitic. His community of monks is a family, living under one roof or, at any rate, round one patio, under an abbot who is father to the community – in fact a villa monastery' (Lawrence 1984, 23). Accordingly Benedict seems to have drawn upon a familiar form, namely the rural estate or villa (itself of course drawing upon Roman town house plans) with its combination of ordered living, cooking and storing space, and with its land beyond, largely farmed by tenants; undoubtedly Benedict will have visited villas around Rome converted or donated to monastic devotion.

Within other Roman or former Roman territories such as Gaul the same model of 'villa-monastery' is emerging (cf. Percival 1976, 183-199) as well as urban monasteries, but beyond ex-Roman soil, obviously, diverse forms prevail, drawing upon native secular forms and building traditions. This is most obvious in the monastic units in Ireland, girded by ring-ditches, and often with a series of smallish church units rather than one substantial edifice (Lawrence 1984, 38-43; Edwards 1990, 104-114; Bitel 1990, 17-82). What can thus be argued is that whilst one can recognise broad uniformity in thoughts amongst western monks, the forms and locations of their monastic units show surprising diversity. Such diversity represents in part a lack of cohesion or direction, a multiplicity of expressions and interpretations, but, as noted above, it particularly reflects varying social orders across

Europe – from a heavily Romanised and urbanised Italy to a somewhat more Germanised France and to the non-urbanised un-Romanised districts of Ireland. 'Order' only fully emerges with the rise of Benedictinism and the rise of the Carolingian state.

Here, therefore, it is valuable at least to highlight the range of site types selected for these early post-Roman and early medieval communities, whether isolated or open, with secular and civil roots, or colonisers of ruinous Roman military stations. Briefly, the following broad categories can be offered:

- reuse of/superimposition over Roman villas in plain: convenience for walls, donated buildings, continuity from private monastery imposed within late Roman villas;
- suburban and urban seats; generally overseen by bishops;
- withdrawn, isolated seats – symbols of focussed worship and of withdrawal from secular world and its contacts; statements of self-sufficiency, yet well-recognised and thus observed statements, forming foci of pilgrimage;
- hilltop seats: for protection, spiritual/physical seclusion, or proximity to heavens?
- reuse of Roman sites/structures: royal donations of ruins, status, protection – royal control versus royal favour;
- open, riverine/coastal sites: access to contacts, for pilgrims, reflecting also status.

No simple sequence or format is offered, but rather a variety of choices which are not dictated purely by topography. For each, however, conscious selections can be seen to have been acted upon by the founder(s).

1 Villas and Monasteries

As we have seen, the first category fits closest with the form visualised within the Rule of St. Benedict. It links firmly with the aristocratic 'fashion' in the Western Empire from the later 4th and 5th centuries to create 'private' monasteries within their estate centres (Brown 1988, 43; Barnish 1995), perhaps as a prominent spiritual rejection of the ostentation and ceremony so apparent in the 3rd- and 4th-century villas. Well attested is the example of the early 6th-century Gothic minister, Cassiodorus Senator, who retired to his monastic retreat, library and scriptorium at his estate of Vivarium in southern Italy (Richards 1980, 254-255). Archaeological indicators of such sequences are slowly becoming more apparent, such as in central Italy, with the first monastery at Farfa overlying a villa site (McClendon & White-

house 1982); at San Vincenzo al Volturno, seat of a powerful monastery from the 9th century, where excavations of a preceding villa phase have occurred (Hodges 1993, 1995, nb. 122-137); and perhaps also at Mola di Monte Gelato, where a church and baptistery were imposed within a villa-like establishment and which were rebuilt in the late 8th century (Potter forthcoming). In each of these cases, excavations appear to testify to breaks in activity, probably largely due to insecurity and to direct destructions incurred during either the Gothic War (535-554) or the Lombard invasion and expansion (568-560) – as indeed documented in the case of St. Benedict's own abbey of Montecassino (Pantoni 1981; Richards 1980, 11). Yet war did not stem the flow – Pope Gregory founded new sites on his Sicilian estates and encouraged laymen and women to do likewise in imperial Italy; the Church also funded repairs to damaged monasteries (*ibid.*, 256).

2 Suburban Monasteries

Urban or suburban monasteries, even if to modern eyes not in keeping with the concept of monastic isolation and withdrawal from secular affairs, appear relatively common and reflect how within the former western Roman provinces a highly urbanised culture persisted with an established urban Church with its diocesan organisation. In Gaul urban aristocrats and bishops alike founded nearby monasteries (notably Marseilles and Arles – with Caesarius' female community in fact shifting in time from a suburban to intramural location: Loseby 1996, 58-66); various abbots from island sites such as Lérins were lured into the urban fold as bishops. In Italy, Pope Gregory the Great is the most prominent example of monk-bishop, the first monk to become pope (AD 590): he in fact moved from praetor of Rome (c. 573) to monastic founder and monk within his urban seat of St. Andrews (c. 575). As pope he actively utilised monks within his administration and sought himself to maintain an ascetic lifestyle; he also sought to counter oppression by bishops, clergy and laymen against (chiefly urban) monasteries. In addition he housed within the Lateran the refugee monks from Montecassino (Richards 1980, 25-43). Many popes after him founded small monasteries within their homes and established charitable institutions – hostels and soup/bread kitchens – somewhat divorced from the fuller monastic aims (Ward-Perkins 1984, 56-57. The trend was also followed by Lombards with urban *xenodochia*, whilst many royal/elite urban monasteries occur from the late 7th century – Cantino Wataghin 1989).

3 Sites of Isolation

Benedict's first monastic phase commenced with personal ascetic devotion in a cave site at Subiaco, east of Rome; isolationalism appears to have been fairly transitory, however, since word of his holiness brought pilgrims, admirers and eventually created an accumulation of devoted followers which later prompted him to found a number of monasteries and, eventually, his house at Montecassino. In this, as in many other cases, the choice of an isolated, distant, or hidden site, or one exposed to the mercy of the elements, is made to create privations and separations, both social and physical, primarily to focus the mind on worship. Yet levels of pilgrimage and attention seem to have been heightened by these choices thereby watering down the act of seclusion: presumably such admirers would be the source of food or other offerings to allow such pious personages to sustain themselves for the arduous spiritual dialogue. The survival of communities on island sites such as Skellig is otherwise difficult to contemplate.

One of the earliest western island bases was at Lérins, off the Riviera, founded c. 410 by Honoratus; like many other early famous wanderers in the West, although inspired by the eastern desert ascetics, Honoratus viewed coenobitic monasticism as equally important and the island gave scope for a merging of such ideals. But, as noted above, fame brought people and whilst Lérins became an important centre of learning, it was also 'a magnet and a school for aspiring monks and monastic founders from the northern parts of Europe'; in turn its links with the secular world expanded, as shown in Honoratus' and other Lérins monks' election to episcopal sees (Lawrence 1984, 14-15). In addition, islands were also foci for refugees in times of insecurity and these newcomers clearly prompted bouts of ill-discipline, carnal lapses and even abandonment of vows – much to Pope Gregory's grief (Richards 1980, 256).

In the 'Celtic' West, Irish and Scottish monks appear to have freely combined coenobitic and eremitic lifestyles: to avoid becoming too comfortable in the company of brothers many pious monks, notably Columbanus, would periodically withdraw to the harsh or even desolate setting of islands (Lawrence 1984, 39-40; Bitel 1990, 222-234; Edwards 1990, 114-121).

3 Hilltop Seats

St. Benedict founded his own community of monks on a high spur, dominating the river Liri and attendant road lines: this was a direct contrast with the caves at Subiaco and denotes instead a powerful

visual symbol, perhaps indeed to be linked to a need to locate the community higher and thus closer to God (perhaps aiming for the 'lofty heights of doctrine and virtue' of the Rule, ch. 73?). Few other sites, however, emulate Montecassino – although Farfa was almost relocated to the height of S. Martino in the late 11th century – nestling more against hillsides (Subiaco) or in cleared woodland on slopes (Bobbio, Farfa).

Related to the adoption of upland or hilltop seats is the evidence for the reuse of Roman sites, notably former pagan temples or sanctuaries. How far was this an act of expunging ancient deities/spirits and how far one of coincidence or convenience? Roman hilltop sanctuaries were powerful constructions and thus their foundations and ruins would have provided a ready basis and quarry for new Christian edifices. Once more Montecassino can be cited, with its pre-monastery cult complex to Jupiter and Apollo, itself overlying a Samnite/late iron age acropolis-sanctuary (Pantoni 1981, 55-84).

4 Reuse of Roman Sites

Additional forms of reuse can be recognised: abandoned villas may be exploited for their foundations and stones – as at Subiaco – or ruinous buildings within towns. More interestingly, perhaps is the occurrence in former 'frontier' provinces of the occupation by monastic communities of former military sites. In these instances such 'colonisation' is due to royal donations of these ancient ruins to the missionaries/ monks: potentially this symbolises a mental link between the Church and Rome and thus with the remnants of Rome's former monumentality. In Britain Roman sites, whilst seemingly deserted, appear generally as royal property, with dynasties plainly wanting to partake in the 'work of giants': the donation of such property might thus have symbolised a forging of those ties. Hence, for the period c. AD 630-670 monasteries were founded at Burgh Castle by St. Fursey, at Bradwell by St. Cedd, and at Reculver through the sanction of King Egbert of Kent; other churches occur at Richborough and Dover (entries in Maxfield 1989; Stenton 1971, 111).

5 Open Access Sites

The Irish monasteries, whilst enclosed or defended, can be viewed as of largely 'open' nature. Bitel (1990, 228) claims that 'the monks had always meant their monasteries to be accessible;...they settled near the farms of neighbors and the tombs of ancestors. They had a mission to the lay population of Ireland;

they existed to pray for other Christians, to heal them, and to bring peace and order'. Here an absence of towns and thus intense foci of secular power allowed for a diverse statement: these were active centres of religious dissemination, combining a variety of roles, but with conversion/missions as central to these. Hence an 'open' format, close to lines of access and communication, was vital (Lawrence 1984, 39; Bitel 1990, 17-56; Edwards 1990, 104-105). In turn, however, this meant exposure to hostile forces – whether external such as Viking raids or 'internal' in terms of rival or neighbouring monastic units.

Monasteries within Lombard Italy commence from the 7th century with Columbanus' foundation at Bobbio: their rules look first to Ireland but combine the royal input of both Ireland and, more particularly Gaul (Picasso 1987, 16-22; Cantino Wataghin 1989). Missionary activity within the still semi-pagan Lombard domains was clearly a prime motive for these open sites, generally sited on key communications routes; but some politico-economic forces also were at play, with various centres such as Bobbio and Berceto able to tap the rich vein of pilgrim traffic to and from Rome.

The Ninth Century: The New Monasteries

Such pilgrim traffic and royal involvement part prompted in the later 8th and, more clearly, the 9th century a new epoch in monasticism. This came to be reformed, rejuvenated, and injected with more substantial secular patronage; throughout Europe monasteries come to be more formalised in plan and thought, in line with a renewed economic and thus social/secular order and in large measure promoted by the cohesion and direction offered by the expansion and influence of the Carolingian realm across much of western Europe. Thus:

- royal/ducal/secular donations: extended landed and money wealth;
- structural growth and evolution;
- farms/*curtes*/granges, villages, markets and castles: foundations to support and protect the monasteries. Development of internal industries: from self-sufficiency to trade;
- emergence as both economic foci and as religious/intellectual and political strongholds.

Many of the perhaps 'primitive' concepts of privacy and seclusion embodied in the Rule seem overlooked by this date: landowning is extensive, even if overseen or farmed by tenants, and the produce collected is more than required by the monastery; workshops, such as revealed at San Vincenzo,

denote production of glass, metalwork, etc. beyond the monks' needs (a major switch from Benedict's limited view of craft activity – ch. 57); guests are numerous and frequent and thus disruptive. Such divergence from the primitive ideals was perhaps inevitable in the new socio-economic climate: as patronage grew, so did monastic holdings and buildings and their communities; as communities grew, so did food needs and landed concerns; the bigger the latter, the more the secular involvement; the greater the secular involvement, the greater the competition and rivalry; so too the ritual evolved with longer, more complex liturgical offices (Lawrence 1984, 30-31). The Rule of St. Benedict persisted but was mutated: its small compact text had fitted neatly enough the small, fairly isolated communities of the 6th and 7th centuries; the ideals may have persisted, but by the mid-9th century, the means to display those ideals were required to be far more regularised and expansive.

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Neil Christie
School of Archaeological Studies
University of Leicester
University Road
Leicester LE1 7RH
England

Mick A. Aston

The Carthusian Project in the British Isles

Introduction

The aim of this project is to provide an up to date assessment of what we know of the physical remains of *one* monastic order in *one* region of Europe – in this case the Carthusian order in the British Isles. It is intended that the study will provide a *model* of the research that could be carried for any medieval monastic or religious order in any region of Europe in the middle ages.

As such it could form part of a much wider pan-European project which would seek to compile data on each order in each country or region of Europe in the middle ages. Many of the medieval religious and monastic orders operated on a Europe-wide basis, – the Cistercians (Donkin 1978), Carthusians (Aston 1993) and Premonstratensians (Bond 1993) for example while others were very local (such as the Gilbertines (Golding 1995), and while a great deal is known about the monastic sites in any individual region or country by local scholars this information is not generally available to other researchers working in other languages in other countries. What is needed is a detailed gazetteer of data on each monastic house in each region (in the form of Knowles and Hadcock's (1971) great work for England and Wales, Gwyn and Hadcock's for Ireland (1970) and Cowan and Easson for Scotland (1976) for example). These data should include as a minimum cover all of the points in Appendix 1. Only when these data are assembled will we really be in a position to assess fully and adequately the monastic heritage of Europe (Aston forthcoming). From this it will be possible not only to assess how well it is preserved in different parts of Europe for various orders and how it should be preserved for the future, but it will also enable us to see what the academic research priorities are so that we can carry out the research needed to enhance our knowledge further.

Development of the Project

The project began in February 1990 when the author suggested to Christopher Taylor, then Senior Investigator with the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments for England that it would be an achievable task to carry out earthwork surveys of the ten or so Carthusian monastic sites in the country. The intention was to publish each survey as it was completed together with a brief history and some information on the topographical development of the site; when all the surveys were completed the intention was to publish a general survey, probably in a journal such as *Medieval Archaeology*. It was quickly realised however that such a project could serve as a model for survey and data gathering for the houses of any order in any part of Europe and that the methodology and results might be of wider interest and relevance than just the Carthusian order in the British Isles.

Perhaps the most widely studied of the English Carthusian houses is Mount Grace in Yorkshire. Dr Glyn Coppack had been excavating there for English Heritage and the National Trust for some years and as part of this exercise had been gathering general information on the archaeology of the order in Britain to compare with his results from Mount Grace. As it was intended that there should be a series of general chapters on such aspects as siting, plan layout, water supply, building materials and so on, it was appropriate that he should be involved. He was particularly keen that some survey and assessment should be made of the limited architectural evidence at each site.

Over the last seven years survey work has been progressing slowly but steadily with earthwork surveys carried out, in some cases with geophysical survey, and accompanied by background documentary research and the analysis of early maps, plans and other topographical surveys. Architectural work has not taken place so far; general research on the development of the order is progressing, but general discussion on the various archaeological aspects of the project will need to wait until all of the surveys are

completed; this report is therefore an *interim* statement of what has been achieved so far.

The Development of the Carthusian Order in Europe

It is not the intention in this report to describe in detail the development of the order in Europe as there are plenty of general texts which do this. However developments in Britain reflect general developments in the Carthusian order in Europe and so a general background is useful. Bruno with a group of companions set themselves up as hermits at the Chartreuse massif above Grenoble with the help of the local bishop, Hugh, in 1084. They were merely one group at the time of a widespread movement away from the lifestyles of the existing Benedictine and Cluniac communities in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to a more ascetic life as hermits (Lackner 1972; Leyser 1984). As with other groups such as the Cistercians and Grandmontines (Hutchison 1989) there was a conscious attempt to get back to the rule of St Benedict and live a simpler and more spiritual life. It does not seem to have been the intention of the original founders of these groups of hermits to found separate orders of religious; this usually developed later under subsequent leaders.

Like other groups of hermits, such as those at Val-lombrosa and Camaldoli, the Carthusians included lay-brothers to carry out manual labour in the woods and fields and act as a buffer with the secular world. These were accommodated in a separate monastery called the 'lower house' or 'correrie' at some distance from the monk's monastery – the 'upper house'. This arrangement enabled the community of monks – the hermits, known as the 'fathers' – to be very isolated from the outside world. The procurator of the house lived at the lower house for some of the time to deal with matters involving contact with the secular world. Land was held by the Carthusians without any labour services or other feudal involvement.

This arrangement of double houses continued although the twelfth century and on into the thirteenth so that all the monasteries founded at that time have this arrangement. They tend to have been built in very isolated and inhospitable situations, in forests, on mountains, near marshes and in former hunting preserves. By the end of the thirteenth century a number of houses have been built in or near to medieval towns and the lower house as a concept has been abandoned in favour of a separate outer court alongside the great cloister with the monk's cells. Lay brothers were being replaced at this time by paid servants and there was a lot more involvement with lay people particularly of

the aristocracy. Quite when this change of emphasis, reflected in the choice of sites and the layout of buildings, took place is not as yet clear but it may have come with the foundation of the Paris house at Vauvert.

These 'suburban' foundations continued all through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and on into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There were no foundations in the eighteenth century and by the time new monasteries began to be founded in the nineteenth century there was a return to the preference for more isolated and secluded sites suitable for hermits.

Along with the foundation of houses for monks and lay brothers there was almost from the beginning a number of female houses of nuns and sisters following the same rule and lifestyle, though without lower houses but with visiting priests.

Today there still 24 Carthusian monasteries in the world following broadly the same way of life laid down by Bruno and Guiges in the late eleventh and early twelfth century. In 1951 the first house was established in north America at Arlington in Vermont in USA, while in 1987 a house was founded in south America in Brazil. There is every possibility that at some time a house will be founded in black Africa.

The Carthusian Order in the British Isles

To a large extent the foundation of Carthusian monasteries in the British Isles follows the pattern outlined above (Thompson 1930) Altogether there were 13 foundations representing actual sites on the ground. A further two schemes were proposed or started but these did not succeed. Today there is one monastery at Parkminster in Sussex founded in the nineteenth century and still continuing the Carthusian way of life.

Witham, Somerset, 1178
 Hatherop, Gloucestershire, 1222
 Hinton (Charterhouse) Somerset, 1227
 Kinalekin, Galway, Ireland, 1252
 Beauvale, Nottinghamshire, 1343
 London, 1371
 (Kingston upon) Hull, Yorkshire, East Riding, 1376
 Coventry, Warwickshire, 1381
 Axholme, Lincolnshire, 1397
 Mount Grace, Yorkshire, North Riding, 1397
 Sheen, Surrey, 1414
 Perth, Scotland, 1429
 Parkminster, Sussex, 1875

The first phase of the order in the British Isles is represented by the houses at Witham and Hinton in

completed; this report is therefore an *interim* statement of what has been achieved so far.

The Development of the Carthusian Order in Europe

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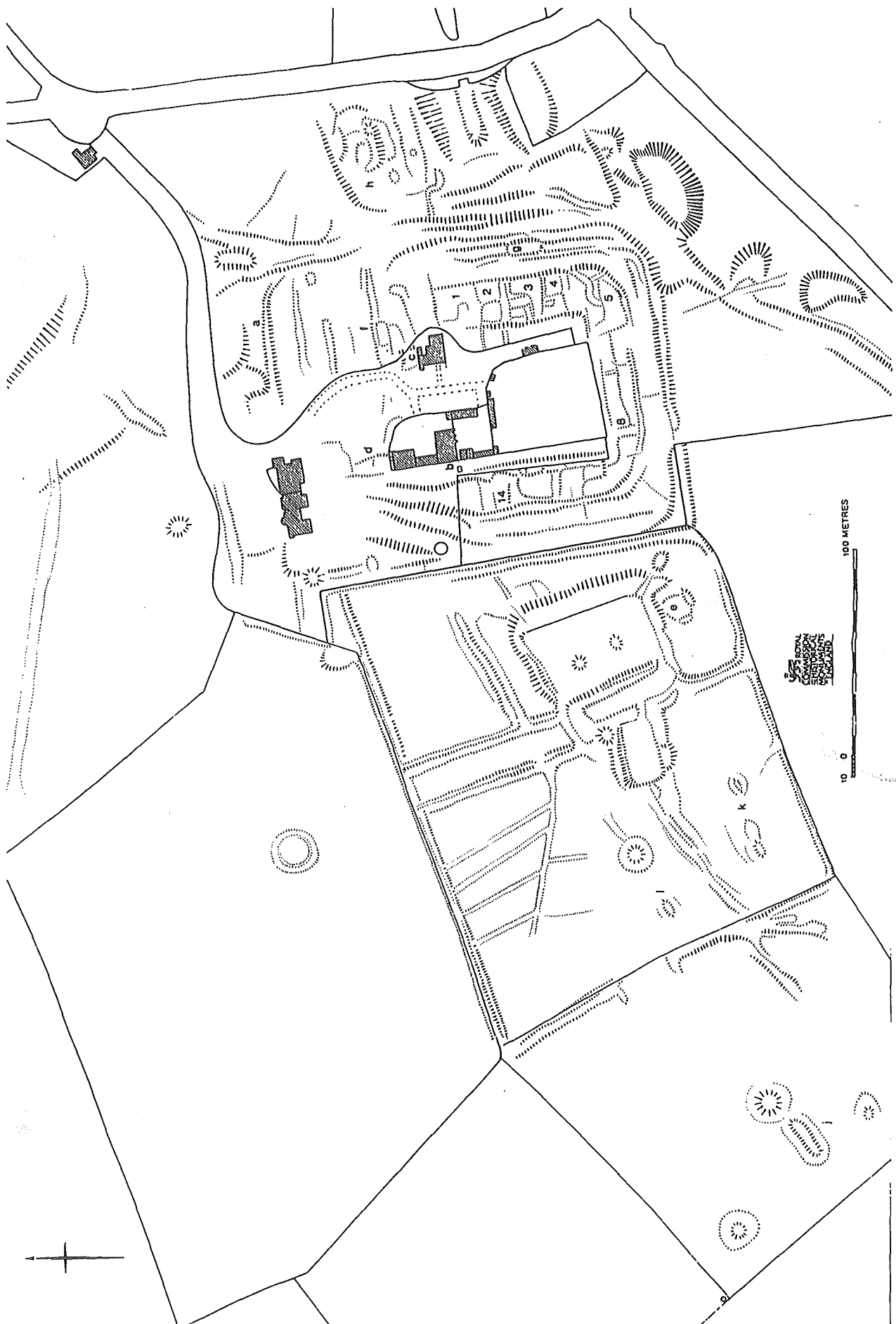


Fig. 1. - *Hinton Charterhouse, Somerset, plan of the earthworks of the charterhouse site, with later garden earthworks to the west.*

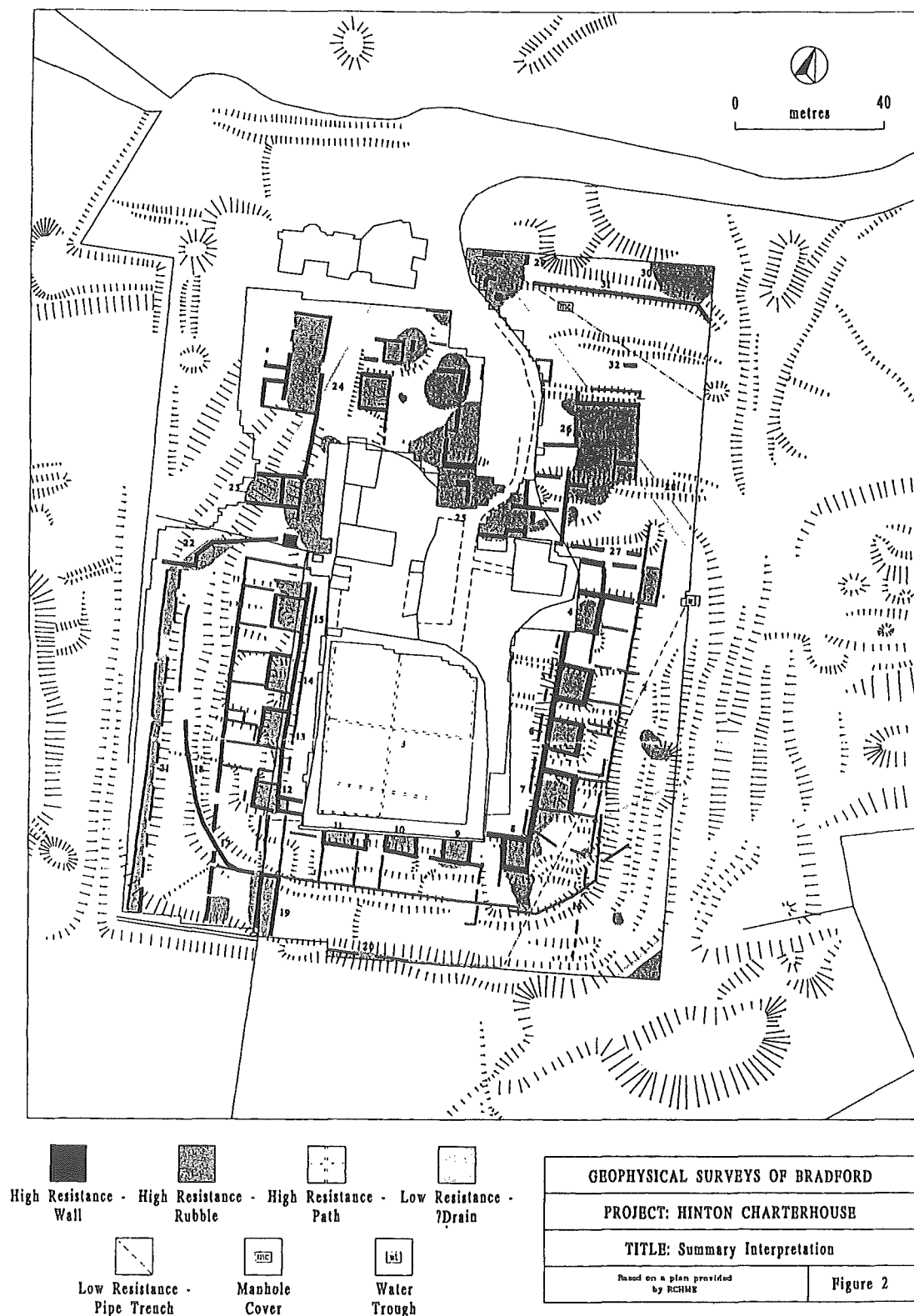
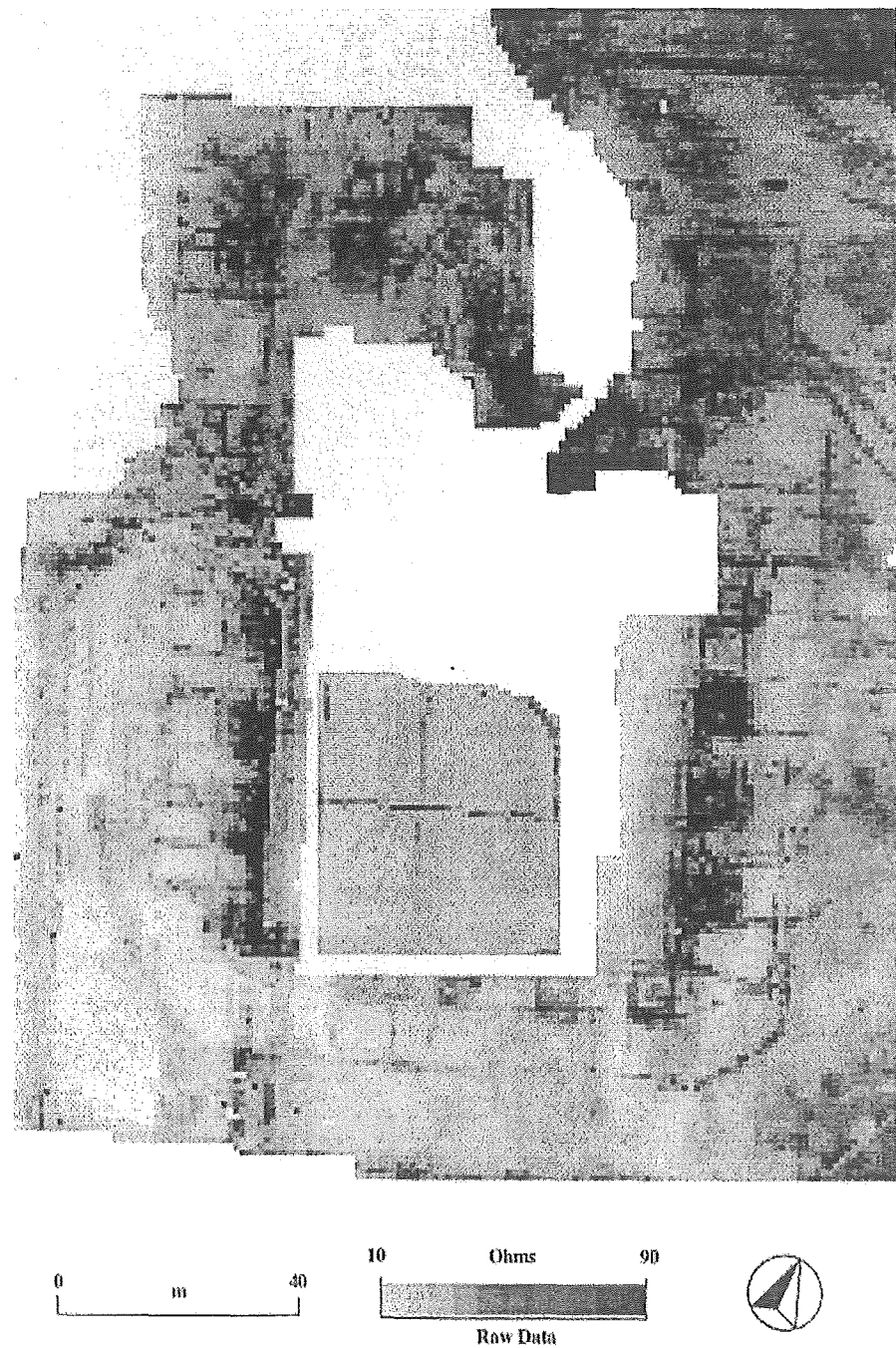


Fig. 2. - Hinton Charterhouse, Somerset, plan of the earthworks of the charterhouse with geophysical resistance data superimposed.

England (Somerset) and Kinalekin in Ireland. At each of the first two of these there was a lower house; this is not certain for the Irish house. Witham was founded in a very isolated place in the royal forest of Selwood on the border between Somerset and Wiltshire. Its lower house was two kilometres away at what is

now Witham Friary (that is the frères or brothers) where a fine twelfth century church survives. The second house was founded at Hatherop on the Cotswold Hills but after five years this community was moved from the crowded landscape of villages and common fields to the seclusion of a deer park at Hin-

Fig. 3. - *Hinton Charterhouse, Somerset, geophysical survey of the charterhouse.*



ton near Bath. Kinalekin in Galway only lasted just under a hundred years; later it was replaced by a Franciscan Friary.

It was not until the mid fourteenth century that any more Carthusian monasteries were founded; indeed in England most of the houses founded and proposed date to the second half of the fourteenth century, a time of great expansion in the order across Europe, apparently unaffected by the Black Death. Beauvale (Nottinghamshire) 1343, apparently without a 'lower house' was also founded in the seclusion of a deer park, while London (1371), Kingston upon Hull (1377) and Coventry (1381) were all founded in suburban locations near to major cities, the most common choice of site for all the so called 'urban'

Carthusian sites in Europe at this time, few of which, if any, were actually built within the defences of the cities and towns they served. Like Beauvale, Axholme (1397-8) and Mount Grace (1398) were founded in relatively isolated positions, the first on the edge of the Fens in Lincolnshire and the second below the North York Moors; Horne if it had been successful – founded in Surrey in about 1345 would have been similarly placed as would the house intended somewhere in the diocese of Exeter around 1317. The house at Totnes, if it ever existed, would have been the only house within the town walls of a medieval borough, unless the intention was again to found a suburban house.

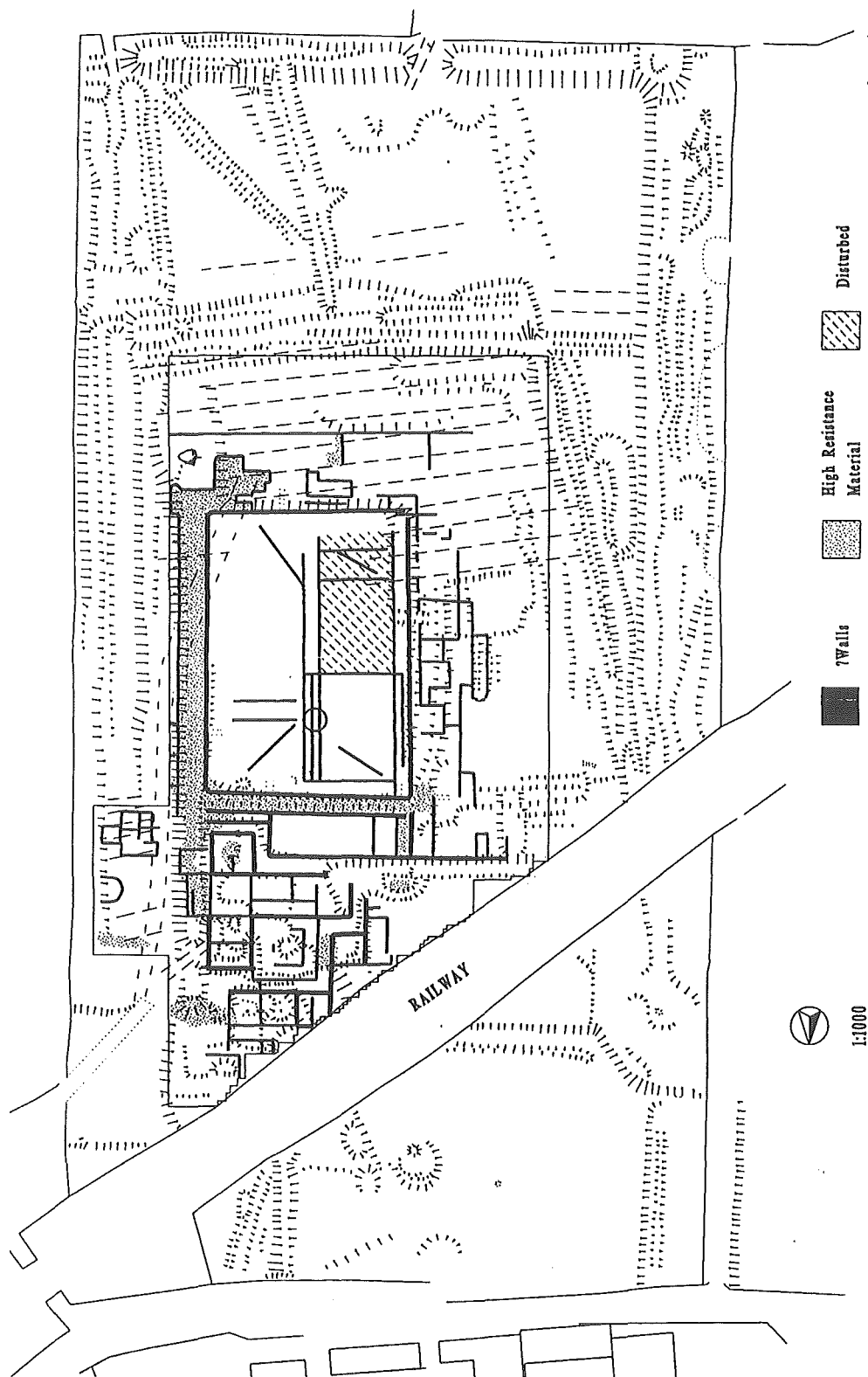


Fig. 4. - Witham, Somerset, plan of the earthworks of the charterhouse with geophysical resistance superimposed.

The last two houses founded in the middle ages were both royal and suburban. At Perth in Scotland James I developed the monastery outside the walls of the royal burgh from 1429. With Sheen near Richmond in Surrey, we have another suburban house, built by Henry V in 1414, along with a Bridgettine monastery, an intended Celestine monastery and later

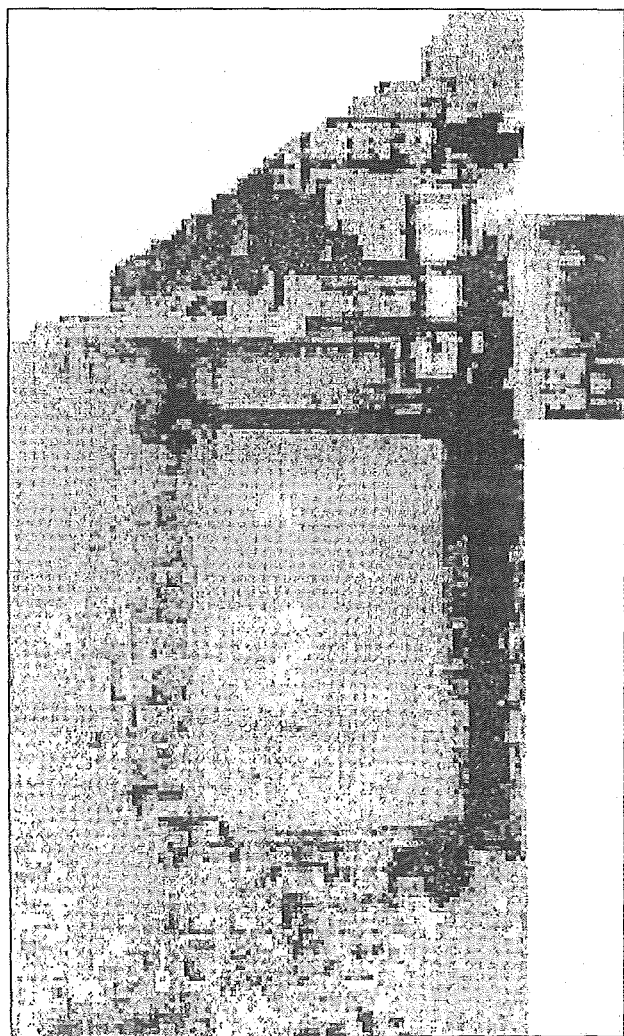
an Observant Franciscan house, all surrounding the great royal palace on the banks of the river Thames.

In the nineteenth century with fears that the order may be evicted from France a large Carthusian monastery was developed at Parkminster in Sussex. This now the only monastery of this order in the British Isles.

Surveys of Earthworks

Of these houses earthworks exist at the following sites – Axholme, Beauvale, Coventry, Hinton, Mount Grace, Sheen and Witham in England and Kinalekin in Ireland – and all but Sheen and Kinalekin have been surveyed in great detail by the Royal Commission for the Historical Monuments of England and it is planned to survey Sheen in the near future. Carrying out a survey of the earthworks at Kinelekin is a problem at the time of writing despite permission from the owner and a permit from the Irish government.

Earthworks at Axholme, Beauvale, Coventry, Hinton, Mount Grace and Witham are all exceptionally well preserved and clearly indicate either the great cloister with surrounding cells or the adjacent outer court areas or both. Examples of these surveys are included here to show the quality of both the earth-



20 - 40 ohms

Fig. 5. - *Witham, Somerset, geophysical survey of the charterhouse.*

works, which have survived so well on these sites, and of the surveys carried out by the field staff of the RCHME (figs 1, 2 and 4).

There are no earthworks at the sites at Hatherop (as far as is known – the precise location of the site is still unknown though it is probably under the medieval and later village site), Hull and London in England and Perth in Scotland. The sites of these last three are all today in entirely urban surroundings.

Geophysical Surveys

Geophysical surveys have usually been carried out alongside the topographical surveys of the earthworks in order to see what is left in the ground of any archaeological structures. Surveys have been conducted at Axholme, Beauvale, Coventry, Hinton and Witham in England and Perth in Scotland. It was not felt necessary at this stage to carry out a survey at Mount Grace as the site is so complete. It is intended to carry out similar work at Sheen and Kinalekin though there are difficulties at both of these sites at the time of writing. All of these surveys have been carried out by Geophysical Surveys of Bradford under the direction of Dr Chris Gaffney and John Gater; examples are included here to show the exceptional quality of the results, the interpretation by the surveyors and the relationship of the geophysical survey work to the topographical surveys of the earthworks (figs. 3 and 5)

Aerial Survey

Large numbers of very useful aerial photographs already exist in the collections of Cambridge University and the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England at Swindon. There are many oblique and vertical photographs of the various Carthusian sites. Nevertheless it is hoped to obtain more pictures especially in conditions which will show up earthworks in low sunlight or those revealing buried foundations through the occurrence of parchmarks or soilmarks.

Architectural Surveys

As was stated above it is intended to conduct at least summarily an assessment of the architectural remains of these sites. Substantial remains of buildings exist at several of the sites – Beauvale has a large part of the medieval church as well as other buildings, Coventry has a large medieval building with

surviving medieval wall paintings, Hinton has thirteenth century remains of the chapter house and the refectory, London has a number of cells and much of the lay brothers ranges, while Mount Grace is perhaps one of the best preserved fifteenth sites in Europe. There are architectural fragments at Axholme, a later set of friary buildings on the site at Kinalekin, and the twelfth century church of the lay brothers at Witham. There is nothing at all left of the buildings at Hatherop, Hull, Sheen, Witham and Perth. Even the precise site and layout of Hatherop, Hull and Perth remains unknown.

Specific Aspects of the sites examined so far and General Comments

Of the sites surveyed so far a number of general points have emerged. It is likely that there are a number or pre-monastic features on these sites though nothing definite has been defined so far. What is clear however is that there are many post-dissolution/post monastic features on many of the sites and that these have often confused our understanding of the earlier monastic remains; indeed much that has been recorded in the surveys is more likely to relate to the later uses of these sites than when they were in monastic ownership. There were post medieval mansions with their gardens at Axholme, Beauvale, Hinton, Mount Grace, Sheen and Witham while at Perth and Hull there were later hospitals and almshouses.

More work needs to be carried out on the precise characteristics of the sites selected on which to build these monasteries but it is already clear that considerable attention was given to the provision of an adequate water supply for the monks in their cells together with a good drainage system (Bond 1989 and 1993). Witham and Hinton were probably fed by springs on the low hills behind as was Sheen with springs on Richmond Hill. At Mount Grace there are three stone well houses at the base of the hill behind, while at London late medieval maps survive to show that water was piped in from a considerable distance to the north at Clerkenwell and then distributed to the cells through a great conduit tower which stood in the middle of the cloister; the remains of a similar tower have been excavated at Mount Grace.

Conclusions and Future Work

There is no doubt that studying one medieval monastic order in one area can produce a very useful insight into the impact of monasticism in the middle ages. All sorts of comparisons of information can be

made including the role of founders and patrons, the choice of site, the layout and development of the monastic and precinct plan and similarities or otherwise in their general histories.

The systematic application of the same questions and techniques to a group of sites can also yield new information. For too long the study of monastic sites has consisted of their recorded history, together with some appraisal of their architectural remains and usually some very badly executed archaeology. The careful recording of surviving earthworks to the standard of the RCHME, together with the use of aerial survey where this might yield further information from earthworks, parchmarks or cropmarks can tell us a great deal about the unexcavated and poorly documented parts of the monastic complex. The newer techniques such as the geophysical survey methods shown here demonstrate how much more we are going to learn about these sites in future.

When more than one order has been studied in an area to this degree of detail it will be possible to make comparisons between monastic and religious orders using the data collected under the categories of information which have been discussed above. We will then be in a good position to fully assess the number of monastic sites in the European landscape, their impact on that landscape in the past with the roles of particular classes of patrons, bishops and royalty clearly defined, choices of site understood, provision of water supplies, drainage and layout of precincts clarified.

Appendix 1

Basic data required for each monastic site

Order (to include changes of order with dates)
Pre-monastic details of the site
Foundation date, founder, and circumstances of foundation
Changes of site and circumstances
Brief history with interruptions of occupation
Dissolution date and circumstances
Post-dissolution use of the site
Later settlement and history

Published history
Architectural survey
Field Archaeological survey, earthworks
Geophysical survey
Air photographs
Excavation records
What is left on the site
Access for the public
Future possibilities

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Axholme:

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Beauvau:

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Coventry:

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Hinton:

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RCHME (Graham Brown) no date but 1995: *The Carthusian Monastery at Hinton Charterhouse*, site record.

Mount Grace:

RCHME (Wayne Cocroft) no date: *Mount Grace Priory*, site record.

Perth:

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Sheen:

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Witham:

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Prof. Dr. Mick Aston
University of Bristol
Department for Continuing Education
8-10 Berkeley Square, Clifton
Bristol BS8 1HH
England

Sheila Bonde & Clark Maines

A Room of One's Own: Elite Spaces in Monasteries of the Reform Movement and an Abbot's Parlor at Augustinian Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, Soissons (France)

As the spiritual leader of a monastery – and as the chief officer of a large land-owning corporation – an abbot often required private spaces. He had to entertain visitors and might be expected to carry out administrative duties in the interests of the monastery, or on behalf of a bishop or lord. It was essential that these activities not interrupt the life of the religious community. The very possession of a separate room within a corporate community, in fact, signals elite status. Apart from the luxurious manor houses of late medieval monasteries, where the architectural evidence has made the abbot's presence dramatically visible, private, elite zones within the monastery have only seldom been identified or analyzed.

There are three main reasons for this omission. First, approaches to monasticism and its architecture have conditioned us to privilege its corporate nature. The role of the individual, and the elite hierarchy of monastic administrators (the *seniores*) challenge the communal vision we have fostered of the medieval monastery. Second, elite spaces within the monastic enclosure have been defined liturgically and decoratively rather than socially. For example, dining in monasteries was ritualized. Refectories accordingly have choir-like windows and elaborate sculpture or painted decoration in contrast to monks' rooms which are similar in plan but which are typically unelaborated. Third, when private space for the abbot has been considered, it has been defined implicitly as separate sleeping space regardless of the other social functions associated with the prelate's private lodging. Particularly during the reform period, when the abbot is normally required to sleep in the communal

dormitory, we have not considered the possibility of other private functional rooms.

Our paper will re-evaluate the evidence – architectural, archaeological and documentary – for the abbot's living quarters and administrative spaces. We will focus on monasteries of the reform movement (during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries), with special attention to our own work at the Augustinian abbey of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes in Soissons¹. While we will consider textual material, we will privilege architecture and the material evidence from excavations, and will interrogate the potential of this evidence to provide information on social hierarchy.

The Abbot within the Precincts: Problem and Method

The history of the abbot's personal space can be summarized. In the early medieval period, abbots seem to have had rather elaborate, individual residences located on the side of the church opposite the cloister, as the Plan of St.-Gall attests². The abbot's house on the Plan contains rooms for sitting, sleeping and storage as well as a solar and a detached kitchen to prepare food for the abbot and his guests. As spiritual leader, the abbot was also given a special – and visible – location within many buildings that housed communal activities. For example, the place of the abbot is marked by specialized seating in the choir and chapter room, and by a high table in the refectory. When, however, the eleventh- and twelfth-century reform orders returned to the spirit of Bene-

¹ For the purposes of this paper, the term “monastery” denotes any monastic house irrespective of whether staffed by men or women, and whether members of the community were regular canons or canonesses, monks or nuns.

² On the abbot's house on the Plan of Saint-Gall see, W. HORN & E. BORN, *The Plan of Saint-Gall*, 3 vols., Berkeley, CA, 1979 I, 310 *et passim*. Other useful treatments of the abbot's house include: H. BRAKSPEAR, *The Abbot's House at Battle*, *Archaeologia*, 2nd ser. XXXIII, 1933, 139-166 & pls.

xxxi-xlii; A. LENOIR, *Architecture monastique*, Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France 3, pts. 2-3, 2 vols., Paris, 1852-1856, II, 385-388; M. AUBERT, avec la collaboration de M. DE MAILLÉ, *L'architecture cistercienne*, 2 vols., Paris, 1947, II, 147-148; T. KINDER, *La maison abbatiale*, in: *L'Europe cistercienne*, La Pierre-qui-Vire, forthcoming. We are grateful to Dr. Kinder for sharing with us both her thoughts on the abbot's house in Cistercian monasteries and her manuscript on the subject prior to its publication.

dict's rule, abbots gave up their private residences and were required to sleep in the common dormer.³ This reform stricture was enforced irregularly, with a return to separate abbot's houses seen as early as the mid-twelfth century. Even the reform orders followed suite eventually, as abbots increasingly emulated the lives of secular nobility in the later middle ages⁴. Twelfth- and thirteenth-century abbatial residences usually contained sleeping quarters, a meeting/dining room, chapel, storage spaces, a kitchen (or access to one) and a privy.

While the construction of large private lodgings for abbots ultimately triumphed over other modes of abbatial life, it is the transitional period from c.1050 to c.1250 when many abbots of reform orders slept in common with their communities which interests us here. During this period, we are curious to discover whether the abbot's various responsibilities necessitated the creation of other new spaces to accommodate the social functions and temporal duties later (and earlier) contained within separate lodgings. For example, the Rule of Saint Benedict, which instructs abbots to sleep in the communal dormitory, allows them to eat with guests in the guesthouse, and recommends for this purpose a separate kitchen⁵. We should therefore wonder whether any of the administrative functions of an abbot's life might have necessitated creating separate spaces to house them. Did he require a separate office when he did not have a private residence? Was his requirement for business meetings expressed architecturally in a separate "parlor" for administrative conversations?

There is some textual evidence for supposing the answer to be 'yes.' The relatively laconic customa-

ries of the Augustinian communities of Barnwell in England and Saint-Jean-des-Vignes in France for example, mention a *camera abbatis*⁶. In both cases, the customaries refer to the *camera* in the context of dining but they do not specify where the *camera* was located, nor whether it should be understood as a room or a building. At Barnwell, the customary states clearly that the abbot slept in the common dormer, so the presumption that *camera* meant room is more compelling⁷. At Saint-Jean, the fourteenth-century customary seems to be transitional, since it makes no reference to where the abbot sleeps at night, and only refers to the fact that he lies with the brethren in the dormer during the day⁸.

It is important to note that other members of the *seniores* might also possess a separate space. The prior, for example, might have a separate room (often identified, as we will see, as the inner parlor). Cistercian customs make clear that priors of that order had at least some claim to the east range passage or the inner parlor as an office⁹. Those customs also make clear that the cellarer had an office or parlor near the kitchen¹⁰. In Cluniac priories (where there was no abbot), or in cathedral communities (where the abbot was a bishop with very different links to the community), the prior filled many of the abbot's functional roles and might have a separate house or building, as at Christchurch Canterbury from at least the middle of the twelfth century¹¹.

While private spaces are signalled in monastic customaries and rules, their identification within the architectural and archaeological record is, however, fraught with difficulty. As abbots began to build larger and more elaborate spaces for themselves from

³ Abbots of traditional Benedictine houses also returned to the communal dormitory, at least until the middle of the twelfth-century. See D. KNOWLES, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, London, 1951, 73, n. 2. Lanfranc's customs are, of course, based on those of Cluny. We are grateful to Professor V. Jansen for sharing her manuscript, "The Architecture of Monastic Dormitories," which is in preparation for publication.

⁴ In France, this development continued beyond the middle ages with the construction of the large 'logis abbatial' for commendatory abbots.

⁵ The Rule of Saint Benedict, chapters 22 and 53.

⁶ J.W. CLARK (ed. and trans., with a glossary), *The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire*, Cambridge, 1897. The Observances form the eighth book of "Liber Memorandum Ecclesie de Bernewelle" [Brit. Mus. Ms. Harl. 3601] and dates to 1295-1296 on internal grounds (pp. x-xi). "De labore prelati in temporalibus. viij. Comedentibus cum eo fratribus in camera sua uultum hyllarem et iocundum mensamque frugalem debet pretendere,..." and Soissons, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms Périn 4772 [an accurate nineteenth-century transcription of Paris, Bibl. nat. nouv. acq. lat. no. 713]; the text dates to the fourteenth-century on linguistic grounds: "Lectio duodecima. Si

autem aliqui in camera dominis abbatibus, vel alibi comederent de ejus licentia,..." A *chambre de l'abbé* is also known for the abbey of Prémontré. A chronicle records its construction during the reign of Abbot Hugues (1233-1242). See M. PLOUVIER, *L'abbaye de Prémontré aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, Histoire d'une reconstruction*, Bibliotheca Analectorum Praemonstratensium 16, 2 vol., Louvain, 1985, I, 35.

⁷ CLARK, *The Observances ... at Barnwell*, 44, "De conuersacione prelati. vij. ...In dormitorio cum ceteris dormire,..."

⁸ Soissons, Bibl. mun., Ms Périn 4772, "Lectio 19 de Abbate. In die abbas semper cum coeteris jaceat in dormitorio,..."

⁹ AUBERT, *Architecture cistercienne* I, 43; 116; and II, 36-37; 70-72.

¹⁰ AUBERT, *ibid.* I, 116, n. 2. At Augustinian Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, a small room has been built on the landing of the stairs accessing the refectory cellar from the exterior. Thus situated next to the kitchen and open by a window into the cellar itself, this room should perhaps be identified as the cellarer's "office."

¹¹ Canterbury at the time of prior Wibert's plan, c. 1165, included both an old and a new prior's *camera* as well as an *aula* for the bishop/abbot; see R. WILLIS, *The Architectural History of the Conventual Buildings of the Monastery of Christchurch, Canterbury*, *Archaeologia Cantiana* VII, 1868, 1-207.

the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries onward, smaller functionally-specific spaces necessarily lost their initial purposes and were probably given new ones. No small number of 'warming rooms' identified on monastic plans today (like Cistercian Fontenay in Burgundy, for example) have had their chimneys inserted well after the room was built to house some now unrecoverable function. Finally, smaller spaces lacking obvious purpose have been marginalized in monastic architectural and archaeological scholarship. We need therefore to develop a strategy for identifying elite spaces and for locating them within the precincts of reform monasteries.

Comparative Spatial Analysis

We propose that the techniques of spatial analysis be adapted to the study of the monastic plan¹². In the same way that larger landscapes are considered as "catchment areas" for the resources of particular sites, so the monastery can be profitably regarded as a series of inter-connected areas related to liturgical practice, resource management and social interactions. This approach frees us from the identification of single architectural units, and pushes us toward the consideration of functional "zones." We can thus confront the problem of identifying spaces that may have been reserved for the abbot's use by examining monastic plans where early abbots' houses have been identified. But rather than simply excerpting the house, we should look at the larger functional zone to discern the other components that are linked – architecturally or simply by spatial proximity – to the abbatial lodging. We may then look to houses where no abbot's lodging yet existed (because he slept in the common dorter), and question whether other, smaller spaces within that zone may have been reserved for the abbot's use. For ecclesiastical sites in

general (and for monastic sites in particular), the persistence of functional continuities within spatial organizations has been repeatedly demonstrated. It seems therefore reasonable in developing a strategy for investigating elite spaces within a monastery to assume such continuities until and unless the material or textual evidence contradicts them.

Our survey of functional zones within the monastery reveals that there was no single fixed position for the abbot's (or abbess's) lodgings. In our survey, we looked especially closely at 17 reform order houses from Soissons and northern France, and at four mother houses of major reform orders (Cluny, Saint-Victor in Paris, Cîteaux and Premontr  near Soissons). In most cases, our evidence consists primarily of old plans and views (many helpfully labelled) and documents (chiefly customaries and rules), with only occasionally some limited physical evidence. We also looked to major reform houses in England where the material evidence within monastic precincts is somewhat better preserved¹³. Despite the variations between sites, and even changes within one site over time, several principal options for abbatial spaces seem to have existed:

1) to the west, especially in the cellarer's range. This location permitted the abbot to greet and deal with his guests, especially secular visitors, with the least intrusion into zones reserved for the brethren¹⁴. At Cluny III, the abbot's "palace" was located on the upper floor of the narthex of the abandoned church of Cluny II, and formed part of a western court with the guesthouse and cellarer's storehouse¹⁵. At Castle Acre, the prior's lodging was located directly over the cellarer's range. In the twelfth century, it included a study, bedchamber chapel and guest room¹⁶. A second, well-preserved example survives at C risy-la-For t in Normandy, where the abbot's quarters occupied the upper floor of the gatehouse adjoining the west porch of the church¹⁷.

¹² For a theoretical statement, see H. MYTUM, *Functionalism and Non-Functionalism Approaches in Monastic Archaeology*, in: R. GILCHRIST & H. MYTUM (eds.), *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, BAR British Series 203, Oxford, 1989, 339-361, esp. 350-355. Recent applications include: R. GILCHRIST, *The Spatial Analysis of Gender Domains: a Case Study of Medieval English Nunneries*, *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 7/1, 1988, 21-29 and P.H. CULLUM, *Saint Leonard's Hospital, York: the Spatial and Social Analysis of an Augustinian Hospital*, in: R. GILCHRIST & H. MYTUM (eds.), *Advances in Monastic Archaeology*, BAR British Series 227, Oxford, 1993, 11-18.

¹³ On monastic plans in England, see such surveys as, R. GILYARD-BEER, *Abbeys: An Illustrated Guide to the Abbeys of England and Wales*, London, 1976, esp. 38-40; C. PLATT, *The Abbeys and Priories of Medieval England*, New York, 1984; G. COPPACK, *Abbeys and Priories*, London, 1990; and P. GREENE,

Medieval Monasteries, London & New York, 1992.

¹⁴ The upper floor of the cellarer's range, located in a western position but slightly separated from the cloister and its ranges, was seldom used for the abbot in Cistercian monasteries, presumably because of its use as a dormitory for the lay brethren.

¹⁵ K.J. CONANT, *Cluny, les  glises et la maison du chef d'ordre*, Macon, 1968, 125-127 & pls. V-IX.

¹⁶ F. RABY, *Castle Acre Priory*, London, 1936, 17-22 and fold-out plan. The Castle Acre abbots' house was remodelled and enlarged in the 14th and 15th centuries. See also C. PLATT, *The Abbeys and Priories of Medieval England*, New-York, 1984, 158, 160-161.

¹⁷ A. RHEIN, *L' glise abbatiale de Cerisy-la-For t*, *Congr s arch ologique de France tenu   Caen en 1908*, 2 vols., Paris, 1909, II, 581-587.

2) independent houses situated west of the claustral ranges, usually with a first-floor hall and chamber with an upper chapel. At Augustinian Essômes (Aisne), the abbot had a separate lodging built into the fortified precinct wall to the west of the church and cloister, at least from the fourteenth century, but possibly earlier¹⁸.

3) a free-standing 'hermitage' for contemplation and prayer, located near the church. An eighteenth-century plan of Clairvaux preserves the location of two small cells identified as "*cubiculum Sancti Bernardi et cubiculum Sancti Malachi*"¹⁹. Textual sources also reveal that Abbot Suger of Benedictine Saint-Denis built a similar *cella* near the church for his personal use²⁰. Given Bernard's documented relationship with Suger in the matter of monastic decorum, we may wonder whether his cell were not also a hermitage inspired by Bernard's example.

4) A private room within (usually at one end of) the communal dormitory. This solution reaffirmed the abbot's special status and provided some measure of privacy while preserving a direct connection with the common dormitory. Two small rooms still exist in the dormitory of the royal Cistercian convent at Maubuisson (Val d'Oise), a bedroom and another, smaller chamber, both located at the end where the range joined the church²¹. From the smaller chamber, the abbess could look down into the choir and view mass.

5) A separate house near or attached to the eastern claustral range. From the third quarter of the twelfth-century, abbots of Cistercian Fountains and Rievaulx and, somewhat earlier, the prior of Benedictine Canterbury, all had separate structures in this area²². In this location, these houses were related spatially to

the abbey infirmary and sometimes also to the novitiate.

Continuity of abbot's use of the south-east zone, where the infirmary also is typically located, may explain why some infirmaries were later remodelled as abbot's houses. The Cistercian abbey of Villers (Flanders) provides evidence of shifting abbatial residences within this zone²³. From the twelfth century, the abbots slept in a room over the sacristy (i.e. within the dorter). At the end of the thirteenth century, an independent abbatial lodging was built south-east of the cloister. Some 150 years later this was enlarged, but the remodelling seems to have been insufficient. In the late fifteenth century, the lay brothers infirmary was transformed into a large abbot's residence which was further embellished in the sixteenth century with a Renaissance portico²⁴.

Though limited in scope, this survey demonstrates that abbot's (and abbess') zones existed west of the cloister, within the claustral block and to the east of it, and near to the church. The survey also shows that the western abbot's zone tended to be linked to facilities for guests, while those to the east were usually associated with the infirmary and, sometimes also with the novitiate.

Saint-Jean-des-Vignes

We do not approach the notion of functional zones within the monastery through idle curiosity, of course, but rather through our excavations at the Augustinian abbey of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes in Soissons, and our desire to understand a seemingly anomalous space

¹⁸ See the seventeenth-century plan of the abbey published in P. KURMANN, *L'abbatiale d'Essômes, Nouvelles considérations sur son architecture, Congrès archéologique de France tenu dans l'Aisne méridionale en 1990*, 2 vols., Paris, 1994, II, 311, fig. 2. Portions of the fortifications and some of the structures containing the abbot's residence still survive, though considerably transformed and totally unstudied.

¹⁹ AUBERT, *Architecture Cistercienne*, I, 11, fig. 5, engraved by C. Lucas in 1708 for dom Milley. Saint Bernard's tiny cell is known from contemporary texts. See G. WEBB & A. WALKER (trans.), *St. Bernard of Clairvaux, the Story of his Life as recorded in the Vita Prima Bernardi by certain of his contemporaries, William of St. Thierry, Arnold of Bonnevaux, Geoffrey and Phillip of Clairvaux and Odo de Deuil*, London, 1960, 55 and 57. It is clear from the sources that the cell was erected outside the precincts of the *monasterium vetus* and that its site was very near the new church when the community transferred its site. Given Bernard's and Malachi's saintliness, it seems highly probable that the cells represented on the plan were the preserved originals.

²⁰ M. FÉLIBIEN, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France*, Paris, 1706, 180, "Il s'estoit fait bastir depuis quelques années une petite cellule proche de l'église, dans le dessein

de vivre plus retiré... Cet appartement le seul qu'il fit construire à son propre suage, avoit à peine dix pieds de large sur quinze de long."

²¹ Personal communication with A. Bonis, whose interpretation we gratefully acknowledge here. AUBERT, *Architecture cistercienne*, II, 198, also identified the larger of the two rooms as the abbess' bedroom, but the other, smaller one he thought served as the "...chambre à la sacristine et de la salle du trésor." Given the recent work of C. BRUZELIUS, *Hearing is Believing: Clarissan Architecture*, ca. 1213-1340, *Gesta* 31, 1992, 83-91, which discusses the layout in early Clarissan churches that precluded nuns being able to see the altar, we are inclined to credit Bonis' interpretation, though we admit, as Kinder has reminded us, that the sacristine had reason to look into the choir.

²² G. COPPACK & R. GILYARD-BEER, *Fountains Abbey*, London, 1993, 45-47; G. COPPACK & P. FERGUSON, *Rievaulx Abbey*, London, 1994, 28-29. On Canterbury, see above n. 11.

²³ T. KINDER, *Maison abbatiale*, forthcoming. We are grateful to our colleague, T. Kinder, for this information.

²⁴ Ultimately, in the 18th century, a *logis abbatial* was built, probably for the commendatory abbots.

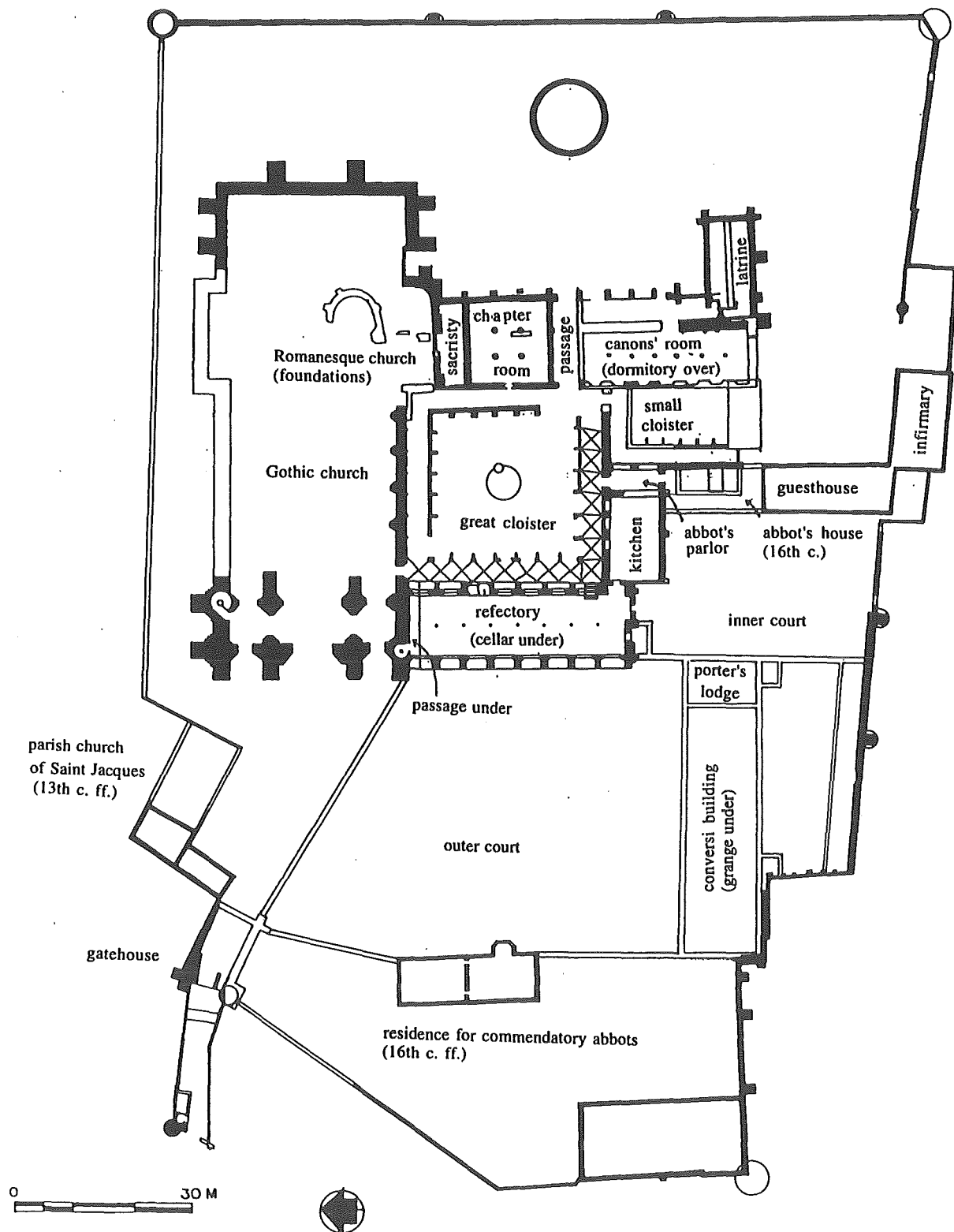


Fig. 1. - Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, Soissons, plan (Bonde & Maines 1996). Solid lines: standing or excavated masonry; open lines: conjectural.

located within the southern claustral range. The anomaly is a small, but richly appointed Gothic room found between the thirteenth-century kitchen to the west and a smaller cloister built to the east in the

sixteenth century. The room is rectangular in plan and oriented north/south (Fig. 1).

Excavation of the room in the south range at Saint-Jean-des-Vignes in 1994 brought to light a richly decorated, glazed tile floor still in a good state of preservation (Fig. 2)²⁵. The north and east walls of the room survive in elevation and reveal that the

²⁵ S. BONDE, V. DUREY-BLARY & C. MAINES, Un pavement gothique à Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, *Archéologia* 308, 1995, 41-48.

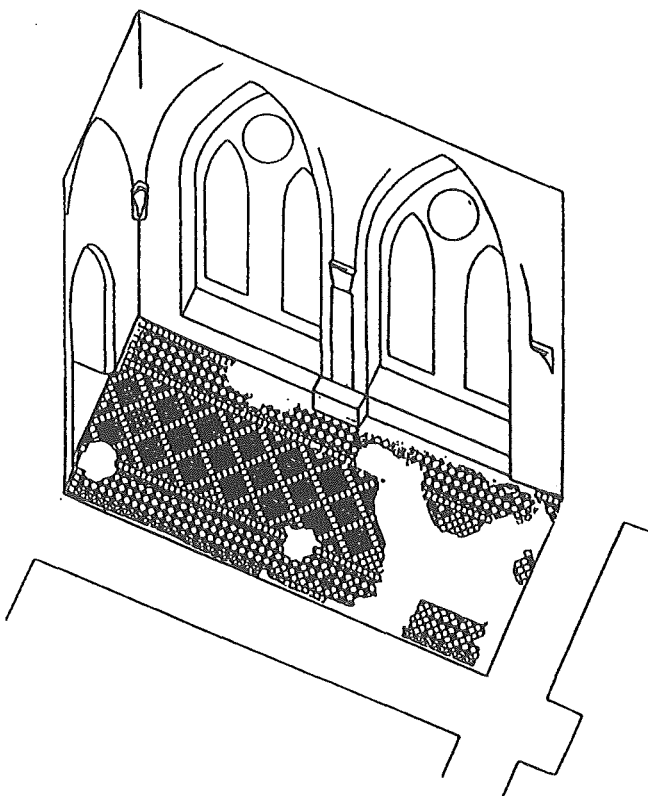


Fig. 2. - Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, Soissons, camera abbatialis, axonometric reconstruction (Bonde, Maines & C. Mazzurco).

space was originally divided into two bays by rib vaults carried on consoles. Above the vaults are the remains of a second story which has been at least partially rebuilt in the seventeenth century. The room was transformed a second time by the insertion of a chimney in its eastern wall, most likely during the nineteenth century.

Construction of the room evidently belongs to the period around 1250. The four consoles, with their fleshy projecting leaves, can be dated stylistically toward the middle of the thirteenth century²⁶. The tile floor cannot yet be dated more precisely than c. 1275-1325. A sealed ceramic deposit recovered beneath the floor broadly confirms the thirteenth century date.

In the thirteenth century, the canons entered this room from the cloister, by a door opened in the north wall. In its present state, the room contains the remains of stone benches built into the two bays of the east wall. It is possible that benches in the destroyed west wall made a symmetrical arrangement in the room. On the east side, both bays opened originally in two large windows²⁷. During the thirteenth century, these windows would have given onto a small open area between the room and the Gothic dormitory 13 meters to the east. The wall opposite on the west divided the room from the kitchen and must therefore have been blind, although perhaps decorated with *trompe-l'oeil* windows²⁸. The destroyed wall which closed the room to the south is more problematic. The remains of a single course attest to a reworking in the nineteenth century that might have included a doorway. It seems probable to us that there was a doorway in the middle ages as well²⁹. Such a door would have given access to the open area behind the kitchen. This area formed part of an inner court in front of the fragmentary medieval building surviving just south of the room and permitted access to the medieval infirmary formerly located about 25 meters away along the southern limit of the site³⁰.

The elaborate glazed tile floor was composed of three parts (see Fig. 2). A large "carpet," composed

²⁶ See S. BONDE & C. MAINES, L'abbaye augustinienne de Saint-Jean-des-Vignes à Soissons, *Congrès archéologique de France tenu dans l'Aisne méridionale*, 2 vols., Paris, 1994, II, 611-623, for a discussion of the style, construction chronology and dating of the cloister and the claustral ranges. At the time of that article, we had not begun work on the room and discussed it summarily (pp. 617-618) as a *chauffoir*.

²⁷ Although each bay is today almost entirely blocked by masonry dating to the sixteenth century, the inner surfaces of the openings, where these remain visible, have been neither carved nor recut. As a result, we can conclude that the two bays were originally open as two large windows, probably articulated by a pair of lancets surmounted by a small *oculus*, the common composition of the Soissonnais. Tracery for the lancets and *oculi* would have been mortared to the enframing arches and would not necessarily have left any traces on the parts of the *intrados* which remain visible.

²⁸ The west wall now survives only in a few courses at the north end of the room. Excavation of the floor in 1994 revealed no patterns of wear which might have suggested a passage to the kitchen. We therefore assume that no doorway existed though a service hatch remains a possibility.

²⁹ As we will see, the pattern of the decorated tile floor sug-

gests that there was an opening to the south. It is also possible that such a doorway might have had a glazed tympanum above it, increasing the light in the room.

³⁰ A medieval infirmary is known from texts such as the abbey's unpublished fourteenth-century customary. Its location along the south of the site is inferred from later pictorial and written documents. First, the legend on the 1673 engraving known as the 'plan Barbaran' identifies one of the seventeenth-century buildings now forming part of the Centre archéologique de Soissons as the infirmary at that time. A record of a sixteenth-century transaction between the abbey and one of its members seems to confirm that an earlier infirmary, perhaps the medieval one, occupied this same location. Laon, Archives départementales, 47 E 249: "20 octobre 1583-Jean François, religieux de Saint Jean, disant que environ 12 ans, le 3 février, les religieux et prieur lui ont baillé à vie une partie de la place où souloit être anciennement l'infirmerie jetant sur les remparts de la ville, qui était lors en ruine et mesure, auquel lieu il avait fait bâtir de neuf un corps de logis en pavillon, où il a fait sa résidence. Ayant fait lequel édifice, icelui comparant avec quelques pensées, donne et remet au couvent ladite maison comme étant bâtie sur l'héritage desdits religieux, la remet à Jean Bouchel, docteur en théologie, prieur claustral, moyennant qu'ils acquittent

of panels and half-panels filled the center of the floor. Each panel of red and yellow tiles was animated by a rich array of motifs, some dependent upon the repetition of individual tiles (marguerites, lions, *fleur-de-lys*), and others incorporating multi-tile designs (stained glass window motifs). On each side of the central carpet, and separated from it by a single, longitudinal row of green-glazed tiles, the composition was completed by long narrow panels composed of rows of decorated tiles. These panels do not continue across the short ends of the room, thus suggesting to us that there were doors at both ends.

Problems of Identification

Identification of this anomalous space is more problematic than one might think, given its location off the main cloister. We might expect that the apparent standardization of Gothic claustral planning would result in a relatively limited array of possibilities. Yet, variations in the placement of important elements such as the refectory cause a 'ripple effect' resulting in considerable variability in plan and function. For example, several reform houses have rooms strikingly similar in size, plan and location to that at Saint-Jean. At Cistercian Roche Abbey, the thirteenth-century room at the junction of south and east ranges is identified plausibly as a warming room, on the basis of its two fireplaces³¹. At Augustinian Norton Priory, the excavated remains of a south-east room are interpreted simply as a passage³². Lieu-Restauré (a Praemonstratensian abbey near Soissons) has an unidentified room very similar in plan and location³³. There, however, the presence of three doors (including a west one leading into the refectory), negates easy equivalencies. At all three houses: Roche, Norton and Lieu-Restauré, the location of the refectory in the south range, to the west of the room in question, differentiates those rooms from that at Saint-Jean, where the refectory is found in the west range, and where the kitchen fills the remainder of the south range (see Fig. 1). Clearly, despite our seeming familiarity with the Gothic claustral plan, there is much we do not know, especially when local circumstances impose variations.

The fact that the small room at Saint-Jean seems to have had doors at both ends may suggest that it was a passage, as at Norton. Yet the surviving decorative elements of the room: the decorated tile floor, the generous windows, and the four sculpted consoles that originally supported the high rib-vaults, mark this room as a special zone. The seating indicates that its users stopped rather than simply passed through.

The small south-eastern room at Saint-Jean-des-Vignes has traditionally been identified as the abbey *chauffoir*, or warming room, probably because of its proximity to the kitchen and traces of the later chimney inserted in its eastern wall, as well as its small size and placement within the claustral ranges. The absence, however, of any evidence for a stairs descending into the room from the higher medieval circulation level of the kitchen, as well as the absence of any remains of a medieval chimney or central hearth, effectively preclude its having been a warming room in the Gothic period. Moreover, while many monasteries do possess a warming room in the kitchen range of their cloisters, a number of them, as we have noted, were converted to this function well after their original construction. Until all cases can be investigated on an individual basis, we remain sceptical about the power of simple parallels in plan. Finally, the traditional interpretation also rests on an unacknowledged spatial analytic component which interprets the room functionally only in terms of the claustral ranges and not in relation to structures which lay to the east or south of it.

Archaeological Indicators of Elite Status

As we have seen, the physical evidence from the room gives us a set of archaeological indicators of elite status and hence, a guide to interpreting its possible function. First of all, the room is small, measuring only 3 x 8 meters. Thus, unlike the church, chapter room or refectory, it could not have accommodated more than a fraction of the ninety canons who made up the community at Saint-Jean during the thirteenth century³⁴. Second, the room is accessible directly from the great cloister to the north, and from the inner court to the south. It has richly decorated

les dettes du donateur. Presumably, the 'logis en pavillon' built by Jean François is the building later identified as the infirmary on the 'plan Barbaran.' The older infirmary, in a state of ruin in 1571, was probably sacked by the Huguenots who vandalized the abbey four years earlier.

³¹ PLATT, *Abbeys and Priories*, 46-47.

³² P. GREENE, *Norton Priory: The Archaeology of a Medieval Religious House*, Cambridge, 1989, 80 & 88.

³³ J.-L. FRANÇOIS & G. PERRIN, *Essai archéologique de datation des bâtiments de l'abbaye de Lieu-Restauré, Cahiers archéologiques de Picardie*, 1976, 172-176.

³⁴ C.-A. DE LOUEN, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Jean-des-Vignes de Soissons*, Paris, 1710, 306.

consoles comparable to those of the refectory and cloister, and markedly different from the simple faceted consoles of the adjacent kitchen or cellar. Its southern wall was opened by a pair of tall lancet windows, comparable to those of liturgically-charged spaces like the church and chapter room. The size of these windows leads directly to another important criterion, namely the height of the room, which would have been further emphasized by the comparatively narrow proportions. That the east wall certainly, and the west wall probably, contained formal benches for sitting further establishes the room as a special place, since interior spaces where members of a community might sit within a monastery are normally limited to the church, chapter room, refectory and to some parlors. Finally, the room was brightened and decorated by its light-reflective, elaborately-composed, glazed tile floor. The combination of these elements in one single space insists that we consider the room as an elite, or privileged, space.

The Architectural Context of the Room

The archaeological indicators of the room's size and decoration provide one set of criteria for evaluating its function. The context of its placement within a functional zone or "catchment area" provides further criteria for its interpretation. In this endeavour, the areas beside and behind the room (that is, south and east of it) are equally important. Our knowledge of these areas at Saint-Jean-des-Vignes during the Gothic period is limited to one archaeological sounding carried out in 1997, to the analysis of part of a medieval building remaining in elevation, and to pictorial evidence for now-destroyed structures. For the post-medieval period, partially extant structures, pictorial evidence and documents can be combined to give us a fairly complete picture of the shape and use of the zone over time (Fig. 3)³⁵.

In the thirteenth century, this area evidently formed part of a large enclosed zone which was originally accessible from the small room under discussion. In 1997, we excavated the remains of a medieval building datable to the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries. These remains consist of a single wall, now forming the "back" side of the small Renaissance cloister and the scar of a wall set at right angles to it. While we will probably never know the length and width of this building, or anything certain about its

elevation, we do know that it was aligned with (but slightly off axis with respect to) the east wall of our Gothic room, and that the two spaces may have been connected at a second story. It was in any case no more than 3 meters away. Several meters further to the south (and slightly to the east) is the presumed site of the medieval infirmary, now rebuilt. Whether the small open zone immediately to the east of the Gothic room and its immediate neighbour was a small cloister or a garden in the middle ages remains unclear.

West of the fragmentary medieval building and the medieval infirmary, the enclosed court was entered through a long, narrow structure which was vaulted on two levels and is now destroyed (see Fig. 1). Pictorial evidence dating to the time of its destruction assures its construction sometime in the thirteenth century. This building contained a grange on the ground floor, with the lay brothers' dorter over and, at the end nearest to our Gothic room, the porter's lodge.

For the post-medieval period, we have far more evidence. In the sixteenth-century, the Gothic room's windows were modified by the construction of the small Renaissance cloister which, by Saint-Jean's ascetic standards, was richly sculpted. The 1673 bird's eye view of the abbey engraved by Barbaran shows the west façade of the two-storey house which replaced the medieval building next to the Gothic room (see Fig. 3). Both the small cloister and the house can be dated stylistically to the middle years of the sixteenth century. Local textual tradition beginning in 1650 attributes them to Abbot Jean de la Fontaine (not the fabulist) who reigned from 1535 to 1547. De Louen's early eighteenth-century history of the abbey is revealing, saying of la Fontaine that:

Il fit bâtir à neuf le petit Cloître, fermer le Choeur de l'Eglise, comme on le void aujourd'hui. Il fit faire aussi le bâtiment plein de sculpture en dehors, qui donne sur la Cour, qui contient la Salle & la grande Chambre au-dessus avec son Cabinet.

For Abbot Jean de la Fontaine, then, this building functioned as a private space, evidently containing a meeting room, his bedroom and his office.

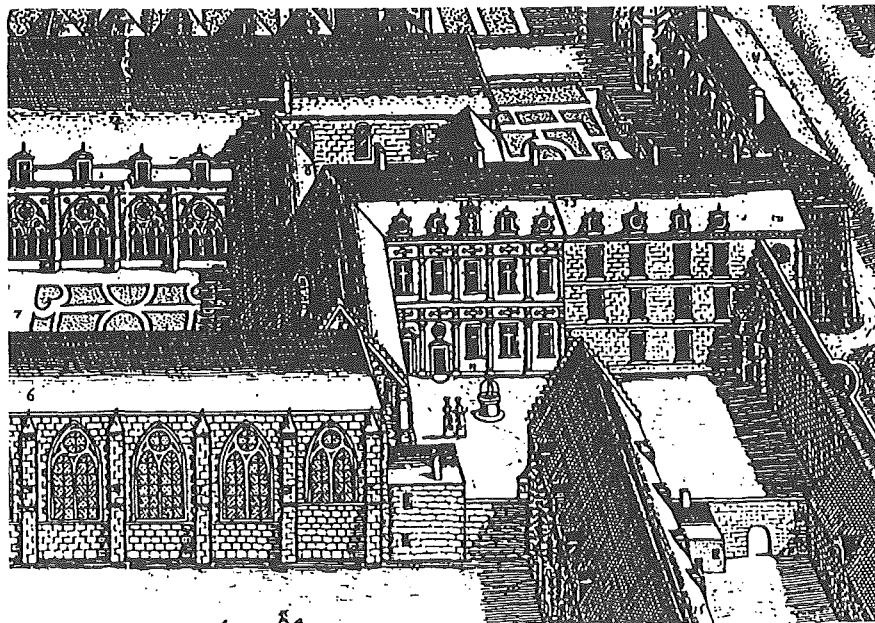
The seventeenth-century Barbaran view of the abbey also shows a large building contiguous to la Fontaine's new lodging, which the legend identifies as the abbey guest-house and which today survives as part of the Centre archéologique de Soissons. We are unlikely ever to know, but it is certainly possible that this seventeenth-century building was erected on the site of an earlier (medieval) guesthouse destroyed during the Huguenot sack of the abbey in 1567.

We infer, then, that the medieval building just south of the Gothic room belonged to the abbot in the

³⁵ Today, this zone survives as an empty space behind the small Renaissance cloister and the Centre archéologique de Soissons.

Fig. 3. - Louis Barbaran, 1673, bird's eye view of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, detail.

Key: 4 dormitory; 6 refectory; 7 great cloister; 8 small cloister; 11 infirmary; 13 guesthouse; 14 'La Salle' (abbot's house); 15 grange/conversi building; 16 porter's lodge (entrance to monastic zone).



thirteenth century. It may, in fact, have been his office or his lodging, and it may be appropriate to see the Gothic room beside it as a sort of ground floor solar. The siting of these two linked spaces on the south side of the cloister would have mitigated against the need for a separate abbot's kitchen, known from other sites of various orders, but for which there is no mention in the Saint-Jean customary. The Gothic room may equally have served as a high-status parlor linking the monastic community to an abbot increasingly removed from it by virtue of his administrative functions and social status, or to those elite visitors who may have lodged in the guesthouse.

Spaces for Conversation: the abbot's parlor

We have thus seen a strong and enduring tradition, locally as well as more broadly defined, in which the abbot is present in a zone in the south-east, comprising not only private room or rooms but also the infirmary and sometimes guest quarters or the novitiate. Within a typical monastery, spaces of the size and plan of the Gothic room we are considering are fairly numerous, though few seem to have been so richly appointed. Parlors are one such space. The importance of silence in monastic life is well known from textual sources and seems to have become stricter

beginning in the reforms of the eleventh century. The need for speech on particular occasions was recognized in rules and customs, and spaces for the activity were designated within the monastic plan. The earliest monastic parlor is known from the ninth-century Plan of St.-Gall³⁶. By the high middle ages, many monasteries had at least two distinct parlors, one for speaking with seculars, usually referred to in the literature as the outer parlor, the other for speaking among members of the community. Typically, outer parlors seem to have been relatively inhospitable, often dark vaulted passageways connecting the cloister to an outer court. Like the passage under the refectory at Saint-Jean-des-Vignes which probably served as the abbey's outer parlor and the laybrothers' passage (see fig. 1), these spaces did not encourage prolonged conversation³⁷.

The inner parlor, by contrast, seems more often to have been a room or a passage near the chapter room in the eastern claustral range where, as Cistercian and Victorine customs tell us, officials could converse privately about necessary business, the prior could make daily work assignments and the novice master could instruct new novices³⁸. First identified in the *Farfa Consuetudines* in the eleventh-century, Horn has reasonably suggested that the origin of the inner parlor may stem from "...the pressure of increasing claustral silence."³⁹ While easy to recognize in monas-

³⁶ On which see HORN & BORN, *Plan of St.-Gall*, I, 307. On the plan, the monk's parlor was also used for the *mandatum* and thus provisioned with benches. This function moved out of the parlor over time, often taking its seating with it.

³⁷ One exception to this is the late twelfth-century outer parlor or passage at Norton. See discussion below.

³⁸ HORN & BORN, *Plan of St.-Gall*, II, 345, n. 15, citing P. GUIGNARD, *Les monuments de la règle cistercienne*, Dijon, 1878, 106, 174, 177, and 233 (chapters 15, 72, 75 and 113), and n. 16, citing du Cange in turn quoting the '*libro Ordinis S. Victoris Parisiensis*', cap. 19.

³⁹ HORN & BORN, *Plan of St. Gall*, II, 347.

tic customaries where it is often distinguished from the outer parlor, the inner parlor is less easily recognized architecturally or archaeologically⁴⁰.

In contrast to these evidently unremarkable spaces for conversation are two richly appointed monastic parlors. The first, at Augustinian Norton Priory in England, has been identified as a "passage."⁴¹ This small room was entered from the west through an elaborately carved doorway. Within, the room was decorated with blind arcading carried on a rich array of carved capitals. Each long wall was provided with benches, suggesting that people entered the passage (from both directions) to sit and talk, and that the space combined the functions of passage and parlor. Equally important is the spatial context of the passage. The twelfth-century priors of Norton evidently occupied rooms over the cellarer's range⁴². These rooms were elaborated in the fifteenth century by the addition of an abbot's tower following the elevation of the priory's status in 1391. Facilities for lodging guests were seem to have been situated in the western court, a few meters south-west of the kitchens, from at least the second half of the thirteenth century. According to the excavator, Patrick Greene, the decorated passage at Norton was the main link between merchants, tenants, secular benefactors and the monastic community. We may imagine then that it was in this special place where these social elite met, under the supervision of the abbot, to converse with members of the priory hierarchy, some of whom may have been their relatives.

The second, even more richly decorated parlor is the one constructed in c.1273 by Abbot Gérard de Moret at Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris⁴³. Situated next to the chapter room on the ground floor of the eastern claustral range, the room was separated from the monks' common room by a partition wall and combined with a passage linking the great cloister with zones to the east. This new parlor was evidently luxurious in appointments and remarkable enough to be described by dom Bouillart:

*"La sale qui est à côté, que l'on nomme parloir, est voûtée & pavée de la même manière que la chapitre. Ce qu'il y a de surprenant, c'est qu'une colonne d'une seule pièce placée au milieu, haute de treize peids, y compris le piédestal, et de treize pouces de diamètre, puisse soutenir une voûte de trente-trois pieds & demi de longueur sur vingt-neuf de largeur."*⁴⁴

From the plan and the description of the room, it is clear this parlor was an impressive, centrally-planned space complete with a glazed tile floor. From Bouillart's plan we can also conclude that the parlor was well-lighted by one presumably tall window in its eastern wall and perhaps by a second above the eastern door of the passage. Further, the rendering of the chapter room and parlor on the plan permit us to infer that both had benches for sitting, the latter on all sides except the part of the room given to the passage.

Equally significant is the zone to the east to which this parlor gave access. It opened onto a small cloister⁴⁵ and court area flanked on the north by a well-known, but today destroyed, Virgin chapel built by Gerard's two predecessors that served as their burial place⁴⁶. On the east, the court was closed by a group of buildings labelled on a seventeenth-century view of the abbey as "*coquina et aliae officinae Abbatis*." Bouillart tells us that these structures were also built in the time of Abbot Gérard⁴⁷. Finally, at least in the seventeenth century, the abbot's residence stood behind these *officinae*. The zone to the east of the monk's cloister at Saint-Germain would thus seem to have constituted the abbot's zone, from at least the thirteenth century onward.

Conclusions

The material evidence for Saint-Jean points to an elite role for the small, richly appointed room in the south-east corner of the cloister. It may in fact have been the *camera abbatis* referred to in the abbey

⁴⁰ LENOIR, *Architecture monastique*, II, 327, also identified a third parlor, which he claimed was located near the church and used for confession, though he cites no examples.

⁴¹ GREENE, *Norton Priory*, 94-102.

⁴² GREENE, *Norton Priory*, 144-145.

⁴³ Our source for Abbot Gérard and the parlor is J. BOUILLART, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, Paris, 1724, 126-140. According to LENOIR, *Architecture monastique*, II, 327-328, the room still existed at the time of his writing (in the 1850's). We have not, however, been able to verify its continued existence.

⁴⁴ BOUILLART, *Histoire de Saint-Germain*, 137. Regarding the tile floor in chapter room, to which that of the parlor was evidently similar, Bouillart wrote, "*Le parterre est à la mosaïque orné de divers compartimens composez d'une infinité de petits*

pavez de terre cuite, qui forment dans des quarrez des desseins différens, & vernis de diverses couleurs; ce qui ne s'est pû faire qu'avec un travail incroyable" (*ibid.*).

⁴⁵ We cannot know whether this cloister existed in the thirteenth century or was a later transformation of the site, but the fact that this zone was the focus of so much building activity at the time certainly does not preclude the possibility.

⁴⁶ BOUILLART, *Histoire de Saint-Germain*, 126-127, 130 and 133. The building is, of course, famous because its architect was Pierre de Montreuil who, along with his wife, was also buried in the chapel.

⁴⁷ BOUILLART, *Histoire de Saint-Germain*, 137, "*La chambre du prieur, les grandes maisons qui étoient entre les murs de l'abbaye & la grande chapelle de la Vierge furent bâties dans le même tems.*"

customary during the period before the abbot of Saint-Jean abandoned the community's common life for a more lordly one in a separate dwelling. Both the textual and material evidence suggest that the abbot of Saint-Jean would not have been sleeping in such a room, but rather using it as an administrative "office" or reception space, much like the inner parlor at Saint-Germain-des-Prés. If, as the evidence suggests, the room at Saint-Jean was planned and executed in the thirteenth century, we may even be able to associate its original design with Abbot Raoul (1197-1234), recorded in abbey charters as a builder and able administrator, and its execution with his successors, Jean de Muret (1235-67) and Richard de Villers (1267-91).

This private space probably functioned for the abbot himself (as the customary's name suggests), but may also have served for the *seniores* of the community. It would provided a comparatively intimate space in which to combine aspects of administration with aspects of social interaction, such as talking and meeting with special visitors. Proximity to the monastic kitchen meant that the abbot, who otherwise dined in the refectory, could retire to his '*camera*', or to the medieval building adjacent to it, for more intimate meals with selected guests.

The passage at Norton, forming a connection between secular and monastic realms provides a parallel with the small room at Saint-Jean. The location of the abbot's zone at Saint-Germain-des-Prés also suggests that the parlor at that abbey served to link the abbot and his zone with the monks and the spaces of the community. As such, it too forms a close spatial and functional parallel to the Gothic room at Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, which would seem to have combined the functions of the parlors at Norton and Saint-Germain. The cumulative evidence of these three parlors suggests that at least some abbeys were prepared to construct small, elite spaces in order to accommodate the needs of both secular and monastic social elites.

While our approach to elite monastic spaces is necessarily dependent upon textual sources to clarify function, the reverse is also true. Without excavation and careful reading of the archaeological indicators and the wider functional "zones," there would be no way to link the Gothic room at Saint-Jean-des-Vignes to any elite function laconically alluded to in a text. Only more careful attention to the archaeological evidence in the context of spatial analysis enables us to maximize the potential of the texts. Their combination can provide us with the evidence to begin to situate the individual within the corporation.

Prof. Sheila Bonde
Department of History of Art & Architecture
Brown University
Providence, RI 02912
USA

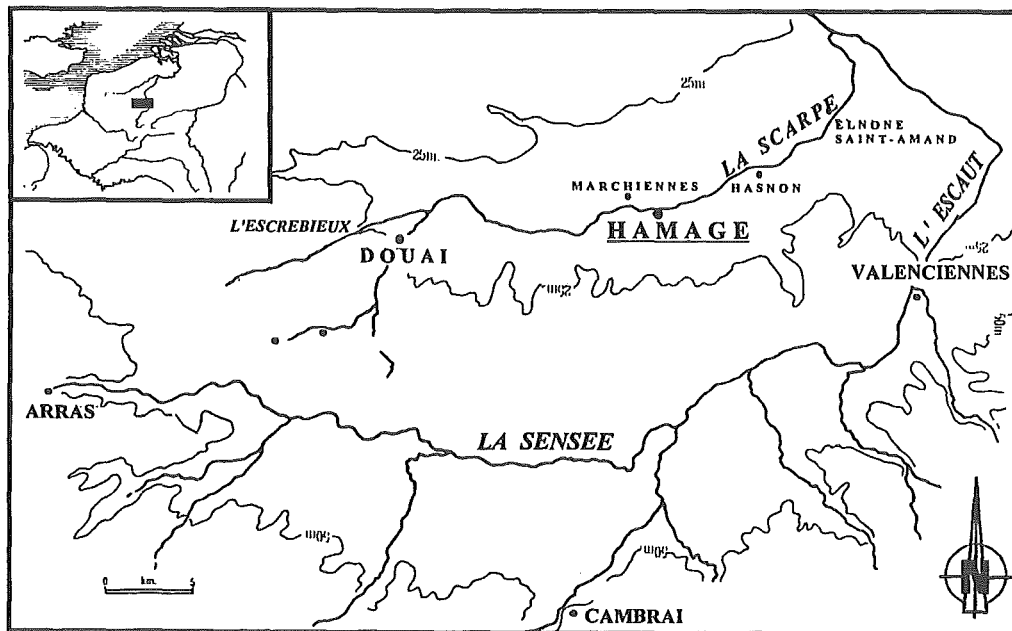
Prof. Clark Maines
Davison Art Center
Wesleyan University
Middletown, CT 06457
USA

Archéologie des bâtiments monastiques, VIIème-IXème siècles. Le cas de Hamage (France, Département du Nord)

En septembre 1996 s'est achevée la sixième campagne de fouille sur le site du monastère de Hamage, fondé dans les années 630 et abandonné vers la fin du Xème s. Bien que le site soit loin d'être totalement exploré, il est possible de présenter quelques résultats significatifs.¹

Hamage est aujourd'hui un écart de la commune de Wandignies-Hamage, à mi-chemin entre Douai et Valenciennes, en bordure et sur la rive droite de la Scarpe, affluent de l'Escaut (Fig. 1). Le site est un îlot sablonneux émergeant de quelques centimètres des alluvions tourbeuses récentes, à 15 mètres d'altitude. Très marécageux jusqu'au siècle dernier, il reste encore fort humide et la remontée hivernale de la nappe phréatique interdit habituellement la fouille six mois par an.

Fig. 1. - Hamage, carte de situation. Réseau hydrographique naturel. Etat avant le Xème siècle.



Du fait de la pauvreté de la documentation écrite, Hamage est souvent ignoré des historiens du monachisme mérovingien.² Pourtant, avec Marchiennes, distant de 2 km, Hasnon (6 km) et Elnone / Saint-Amand (12 km), Hamage est une composante à part entière de la nébuleuse monastique de la Scarpe.

1 Le dossier historique

1: - 872, 11 juillet: Diplôme original de Charles le Chauve confirmant la dotation de la mense conventuelle de Marchiennes.³ Un article y traite de la villa viticole de Vregny (dépt. Aisne) dont 1/3 des revenus ira à la mense abbatiale, 1/3 aux frères et aux soeurs

¹ De courts bilans annuels sont publiés chaque année depuis 1992 dans la chronique des fouilles d'*Archéologie Médiévale*. Premiers éléments publiés dans: LOUIS E., Fouilles de l'abbaye mérovingienne puis carolingienne de Hamage, *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent* XLIX, 1995, 45-69; LOUIS E., Hamage, abbaye mérovingienne et carolingienne, Douai, 1996 (plaquette grand public); LOUIS E., L'abbaye mérovingienne et carolingienne de Hamage, in: *XVe centenaire du baptême de Clovis. Actes du colloque interuniversitaire et international de Reims, 19 septembre-25 septembre 1996* (à paraître).

² Voyez cependant, en dernier lieu, PLATELLE H., art. Hamage, in: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1990, t. 23, 199, et DELMAIRE B., *Le diocèse d'Arras de 1093 au milieu du XIIIème siècle*, Mémoires de la Commission départementale d'Histoire et d'Archéologie du Pas-de-Calais XXXI (2 vol.), Arras, 1994, I, 197-198.

³ TESSIER G., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, Paris, 1952, II, 435, 471-475.

qui servent Dieu à Marchiennes et 1/3 aux frères et aux soeurs qui servent Dieu à Hamage (1.9-10). Ce document est le seul contemporain du monastère.

2: – 907: “*Vita Rictrudis*”. Cette oeuvre d’Hucbald de Saint-Amand⁴ est la principale source d’informations sur les origines du monastère dans la mesure où Rictrude, fondatrice de Marchiennes, Gertrude, fondatrice de Hamage, et Eusébie, la seconde abbesse sont issues de la même famille aristocratique.⁵

3: – Première moitié du X^{ème} siècle: “*Vita Eusebiae*”.⁶ Oeuvre d’Hucbald ou d’un continuateur. Ce n’est qu’une amplification sans grand intérêt de la *vita Rictrudis*.

4: – vers 1004-1025: Les *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* mentionne “*in villa Hatmagia*” le monastère disparu et une église où officient: “*vix paucos canonicos*”.⁷

5: – 1116-1121: L’histoire-polyptyque de l’abbaye de Marchiennes décrit un site à l’abandon, avec ses deux églises.⁸ Il est alors définitivement tombé entre les mains de l’abbaye de Marchiennes.

6: – 1133-1164: Le premier recueil de miracles de sainte Eusébie évoque la fondation d’un prieuré par l’abbé de Marchiennes sur le site de l’ancienne abbaye.⁹

Hamage rentre alors dans une nouvelle phase de son histoire, qui sort du sujet de cette article.

On peut à partir de ces documents tardifs et avec toute la prudence requise, esquisser un canevas historique sans doute susceptible d’être amélioré.¹⁰

– Vers 625-639, sur les conseils de saint Amand, Gertrude, veuve issue d’une famille aristocratique possédant en Artois, fonde un monastère féminin ou plutôt double à Hamage autour d’une église Saint-Pierre. Très peu de temps après, saint Amand fonde à Marchiennes, sur l’autre rive de la Scarpe et à moins d’une demie heure de marche, un monastère d’hommes, sur des biens issus du même patrimoine familial.

– Vers 636-639, après la mort de son mari Adalbold, petit-fils de Gertrude, Rictrude prend le voile et

se retire avec ses quatre enfants en bas âge à Marchiennes qui devient alors un monastère double.

Le caractère privé de ces deux fondations apparaît clairement dans le cadre d’une stratégie familiale particulièrement élaborée: tandis que Mauront, le seul fils de Rictrude part à la cour, se marie et devient notaire royal,¹¹ Clotsende, la fille aînée reste à Marchiennes, le monastère “majeur” où elle prendra la succession de sa mère. Quant à Eusébie, la cadette, elle entame, sans doute vers 6 ou 7 ans, sa formation monastique auprès de son arrière grand-mère Gertrude, au monastère “mineur” de Hamage.

A la mort de la fondatrice, vers 639-651, Eusébie lui succède à l’âge de douze ans. En dépit de l’opposition de sa mère, elle se maintient à l’abbatit jusqu’à sa mort, à l’âge de 23 ans, un 16 mars.¹² Elle est inhumée, comme Gertrude, dans l’église Saint-Pierre où sa tombe se voyait encore au XI^{ème} s.

Une autre Gertrude, veuve, dont le nom suggère l’appartenance au même groupe familial, lui succède. Elle construit à Hamage un sanctuaire, dédié à la Vierge, où les reliques de sainte Eusébie sont déposées. Il est consacré vers 679-703.¹³

Après cet épisode, nous ne possédons plus aucune information jusqu’au diplôme de 872. Celui-ci fait allusion à un monastère double, phénomène qui remonte vraisemblablement au VII^{ème} siècle. D’autre part, la très inhabituelle répartition en trois parties des revenus de Vregny suggère l’existence à cette époque d’une seule abbesse (ou abbé, laïc ?) pour les deux communautés de Marchiennes et de Hamage, ou tout au moins de liens très forts, tenant tant à la proximité des lieux qu’à une origine patrimoniale commune et inférant très vraisemblablement une subordination à Marchiennes.

Avec les raids vikings de 881-883, qui dévastent “*omnia monasteria supra Hisscar fluvium*”,¹⁴ le monastère de Hamage disparaît de notre documentation. Peut-être après quelques années d’errance,¹⁵ les deux communautés voisines se sont elles reformées sur le seul site de Marchiennes.

⁴ *Acta Sanctorum, Maii*, III, 81-88, étude dans VAN DER ESSEN L., *Etude critique et littéraire sur les Vitae des saints mérovingiens de l’ancienne Belgique*, Louvain-Paris, 1907, étude et traduction anglaise dans Mc NAMARA I.A., HALBORG I.E. & WHATLEY E.G., *Sainted women of dark ages*, Durham-Londres, 1992, 195-219.

⁵ LE JAN R., *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VII^e-Xe siècle)*, Paris, 1995, 392-396, 438.

⁶ *Acta Sanctorum, Martii*, II, 445-452.

⁷ M.G.H., SS, VII, 461.

⁸ DELMAIRE B., *Histoire-Polyptyque de l’abbaye de Marchiennes (1116/1121)*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1985, 10-14, 76-79.

⁹ *Acta Sanctorum, Martii*, II, 452-456.

¹⁰ Cf. le travail récent sur le Hainaut voisin: HELVETIUS A.M., *Abbayes, évêques et laïques. Une politique du pouvoir en Hainaut au Moyen Age (VII^e-XI^e siècle)*, Bruxelles, 1994.

¹¹ *Vita Rictrudis*, II, 23-24. Mauront n’opérera sa propre conversion que plus tard.

¹² Vers 655-662.

¹³ *Vita Eusebiae*, II, 13.

¹⁴ *Annales Bertiniani*, éd. Dehaisnes, année 881, 308-309 et *vita Rictrudis*, I, 1.

¹⁵ Voyez le cas personnel de Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, I, 2, qui, par ailleurs ne fait aucune allusion ni dans la *vita Rictrudis*, ni dans la *vita Eusebiae* à l’existence d’une communauté à Hamage au moment de la rédaction.

En tout cas les deux sanctuaires subsistent vers 1024 sous la garde de quelques chanoines. Dès 1116-1121, il est fait mention de la paroisse de Hamage qui englobe jusqu'à la Révolution les localités voisines de Wandignies, Alnes, Tilloy et Warlaing¹⁶ et témoigne peut-être de l'ancienne dotation du monastère.

La vie monastique ne reprendra à Hamage qu'en 1133, avec la fondation d'un prieuré de moines bénédictins dépendants de Marchiennes qui s'installent "*in proxima B. Mariae basilica*"¹⁷ jusqu'à la Révolution française.

2 La fouille

Globalement, la zone accessible à la recherche est de l'ordre de 2000 m²; elle comprend la zone de la chapelle actuelle, à l'emplacement du sanctuaire élevé par Gertrude II vers 679-703, la cour du prieuré, soit 800 m² maintenant presque totalement explorés, les caves de l'ancien prieuré de 1720,¹⁸ et un espace important, mais sans doute plus médiocrement conservé, à l'est de ce dernier.

Dans la cour, une stratification assez remarquable se présente:

- Le substrat naturel est un sable alluvial jaune argileux, il est surmonté d'un niveau de "terres noires" sableux, humique, épais de 10 à 25 cm.¹⁹ Cette accumulation anthropique d'époque mérovingienne et carolingienne révèle, moyennant un décapage progressif extrêmement minutieux, les restes discrets de sols et de poteaux de bois, les limites et les remplissages de diverses fosses et fossés qui n'entament pas forcément le substrat sableux.
- Les accumulations haut-médiévales sont surmontées d'un second niveau de "terres noires", épais de 20 à 30 cm, apparemment très semblable au premier, mais presque totalement dépourvu de structures organisées et qui semble totalement brassé.
- Le prieuré médiéval (1133-XVIème s.) a laissé des traces plus classiques et facilement interprétables. Enfin, 80 cm de remblais du XVIIIème et XIXème s., sans trace de bâtiment, ont pour principale vertu d'avoir protégé les niveaux plus anciens.

Période I (jusqu'au milieu du VIIème s.)

Les traces les plus anciennes consistent en une série

de fosses irrégulières, creusées parfois de plus d'un mètre dans le sable. Quelques unes, de plan ovoïde, pourraient être interprétées comme des silos dont l'irrégularité apparente des parties supérieures témoigne d'une certaine exposition à l'air libre, pas forcément bien longue compte tenu du peu de maintien du substrat, suivie d'effondrements de parois.

Malheureusement, la plupart de ces structures n'ont fourni aucun matériel datant, à l'exception de petits fragments de tegulae. Toutefois un silo a néanmoins livré en 1996 un mobilier céramique assez abondant, typologiquement semblable à celui issu du fossé de la Période II et attribuable au début ou au milieu du VIIème s.

Une fosse, profonde et donc très humide, a conservé de nombreux fragments de bois: branchages, planches et éclats de débitage.

L'absence de relation stratigraphique ne permet pas la distinction entre les aménagements de chantier, témoins de l'installation monastique vers 630: extraction de sable argileux pour le torchis et les sols, travaux de charpenterie... et les traces probables d'une première phase de bâtiments, non interprétable pour le moment.

En tous cas dans l'état actuel de la fouille, le monastère semble s'implanter sur un site vierge, même si un certain nombre de tessons épars attestent de la proximité d'une occupation antique dont les témoins les plus récents ne dépassent pas le IVème s.

Période II (second tiers du VIIème s.)

Deux fossés communicant perpendiculairement sont attribués à cette période.

Le premier, orienté Nord-Sud, longe le site sur sa face occidentale. Dégagé sur 25 m. de longueur, à fond plat, sa largeur varie de 2,50 à 5 mètres, du fait de curages et de rectifications successives.

Outre une fonction première de drainage, il constitue clairement une limite parcellaire et la bordure occidentale de l'enclos monastique. En effet, aux VIIIème et IXème s., les bâtiments claustraux s'alignent très exactement sur le bord ouest de ce fossé, alors remblayé. Au XIIème s. un nouveau fossé de drainage est creusé, décalé de quelques centimètres vers l'ouest. Réaménagé au XVIème s., il sera comblé vers 1920.²⁰

¹⁶ DELMAIRE 1985, § 22, 84 et chartes de 1122, 99-101. La paroisse est redéfinie en 1231-1246: DELMAIRE, 1994, II, 498.

¹⁷ *Miracula S. Eusebiae*, III, 14, 16.

¹⁸ Deux sondages limités ont montré que les niveaux du haut Moyen Age sont préservés par le faible creusement des caves du XVIIIème s.

¹⁹ CAMMAS C., CHAMPAGNE F., DAVID C., DESACHY B. & GUYARD L., Le problème des "terres noires" sur les sites urbains tardo-antiques et médiévaux. Réflexions et propositions méthodologiques à partir de l'exemple des fouilles du collège de France à Paris, *Les nouvelles de l'archéologie* 61, automne 1995, 22-29.

²⁰ A quelques dizaines de mètres plus au sud, ce fossé existe encore et continue de drainer les prairies voisines.

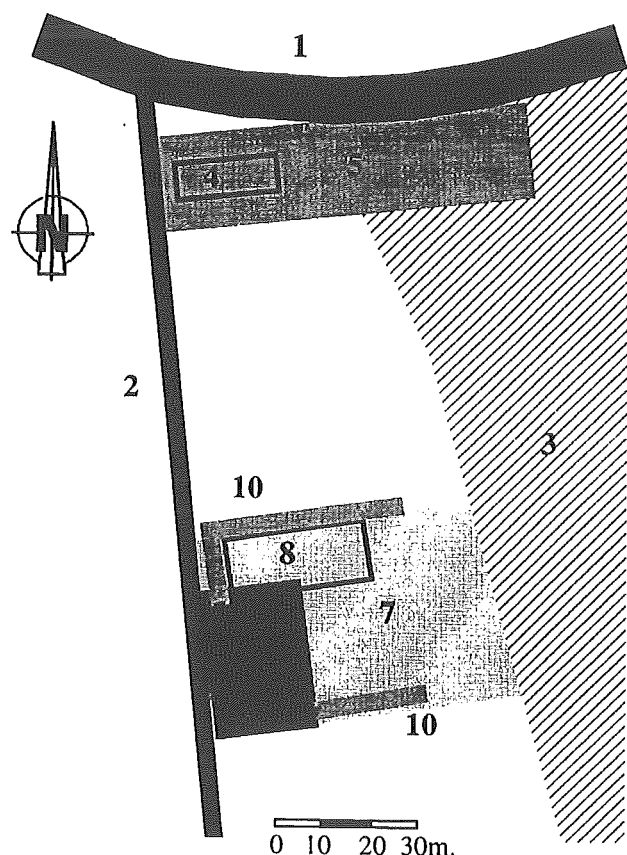


Fig. 2. - Hamage, essai de restitution du site monastique haut médiéval.

- 1: La Scarpe, état avant le XIX^{ème} s.;
- 2: Fossé de drainage, état XII^{ème}-XIX^{ème} s.;
- 3: Zone tourbeuse;
- 4: Eglise Saint-Pierre (localisation approximative);
- 5: Cimetière VII^{ème}-XVIII^{ème} s. (extension approximative d'après des découvertes anciennes);
- 6: Zone fouillée (1996);
- 7: Zone accessible à la fouille;
- 8: Eglise Sainte-Marie;
- 9: Fossés du VII^{ème} s. reconnus (enclos monastique primitif);
- 10: Extension supposée de l'enclos primitif.

En 1996, la fouille de l'extrémité sud de la cour a révélé un second fossé, perpendiculaire au précédent (et donc orienté Est-Ouest). Profond d'environ 1,2 m., sa largeur est d'environ 3 m. Le profil actuel est celui d'un V assez évasé et aux parois localement irrégulières. Si l'on tient compte de la nature instable du substrat et de l'analyse de la stratification, le profil originel doit avoir été régulier et plus raide.

Plusieurs petits piquets en branchage et un fragment de planche à chant maintenu par un piquet de section carrée témoignent d'efforts répétés pour maintenir les parois dans la zone de confluence des deux fossés.

Il n'est pas possible d'assurer l'exacte contemporanéité (selon nous extrêmement probable) du

creusement des deux fossés Nord-Sud et Est-Ouest. En revanche, l'examen des niveaux d'usage hydro-morphes et riches en macrorestes végétaux herbacés et ligneux montrent une stratification continue et donc une communication et un fonctionnement commun de ces deux drains, au moins pendant un temps. Un comblement localisé est matérialisé par un tas de sable argileux renforcé côté ouest par un alignement de planches époutées et enfoncées dans le sol. L'aspect de surface de ce remblai fait penser à un sol; il a peut-être été mis en place en tant que "passerelle" plutôt que comme barrage.

A la phase primitive d'usage en eau des deux fossés, correspond un mobilier peu abondant, mais souvent de grande taille (os longs de gros mammifères, céramiques presque complètes ...) comme il convient à une zone de rejet peu accessible au piétinement humain ou animal.

On mentionnera la présence d'une série de gobelets biconiques à partie supérieure annelée, typiques de la première moitié et du milieu du VII^{ème} siècle.

Cinq d'entre eux portent sous la lèvre un graffiti tracé à la pointe sèche, après cuisson. On lit un anthroponyme féminin d'origine germanique: AUGHILDE, une formule d'invocation abrégée: *NDI (in nomine Domini ?)*, un chrisme et une inscription à boire: MITTE PLINO (remplis !). En dépit de cette dernière formule peu ascétique, l'état de la culture écrite – et latine – dans le nord de la Gaule au VII^{ème} s. ne permet guère d'autre hypothèse que celle qui attribue ces gobelets à la communauté monastique féminine de Hamage à ses débuts.

On signalera encore la présence dans ce même dépotoir de divers objets intéressants: fibules ansées symétriques, agrafes de vêtements, verrerie à décors moulé et creusets de verrier.

Comme pour le tronçon occidental, le colmatage du fossé sud ne signifie pas la disparition de l'axe directeur qu'il a un temps matérialisé. Les bâtiments des Périodes IIIA et IV (VII^{ème}-IX^{ème} s.) respectent son alignement, de même qu'un des fossés de la Période V (X^{ème}-XI^{ème} s.). Du XII^{ème} au XVIII^{ème} s., c'est le tour du mur sud de la grange prieurale. Enfin, depuis 150 ans, l'actuel mur de clôture de la propriété reprend le bord sud du fossé du VII^{ème} s. Il est difficile d'imaginer que ces deux axes pérennes puissent constituer autre chose que les limites méridionales et occidentales de l'enclos monastique primitif dont la force symbolique et quasi liturgique²¹ a justifié le maintien.

²¹ LESNE E., *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France. VI. Les églises et les monastères, centres d'accueil, d'exploitation et de peuplement*, Lille, 1943, 55-60.

D'ores et déjà, la superposition depuis l'époque carolingienne des murs nord des églises successives suggère, avant même la fouille de ce secteur (qui débutera en 1997), un phénomène similaire de ce côté. Nous posséderions donc actuellement trois des quatre côtés de l'enclos monastique haut médiéval qui, dans cette hypothèse, prendrait la forme d'un quadrilatère régulier de 50 m. de côté environ (Fig. 2).

Ces dimensions, si elles sont confirmées par les recherches à venir, peuvent sembler modestes; encore faut-il préciser certains points:

- Tout d'abord, à notre connaissance, nous ne disposons d'aucun chiffre comparable pour cette période et pour le monachisme occidental et continental (les traditions orientales et des îles britanniques étant différentes), tant archéologiquement que dans les textes.
- Ensuite, bien que les textes soient peu explicites, Hamage ne semble jamais avoir été une maison très considérable.
- Enfin, il s'agirait bien de la clôture monastique au sens strict, le "*claustrum*", qu'il faudrait traduire par "cloître" si ce mot n'avait acquis ultérieurement un sens architectural bien particulier sur lequel nous reviendrons. Cette clôture réduite et sacrée dont la délimitation formait l'acte initial et fondateur de toute communauté²² n'enserrait que les bâtiments réguliers. Les divers communs et services, en périphérie, étant eux-mêmes pour des raisons pratiques plus que religieuses entourés d'une clôture nécessairement plus étendue.

On remarquera, dans cette hypothèse, la position respective des deux sanctuaires (Fig. 2): Saint-Pierre au Nord et en dehors du "*claustrum*", Sainte-Marie à l'intérieur. Si l'on se souvient que l'abbaye de Hamage était double (masculine et féminine), et que, à partir du XIIème s. au moins et jusqu'à la Révolution, Saint-Pierre eut vocation paroissiale les choses semblent claires. Sainte Eusébie "*in claustrum*" (à titulature féminine) est l'église des nonnes et le lieu des offices monastiques tandis que Saint-Pierre (à titulature masculine), est l'église des laïcs et celle des clercs formant la part masculine de la double communauté. Ni les uns ni les autres n'avaient ainsi à pénétrer dans le cloître, la position latérale de Sainte-Eusébie permettant à ceux-ci un accès direct et réservé depuis l'extérieur.

Période IIIA (de la seconde moitié du VIIème siècle et VIIIème s.) (Fig. 3)

A la période IIIA correspond un grand bâtiment de bois fouillé depuis 1992 et ses annexes. La campagne 1996 a achevé l'exploration de ce bâtiment, ce qui

permet d'en dégager définitivement les caractéristiques générales.

La construction repose sur des sablières basses, poutres horizontales de 15 à 20 cm de section, à même le sol. Seule certaines parties du mur nord ont été calées sur un alignement de cailloux.

D'assez nombreux poteaux de bois entaillent le substrat sur le tracé des parois. La superposition des plans des Période II et IIIA montre à l'évidence une coïncidence étroite entre la partie dépourvue de tout poteau et l'extension du fossé occidental, remblayé avant la construction. La technique "normale" de construction mise en oeuvre est donc celle à "poteaux et sablières interrompues", mais devant la mauvaise tenue des remblais, les charpentiers ont préféré localement la solution des sablières continues, avec un ancrage moindre au sol, mais une meilleure répartition des pressions selon le procédé actuel des fondations filantes.

Les sols intérieurs sont constitués d'une couche de terre battue assez mince (2 à 5 cm), sauf à l'emplacement de l'ancien fossé remblayé de la période II ou, sans doute par précaution contre l'humidité et l'instabilité du sol, l'épaisseur d'argile jaune dépasse localement 30 centimètres.

Les sols et les empreintes des cloisons, qui reposaient elles aussi sur des poutres sablières, sont suffisamment conservées pour restituer la structure interne d'un bâtiment rectangulaire mesurant 18,5 m. de long sur 10,5 m. de large.

Dans la nef médiane de 5 m. de large, un espace central de 8 m. de longueur est flanqué à l'Ouest et à l'Est de deux pièces latérales à peu près carrées (6 x 6 m. environ) sur l'ensemble desquelles s'ouvre, dans des bas-côtés latéraux de 2,50 m. de portée, une dizaine de cellules souvent minuscules, de 6 à 22 m². Chaque pièce semble munie d'un foyer en tegulae de récupération.

Des latrines, dont la fosse carrée (1,7 x 1,8 m) est accolée à la paroi sud du bâtiment, ainsi qu'un four domestique flanquent cette construction.

Le problème de l'usage de ce bâtiment peut être abordé en fonction de son organisation architecturale, mais aussi grâce aux objets retrouvés très nombreux, tant à l'intérieur même des murs que surtout le long et à l'extérieur de la paroi nord dans un vaste épannage cendreuse de débris de toute sorte.

On peut d'abord assurer qu'il s'agit d'un ensemble résidentiel, comme le montrent à l'évidence foyers, latrines et four, avec une salle commune au centre, une ou peut-être deux "grandes" chambres et une série de petites "cellules".

Le mobilier comprend entre autres un penny frison du VIIIème s., plusieurs graffiti sur des bols en céramique, dont l'anthroponyme BERTANE (les

²² LESNE E., *op. cit.*, 31 sq.

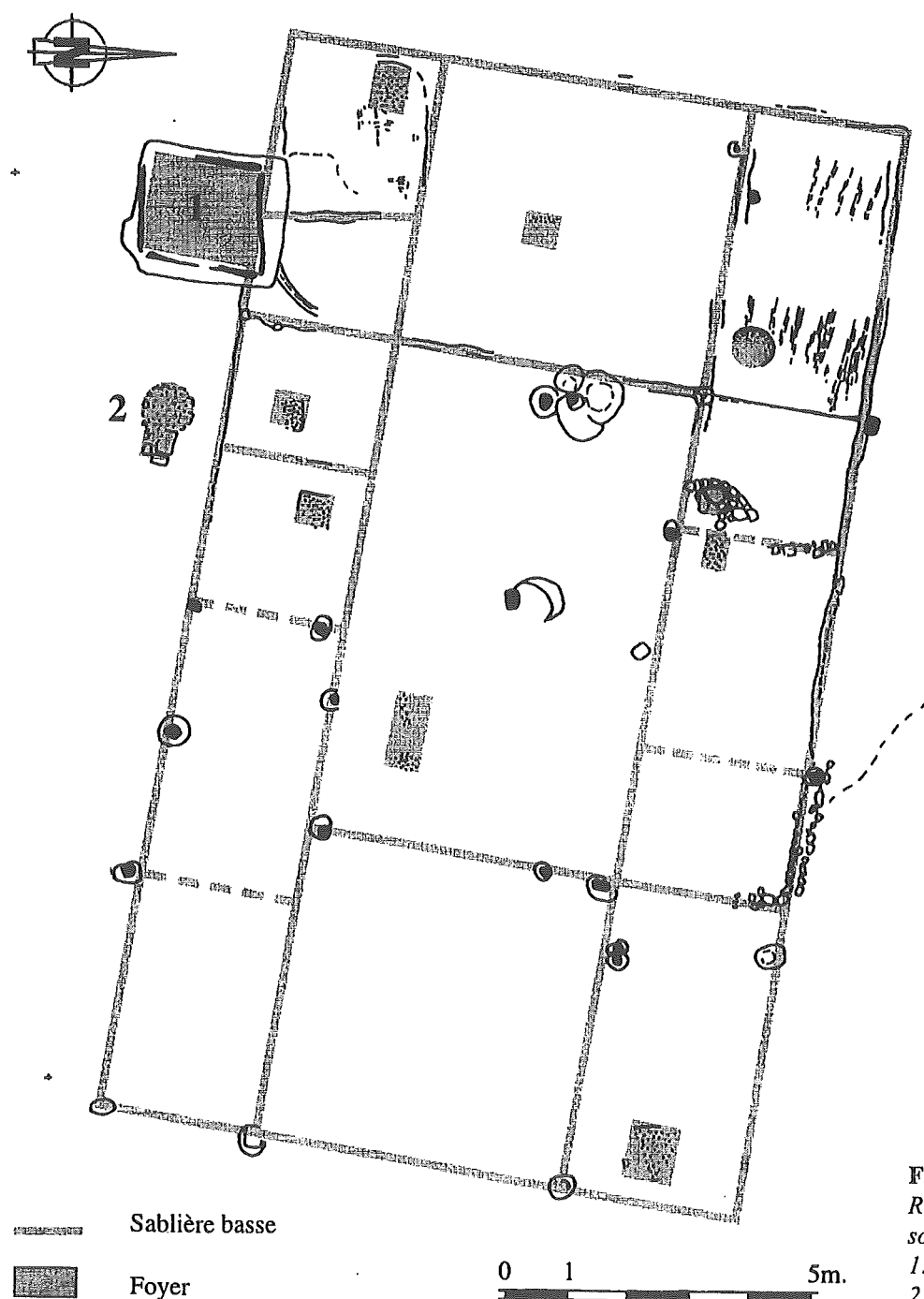


Fig. 3. - Hamage, Péroide IIIA, Restitution des structures au sol du grand bâtiment.

1: Latrines;
2: Four domestique.

habitants font donc partie de la communauté monastique) et de nombreux objets domestiques (fusaïoles, broches de tisserands, aiguilles, agrafes de vêtement, perles de verre) qui confirment bien l'appartenance au secteur féminin du monastère.²³ Enfin, la forte proportion de vaisselle de table (bols, écuelles, pichets) dans le mobilier céramique suggère la prise sur place de repas communautaires.

Ce type "d'habitat monastique" est pour l'instant archéologiquement tout à fait isolé. Rappelons qu'en Europe continentale, aucun bâtiment conventuel antérieur au IX^e s. n'a jamais été fouillé. On ne connaît à ce jour que les cellules isolées (*casae, domunculae*) des îles britanniques²⁴ ou les dortoirs communautaires évoqués par la plupart des règles monastiques. A Hamage, les dix ou douze "cellules" que l'on peut

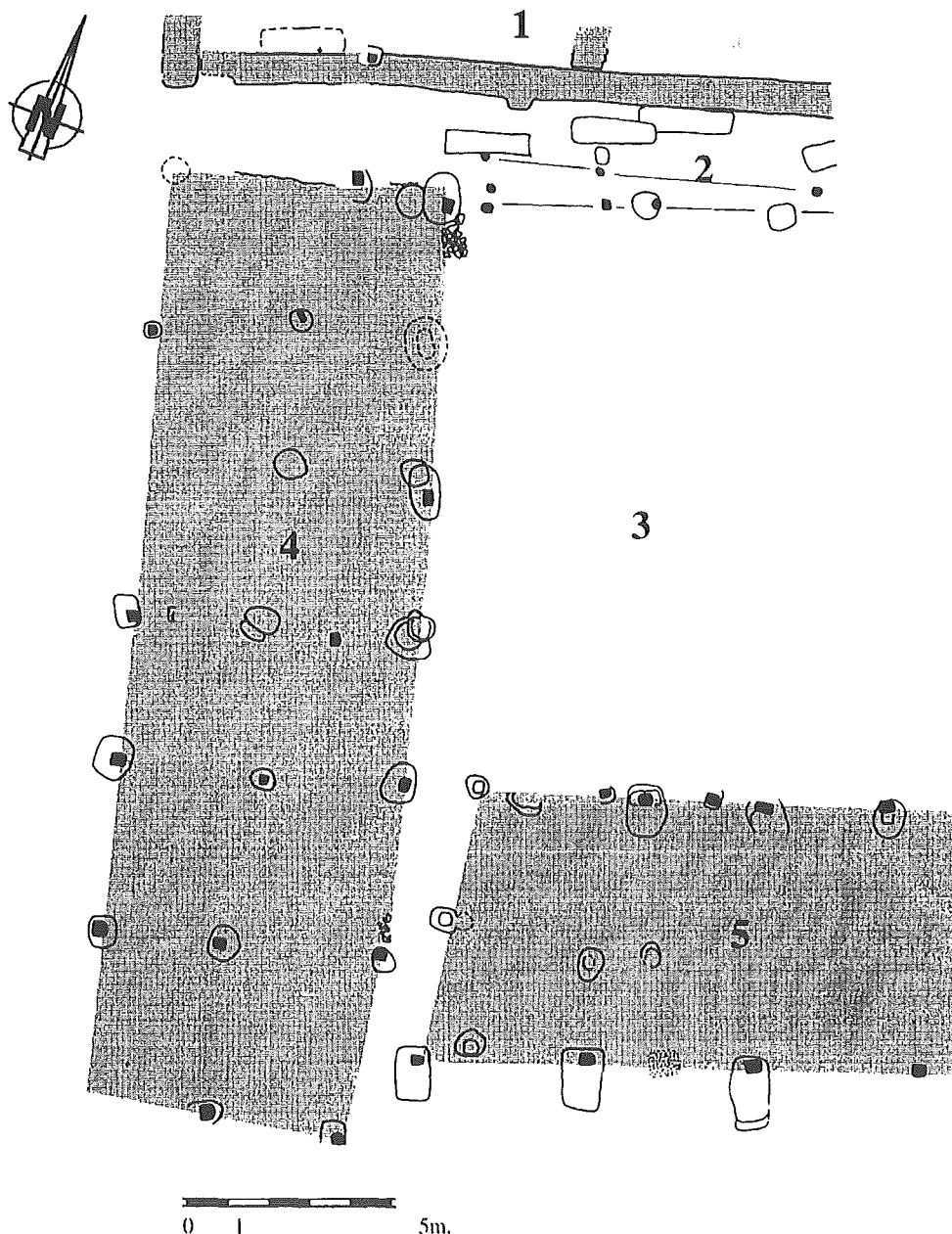
²³ Le monastère logeait évidemment dépendants et serviteurs vivant sans doute en famille. C'est donc la conjonction des vestiges spécifiquement monastiques et communautaires (les graffiti) avec les objets domestiques usuels qui suggère cette conclusion

et confirme l'interprétation des fossés de la période II.

²⁴ HERITY M., Les premiers ermitages et monastères en Irlande, 400-700, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* XXXVI, 3, 1993, 219-261. PEERS Ch. & RALEGH RADFORD C.A., The saxon

Fig. 4. - Hamage, plan simplifié des structures de la Période IV (IXème s.).

- 1: Eglise;
- 2: Galerie et sépultures;
- 3: Cloître;
- 4: Bâtiment ouest;
- 5: Bâtiment sud.



restituer par symétrie autour de la salle centrale ne correspondent ni à l'un ni à l'autre type et, de plus, semblent bien insuffisantes pour accueillir l'ensemble de la communauté, bien qu'il soit parfois fait mention dans les textes monastiques du chiffre symbolique de 13 (le Christ et les apôtres) comme étant la taille minimum d'une communauté.

Période IIIB (VIIIème s.)

Trois bâtiments sur poteaux de bois occupent désormais l'espace fouillé.

Le bâtiment nord mesure 10 m. de longueur (Nord-Sud) sur une largeur d'au moins 5 m. Son long côté occidental est matérialisé par un alignement de nombreux petits poteaux irrégulièrement espacés (peut-être manque-t-il les moins fondés d'entre eux) et par un alignement de petits blocs de grès. La technique employée semble être celle du "mur-

palissade". Un foyer dans l'angle nord-ouest et deux cloisons transversales sur solins de pierre ont été repérés à l'intérieur de ce bâtiment dont le plan devra être complété en 1997. Ses relations chronostratigraphiques avec la grande construction de la Période IIIA ne sont pas encore définitivement établies.

Le bâtiment médian, qui recoupe et se superpose à celui de la Période IIIA, est étroit et rectangulaire. Orienté Est-Ouest, il mesure au moins 15 m. de long sur 4,5 m. de large. Aucun aménagement intérieur ne peut lui être associé pour l'instant.

Le bâtiment sud est situé parallèlement et vis à vis du précédent sa paroi nord (au moins 15 m. de longueur) se définit par un alignement de forts poteaux, puis par une sablière basse. Malheureusement, sa partie méridionale nous échappe définitivement, sous le mur de clôture de la propriété actuelle. Un alignement de 5 piquets, parallèle à la paroi nord et distant

d'environ 1 m. de celle-ci pourrait correspondre à un auvent. Si la partie supérieure du comblement du fossé méridional de la Période II correspond bien à l'accumulation intérieure de ce bâtiment, un abondant mobilier (céramique, fibules...) et deux deniers, l'un de Pépin-le-Bref (754-768) et l'autre de Charlemagne (768-796) pourraient lui être associés.

Période IV (IX^{ème} s.) (Fig. 4)

Les aménagements attribuables à cette période présentent plusieurs caractéristiques communes.

D'abord, et pour la première fois, les bâtiments s'organisent résolument suivant un plan d'ensemble régulier et orthogonal.

D'autre part, la reprise agricole qui suit a généralement détruit par arasement tous les niveaux de sols, à l'exception des abords immédiats de l'église. Les analyses fines des aménagements intérieurs et de la répartition du mobilier restent donc impossibles.

Au nord du chantier, une large fondation est-ouest appartient au seul bâtiment haut médiéval en pierre du site. Cette caractéristique, les sépultures situées sous une galerie de bois qui lui est adossée, les observations réalisées sur des maçonneries anciennes visibles dans les caves du prieuré de 1709 et sa position sous les chapelles médiévales et modernes permettent de l'identifier avec l'église monastique Sainte-Marie dont la fouille commencera en été 1997.

Perpendiculairement à l'église et aligné sur la façade de celle-ci, un grand bâtiment de bois mesure 7 m. de largeur sur 23,5 m. de longueur. Il est construit sur trois files parallèles de forts poteaux de bois, de sections rectangulaires, à base plate, calés généralement dans de vastes avant-trous. Les distances de poteau à poteau sont très régulières, autour de 3 mètres.

Une aile en retour d'équerre, vers l'Est, a été dégagée sur 13 m. jusqu'au ras du prieuré de 1720 sous lequel elle se prolonge. Ses parois sont délimitées par de gros poteaux et des avant-trous analogues à ceux du bâtiment ouest, mais elle ne comporte qu'une seule nef large de 6,5 m. Sur le mur nord, le doublement de deux poteaux fait penser à l'aménagement d'un porche.

Contrairement aux hypothèses émises antérieurement, aucune trace de galerie n'est perceptible devant les bâtiments ouest et sud, toutefois, la disposition régulière et centrée du bâti actuellement connu ne

laisse aucun doute sur l'interprétation de l'ensemble en tant que cloître, au sens médiéval et classique du terme.

L'existence même d'un cloître dans un monastère du IX^{ème} s. n'a, en principe, rien pour surprendre l'historien, mais il faut souligner que Hamage et Landevennec (ce dernier en pierre) sont pour cette période les seuls exemples largement dégagés en France.²⁵

La datation du premier cloître de Hamage est assurée par la céramique, qui ne se distingue guère de celle de la période III, par une série de fibules ansées symétriques et enfin par un denier et une obole "au temple" de Louis-le-Pieux (822-840), provenant le premier du bâtiment ouest et la seconde du bâtiment sud.

Dans ces conditions, il est tentant de mettre la reconstruction du monastère d'Hamage avec les réformes de 816-817, imposant dans tout l'empire la règle et le plan bénédictin et elle constituerait un bel exemple de leur application jusque dans un monastère privé et modeste.²⁶

Période V (X^{ème}-XI^{ème} s.)

Aucune trace de bâtiment postérieure au cloître carolingien et antérieure à 1133 n'a été repérée à ce jour.

L'espace est occupé par quatre fossés de drainage recoupant le tracé des anciens bâtiments dans la partie ouest du site. Des traces de sillons confirment la remise à labours du site, suggéré par le brassage des artefacts dans le niveau de "terres noires" correspondant. En outre, une importante palissade traversant d'Est en Ouest tout l'espace fouillé, a été mise au jour. On y repère les empreintes de très nombreux poteaux, parfois presque juxtaposés. Une interruption visible au centre du terrain sur une longueur de près de 2 m. est relayée par un alignement de blocs de grès formant une sorte de seuil. Le modeste diamètre de et le faible ancrage des poteaux au sol suggèrent un simple usage agricole. Les tessons éparpillés dans le niveau de labours et dans les fossés montrent un usage prolongé, du X^{ème} au XII^{ème} s. inclus.

Les périodes médiévales et modernes

En 1133, l'abbé de Marchiennes, qui tente de récupérer le patrimoine de Hamage, tombé aux mains de seigneurs locaux, rebâtit un petit prieuré, autour de la vieille église Sainte-Marie, alors restaurée et de nouveaux bâtiments désormais en pierre. La fouille a

monastery of Whitby, *Archaeologia* LXXXIX, 1943, 27-88.

²⁵ BARDEL A., L'abbaye Saint-Gwénolé de Landevennec, *Archéologie Médiévale* XXI, 1991, 51-102 et surtout le plan mis à jour dans le *Bilan scientifique 1994* du Service Régional de l'Archéologie de Bretagne, p. 34.

²⁶ On sait que la plupart des historiens associent à ces réformes la diffusion du "plan bénédictin" illustré par le plan de Saint-Gall. Cf. LESNE E., Les ordonnances monastiques de Louis-le-Pieux et la *Noticia de servicio monasterium*, *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France* VI, 1920, 162-175, 321-338 et 449-493.

retrouvé les 3 cloîtres qui se succèdent alors jusqu'au XVIème s., ainsi que la grange et les bâtiments associés. Après un saccage par les calvinistes en 1566, la chapelle et le prieuré se réduisent à leur volume actuels, et l'on peut toujours voir sur le site les dernières constructions, édifiées par Dom Jonat Mehay en 1720.

En décembre 1996, un tiers seulement de la zone disponible a été totalement explorée. Il est donc prématuré de prétendre conclure. Il n'a toutefois pas semblé inutile de faire connaître aux chercheurs les principaux résultats des seuls 400 m² de bâtiments monastiques précarolingiens fouillés. Parmi tant

d'autres, des fouilles pourtant exemplaires comme celles de Reichenau ou de Landevennec montrent bien à quel point les reconstructions successives empêchent habituellement d'étendre hors des sanctuaires la connaissance des plus anciens bâtiments claustraux.

La faible emprise de l'enclos monastique de Hamage, l'aspect irrégulier et variable des bâtiments de bois antérieurs au IXème s. montrent à la fois l'importance de la réforme carolingienne dans l'histoire et l'architecture monastique et mettent en lumière de manière frappante l'une de ces modestes fondations féminines d'origine privée, si nombreuses dans l'Europe occidentale du haut Moyen Age.

E. Louis
Conservateur au Musée de Douai
191, rue Saint-Albin
59500 Douai
France

Tim Pestell

Of Founders and Faith: the Establishment of the Trinitarian Priory at Ingham, Norfolk (England)

Medieval archaeologists have, typically, been slow to explore the theoretical advances of the discipline. The underlying assumption has usually been that there is little need to theorise. Written sources can, after all, inform us of the modes of thought lying behind the way society functioned and its members acted. In fact, a better appreciation of how society interacted with material culture does more to help us understand its actions and preoccupations. Post-processual approaches, particularly in the building up of a full contextual awareness of material remains, can only enhance this. Indeed, theoretical approaches have much to offer and it seems strange that more aspects of, for instance, symbolism, have yet to be investigated, when studying an age that thrived on such displays. It will be argued that the foundation of Ingham priory provides just such an example of possible approaches.

By 1360, the Holy Land had been lost and the great age of crusading was effectively over. The establishment in that year of a Trinitarian priory at Ingham, set in farmland a few miles from the north-east Norfolk coast of England was therefore a rather curious choice. The order's most important aim was to ransom Christians held hostage by pagans, which at the time of its foundation clearly meant Crusaders captured by Saracens, although subsequently the bulk of the order's work was focused on Spain and North Africa. The reason for Sir Miles Stapleton, the founder of Ingham, to select this order consequently invites explanation. The Trinitarians were never popular nor well known in England, and the late date of Ingham's foundation emphasises how specific a choice had been made in their selection. To examine the reasons behind the establishment, I propose to examine the question in the best Trinitarian sense, in three parts. First, by examining the order; secondly, the physical evidence of the remains at Ingham, and thirdly Sir Miles Stapleton's own background.

By tradition, the Trinitarians, or Order of the Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives, were founded c. 1194 at Cerfroid by John de Matha. In his Bull of December 17th 1198, *Operante divine dispositio-*

nis, Pope Innocent III approved both the Order and its Rule (Gross 1989, 10). The Trinitarians were founded on the back of crusading zeal, their aims to be achieved by dividing their income into three equal parts; the first was to maintain the brethren, the second was for works of mercy (for instance the support of the poor, pilgrims and travellers), and the third was to pay for the costs of ransoming. Always small, the order spread across Europe until c. 1225 the Trinitarians had about 50 houses altogether. Saint Louis IX of France favoured the order, having himself been captured by the Saracens. He took Trinitarians with him on crusade and in 1259 bestowed on them the chaplaincy of the royal palace of Fontainebleau (Gross 1982, 64). How effective the Trinitarians' ransoming activities were is unclear. There are various estimates of the number of captives released (up to 90,000!), although one historian of the order traced no more than 15 (Deslandres 1903, 377).

Redemptive ransoming grew initially from the concern of the Knights Templars and of the Hospitalers to retrieve their members who had been captured on crusades. Fortunately for those that were unable to afford the purchase of their own freedom, ransoming became elevated to a work of religious charity as one of the Seven Comfortable Works, upon which all almsgiving was based. An additional religious dimension was given by the contrast between Christian and Muslim ideology and so ransoming became part of a more general caritative movement (Brodman 1986, 10). Indeed, the charitable dimension led to amendments in the Trinitarian Rule in both 1217 and 1267 by which the order was allowed to accept endowments from founders who insisted that there was to be no third part used for ransoming (Gross 1982, 62). Accordingly, the benefactor was better able to shape the way in which their foundation worked. The Trinitarians were neither an enclosed nor a military order. From their rule of life they most resembled Augustinian canons, yet they were frequently identified with the mendicants, something fundamentally incorrect because they were able to hold endowed wealth. Additionally, the Trinitarians had several points of

similarity with the Augustinian Canons of the Holy Sepulchre whose existence originated with the Christian presence in the Holy Land, where they had supplied knights to guard the Holy Sepulchre (Daniel 1990, 1). The Trinitarian dress was very similar to that of the Holy Sepulchre canons who also wore white robes. The Order of the Sepulchre's habit featured crosses of red for the canons, the lay brothers' being blue;¹ the Trinitarians used a combined cross, with a red vertical and blue horizontal bar. Significantly, after the dissolution of the Sepulchre order following the fall of Jerusalem, some of their houses were taken over by the Trinitarians.

The Trinitarians never enjoyed the same favour in the British Isles as they did on the Continent, a fact reflected by their having only 8 Scottish, 1 Irish and 10 English houses at the height of their popularity, all of which were of small scale (fig. 1). The Irish house at Adare, Co. Limerick, was founded c. 1226 or 1230 and rebuilt in 1272 by Thomas Fitzgerald, Lord of Offaly. By 1497, the appointment of a new minister was to "the Hospital House of St James", showing which of the order's aims was by then being emphasised. This concern is also apparent in the Scottish houses. Although they have received little scholarly attention, they consistently reflect a concern for hospitality in its widest Christian sense. Berwick, Fail, Houston and Scotlandsweil are demonstrably connected with hospitals. For instance at Houston, a figure named as the master of the hospital, rather than the minister, swore fealty to Edward I. This pattern seems to have been followed at Dunbar as the Trinitarians appear to have been responsible for the Maison Dieu (Peebles, which took over Dunbar, was in control of this hospital's lands at the Reformation). Evaluation excavation at Dunbar has suggested that the priory there was similar to a friary in having a "walking space" dividing the nave and chancel, which would accord well with the Trinitarians being known as "Red Friars" in Scotland (Wordsworth 1983).

Just as friaries were a feature of urban religious life, so too were hospitals, and this seems a more convincing basis from which to interpret the Scottish Trinitarian houses. With the exception of Aberdeen and Fail, all the houses were within a 30-mile radius of one other and except Aberdeen, Fail and Peebles, all were located on the east coast of Scotland. This has prompted the suggestion that most were connected with the pilgrimage route to the shrine at St. Andrews (McMartin cited by Wordsworth 1983, 478). This may be the reason why, so far as accurate figu-

res are available, the Scottish houses were richer than their English counterparts. Although poor in comparison to many other institutions, the proximity and location of the Scottish houses makes it likely that they were able to attract benefactions and endowments by providing hospitality to pilgrims.

By contrast, the ten English Trinitarian houses were widely scattered, although biased to the south of the country. Mottenden (or Moatenden) in Kent appears to have been the first Trinitarian foundation in England, of 1224. Whilst those at Thelsford and Hounslow were founded c. 1240 and c. 1257, both seem to have previously belonged to the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. The house at Oxford appears to have been used as a training centre, founded outside the city's east gate in 1293 by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall. Trinitarians had apparently been studying there by 1286 when Ralph of Reading and three others were "proctors of the House of St. Robert of Knaresborough and Oxford" (*VCH Oxford* ii, 150). The house at Oxford is noteworthy for receiving permission to solicit alms, which underlines its similarity to a friary and, in 1361, Henry of Malmesbury bequeathed 13s 4d to the "Trinitarian Friars at Oxford" (*VCH Oxford* ii, 151).

Although Mottenden and Oxford were apparently not hospitals, this more usual concern can be seen in the other houses. Thelsford, previously a house of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, was transferred to the Trinitarians when Sir William Lucy endowed it further, on condition that it should also be a hospital for the relief of the poor and for the reception of pilgrims (*VCH Warwicks* iii, 106). Easton was founded for three priests in 1245 by Stephen of Tisbury as a hostel where poor travellers could be received (Knowles & Hadcock 1971, 206). At Hertford, a hospital of St. Mary Magdalene for lepers, extant since 1199 was taken over by the Trinitarians c. 1261 and maintained as a hospital for the poor, first under the control of Easton and then Mottenden. The shadowy house of Totnes (also known as of Little Totnes, Warland or Werland), given its site 1270-71 by Walter le Bonard and his wife, was suppressed in 1508 by Bishop Oldham when it was referred to as a hospital (Gray 1993, 126). At Newcastle, too, the house founded by William de Acton was established as a hospital with a stipulation in the charter that three beds were to be kept prepared for "accidental guests" (Knowles & Hadcock 1971, 206). The priory at Hounslow, founded c. 1200-01, became Trinitarian some time about 1252 and at the Dissolution was the richest Trinitarian house in England, with a modest valuation of £72.

Finally, the house at Knaresborough in Yorkshire was better known for its associations with the cult of a saintly hermit, Robert, who died in 1218. The priory grew up on land given to Robert and subsequently

¹ Pers. Comm., Mr P Daniel.

Fig. 1. - Location map of Trinitarian foundations in the British Isles.



passed on to a community of Trinitarians in existence there by 1252 (*VCH Yorks* iii, 297). The success of the priory rested upon its association with Robert whose cult was ideal for the order; he was said to have sheltered the needy, and at his tomb waters flowed which were said to be miraculous for healing. The actual priory buildings were a quarter of a mile away from his cave along the River Nidd and seem to have been closely connected with the town, presumably providing for the needs of pilgrims. Several accommodation areas are mentioned in the Suppression Sale of Goods, in addition to the canons' dormitory, including the king's chamber, the knight's chamber and two other chambers, a hall and ancillary buildings (Gray 1993, 118). Although financially secure, the house suffered in various Scottish raids, the most severe in 1318 when the monastery was destroyed (Knowles & Hadcock 1971, 206). This

constant threat possibly held it back from ever truly establishing itself and by the Dissolution its value was only £35.

It becomes clear that by the fourteenth century the Trinitarians were strongly associated with charitable concerns, reflecting the 1217 and 1267 changes to their Rule. The frequency with which the Trinitarians were confused with friars also attests their predominantly urban distribution and concerns. Despite this, there are faint echoes of the order's principal stated aim: the house at Dunbar in Scotland was founded c.1247 by the Countess of Dunbar, whose husband, Earl Patrick, left to crusade with King Louis IX of France in 1248 (MacQuarrie 1985, 48). This house also yielded medals inscribed "Judea Captiva", found there in 1766. Such an inscription would be fitting for an order established to ransom captives (Turner Simpson & Stevenson 1981, 22).

The foundation of Ingham and Newcastle as Trinitarian houses, both in 1360, is something of a curiosity, given that the previous English Trinitarian house was that at Oxford, established over 70 years before. However, as a hospital, Newcastle conformed perfectly to the model provided by the other, existing, foundations. Ingham was markedly different. First, it was not in an urban situation. Instead, it was nearly twenty miles away from Norwich and it was not next to an important road, river or port. The nearest other place of importance at this time was Bromholm priory whose relic of the True Cross had attracted royal patronage. Ingham, though, was not on a route which might take advantage of any passing pilgrims. Neither was it established on the site of a pre-existing hospital. Indeed, it never seems to have made any claims to be one, or even to have provided, hospitality. Although poor by contemporary monastic standards, Ingham's value of £61 in 1535 marks it out as the second richest of the English Trinitarian houses. Instead, the priory's location was determined by it being based upon the site of the parish church, near to the manorial Old Hall.

Documentary Evidence.

Tracing the origins of the priory is relatively easy. Clearly, it was at first conceived as a chantry college, since in April 1355 Innocent VI issued a mandate to the Bishop of Norwich to grant licence

to Miles de Stapelton, knight, ... to rebuild and enlarge the church ... and to elect therein a college, in honour of the Holy Trinity and All Saints, of thirteen religious, one of whom is to be the prior or warden and another sacristan, making it a conventual church with due statutes and ordinances, the rights of the bishop and archdeacon being preserved (*CPL* 1342-62, 561).

Signs of its establishment as a Trinitarian priory come in royal letters patent of February 2nd 1359, granting licence to Miles de Stapleton and Joan his wife

for the alienation in mortmain ... to the chaplains of the college of the Holy Trinity, Ingham, of the advowson of the said church of Ingham, and for the appropriation of the church by the chaplains. (*CPR* 1358-61, 163).

The following year, on June 26th 1360, a further licence was issued to Stapleton

for 100s paid to the King ... to found a chantry of a warden and two chaplains, in honour of the Holy Trinity in Ingham church... (*CPR* 1358-61, 435).

On 2nd July the following week, the Bishop of Norwich licensed the appropriation of the church to the house. Perhaps the most notable point is that only in 1362 was Ingham first referred to as a priory, when on February 10th, letters patent granted

Licence, for ½ mark paid to the king by the Prior of Ingham, for the alienation in mortmain by Miles de Stapelton ... of an acre of land in Ingham for the enlargement of their manse. (*CPR* 1361-64, 164).

Funding for the project was encouraged by "relaxation, during ten years, of a year and forty days of enjoined penance [for the remission of time in Purgatory] to penitents who give alms for the repair of the church of Ingham" in May 1364 (*CPL* 1362-1404, 40). On August 10th 1365 another licence was granted

after inquisition taken before Roger de Wolfreton, escheator in the county of Norfolk, and for ½ mark which the prior and Trinitarian Friars of Ingham will pay to the king, for them to enclose a way in Ingham leading from Pallyng [Sea Palling] to Staleham [Stalham] beneath their manse, for the enlargement of that manse, provided that they make on their soil there another way of the same length and breadth equally convenient for those passing by. (*CPR* 1364-67, 159)

In fact, the foundation seems to have become Trinitarian in 1360 with the appointment of the first minister, Richard Marleburgh and the first sacrist, John Pevesey (Blomefield 1808, 323). Their names suggest that they came from the Trinitarian priory at Easton in Wiltshire; Pewsey is some 3 miles and Marlborough 5½ miles from Easton.² No foundation charter as such exists, but Norfolk historian Blomefield records that

they were to officiate and pray for the souls of King Edward III, Sir Miles Stapleton, and the Lady Joan, the founders; Sir Brian Stapleton, and the Lady Alice his wife, Sir Miles Stapleton de Hathesey, in Yorkshire; John de Boys, and Roger de boys, his Brother, Mr Laur. de Thornhill, Clerk William de Hemelessey, and Catherine his wife, and Reginald de Eccles, then living, and for the souls of Sir Gilbert de Stapleton, and the Lady Agnes, father and mother of Sir Miles, the founder, Sir Oliver de Ingham and the Lady Elizabeth; Sir Nicholas de Stapleton, and the lady Catherine Boys, deceased (1808, 326).

² Presumably the same "John Peuesy, Trinitarian friar of Eston" that is recorded on April 8th 1358 as having received an indult to choose a confessor (*CPL* 1342-62, 599).

Fig. 2. - Engraving of Ingham church from the south-east, by Neale & le Keux 1824.



Fortunately, it was the appropriation of the parish church to the new community that led to the building's preservation. At the Dissolution, those parts of the church serviceable for parochial use reverted to the village. Consequently, Ingham presents the most extensive surviving remains of any English or Scottish Trinitarian house. Its appearance today is fundamentally that of a typical Norfolk parish church, with nave, chancel, large west tower and a porch. In many respects this is a consequence of the extensive restoration of the church in 1875-6, but throughout are remains showing the quality and prestige of the original building. They also show that parts of the building are earlier in date than Sir Miles Stapleton's foundation and this raises the question of the extent to which his actions were a consequence of his own ideas and free will. Understanding the date of the church elements and its original design is therefore crucial.

The Former Appearance of the Church and Priory

Recreating the priory-period church is an exercise which must begin with a proper understanding of its latter-day vicissitudes. In the *Norfolk Chronicle* of December 16th 1876 it was stated;

Ingham church used to be unique in mouldiness and decay. When one looked around it, it seemed as if it were exactly the place where the disestablishment of the Church of England might be appropriately celebrated.

The restoration of the church was both thorough and sweeping and to the individuals behind the refurbishment we undoubtedly owe the survival of the building. Amongst the repairs were a new nave roof, replacement of nearly all the windows, completely new seating, an entirely relaid floor in Minton tiles, new clerestory windows in the nave and the removal of whitewash from the arcade piers. A new stone pulpit was added and the font (previously placed on a pile of bricks in the tower) was mounted on a new base. In the chancel, the old roof which had collapsed in and crushed the brass indent of Sir Miles Stapleton, was removed and a new roof constructed. The priory's choir stalls were also repaired; it seems likely that their misericords survived until the 1875-6 restoration, as Walter White in his tour through Norfolk mentions "venerable stalls and old fall-seats" (1865, 178). Additionally, William Cooke, a local antiquary, records that during the restoration of these stalls "they had to be removed from the side walls on which were the red and blue crosses of St. Victor" (Cooke 1924, 154).³ Clearly such actions place a pre-

³ This erroneous title for the order may derive from Cooke following the mistake of Blomefield (1808, 323), an error subsequently perpetuated by Richard Taylor in his *Index Monasticus* of Norfolk houses (London, 1821). The cause of the

mistake is probably Blomefield's belief (1808, 326) that the Trinitarians lived according to the great Parisian abbey of St Victor's Rule, which was a form of the Augustinian rule. In fact, as has been seen, the Trinitarians had their own rule.

mium on those antiquarian sources and illustrations that inform us of the priory church's former appearance.

Several pre-restoration views of the church exist, two detailed ones showing the church exterior from the south-east. The most important is in Neale (1824-5), drawn by the author and engraved by H. Le Keux c.1824 (fig. 2). It shows a thatched roof, the nave ridge-line marginally higher than that of the chancel. Rectangular two-light clerestorey windows ran the length of the church, those in the nave having been replaced with pseudo-Gothic versions by the Victorians when the nave walls were heightened. Crucially, some of the original fenestration is also illustrated, including early Perpendicular-style tracery in the nave south aisle windows and (later) replacement 'Y' tracery in the aisle's easternmost window. The three windows in the chancel south wall show variation; the western one features tracery of the same early Perpendicular design to that in the nave, the centre one is blocked and the eastern window has had its tracery removed and replaced with 'Y' tracery.

Examination of the church shows that in fact four of the medieval windows still survive: the great east window, the one window in the chancel north wall, and the two west windows in the nave north and south aisles. A number of other features show the church to have been both an expensive and prestigious enterprise. An obvious example, although now only a ruined remnant, is the stone screen that originally divided the nave and chancel. Today only the door jambs survive to any height, but two flanking corbels, the bases of mullions in the wall top, and scar marks in the chancel arch walling testify to its former scale and glory. Stone screens are extremely rare in English churches, and from the few remains the quality of workmanship at Ingham appears to have been high. Probably deriving from this screen is a carved head in clunch (a soft form of limestone), apparently a depiction of Christ from the screen's rood, which was stolen in 1991.

The church originally had a south transept, the Lady Chapel, extending from the easternmost bay of the nave south aisle. This was demolished in 1799 after it had fallen into disrepair, which explains the characteristic "churchwarden" Y-tracery of the window placed within the inserted wall blocking. In dry summers, the foundations of the chapel are traceable as parchmarks, showing that it had angle buttresses. Unfortunately, a vault constructed here in the nineteenth century has probably removed most of the archaeological levels. A thin-skinned box of flints and mortar, now under the blocking wall is almost certainly the remains of an intramural tomb (fig. 3). The grave's occupant was clearly of some status to be

buried inside and had conceivably been in a family chapel based here.

Much money continued to be spent on the priory and church. For instance, the three-storeyed porch is "a great rarity" (Pevsner 1962, 177) and its pretensions are reinforced by the ground floor two-bay tierceron vault. The two upper storeys have been considerably altered but the middle floor appears to have once been a chapel with an east-facing window (shown as a wall patching in Neale's engraving) and a small piscina. The upper floor may have acted as a sacristy as tradition holds, or as the living quarters for the priory sacrist (Cooke MS, 151). The continued involvement of the priory's founding family, the Stapletons, is visible in the great western tower, a later addition to the church, as can be seen from the fact that its eastern buttresses impinge on the aisle west windows. The fine west door has shields in traceried spandrels and in a frieze above. The southern spandrel bears the Trinitarian cross, the one to the north the arms of Sir Miles Stapleton III (d. 1466). On the central shield of the frieze above are the only other carved arms, of Sir Brian Stapleton (1379-1438), Miles III's father. On the battlements of the tower's east face more arms are displayed. The southern shield again bears the Trinitarian cross, the northern one the arms of Calthorpe incorporating Stapleton. The will of Thomas Leme of 1533 contains a bequest for making the battlements of the tower (Cattermole & Cotton 1983, 252). The involvement of the family in the affairs of their priory was thus extended and visible into the sixteenth century.

There are other elements which demonstrate the interest of the family in their priory. The most immediate is perhaps the priory seal which would have been seen by all those receiving written communications from the community. This featured a depiction of the Trinity within a canopied niche, with the arms of Stapleton beneath (Ellis 1986, 43). A manuscript of "Writings on the Passion" by Michael de Massa, copied within the priory walls, survives as Bodleian MS 758. Conveniently, a colophon at the end records "Lord Miles of Stapleton, knight, caused this book to be made. Ralph of Medylton wrote it at Ingham in the year of the Lord 1405. May God have mercy on their souls, Amen" (Lasko & Morgan 1973, 33 Cat. 44). This was Sir Miles II, the son of the founder, who was presumably also responsible for commissioning a series of panel paintings once forming a "most important" altar-piece, dating to the 1390s (Park 1988, 132); their loss since the last century is all the more lamentable. Fortunately, some record of them is preserved in three watercolours made by John Carter for Sir John Fenn in 1787, now held in the National Monuments Record. Together,

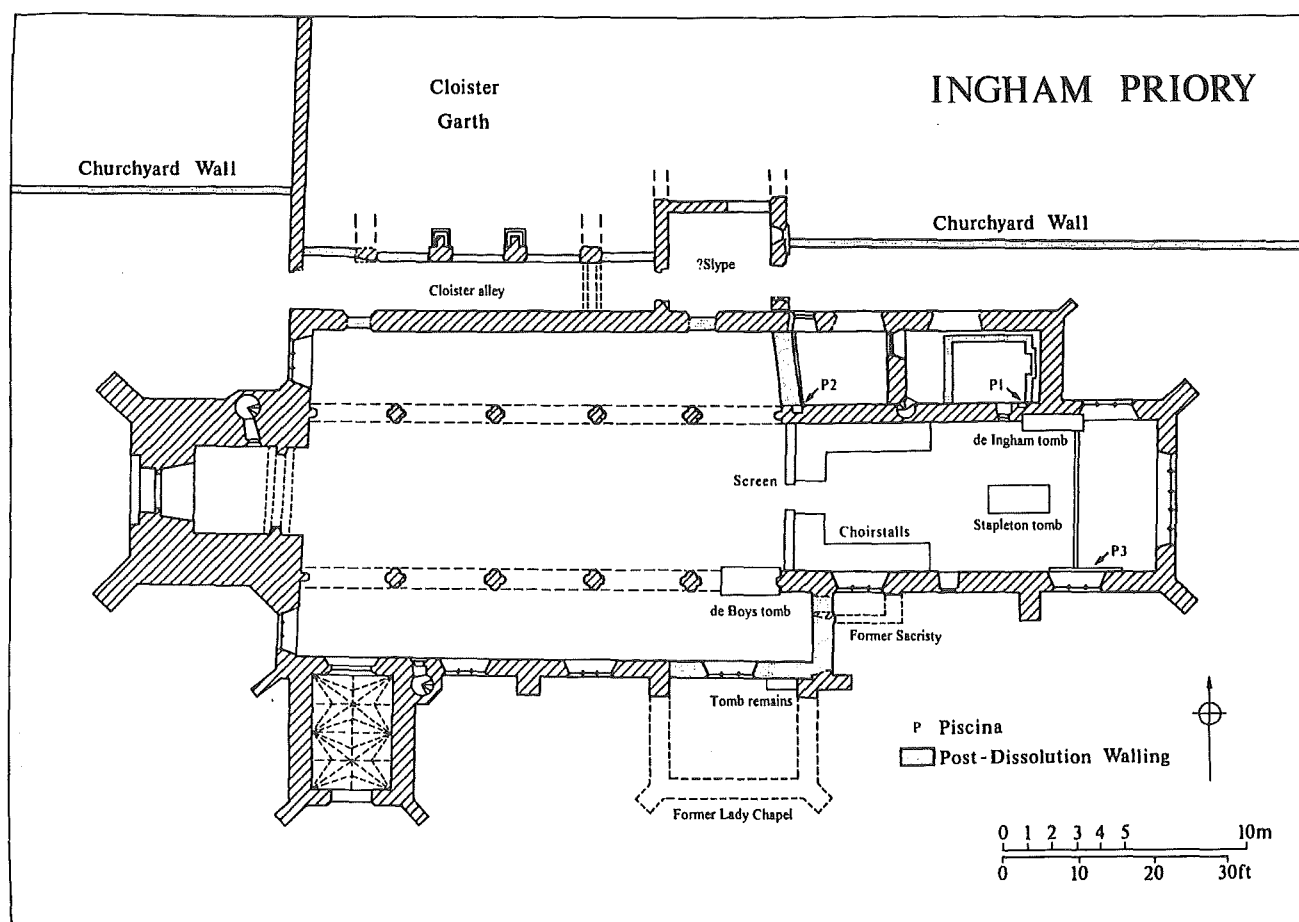


Fig. 3. - Plan of Ingham priory church and claustral remains.

the panels show scenes from the Life of St Nicholas and although known to us only through the Fenn illustrations, they were clearly of high quality.

Of the priory's claustral area little now survives. Placed to the north, presumably as a consequence of the priory's adaptation from a parochial church, the cloister and precinct buildings were almost totally destroyed when opened up as a quarry, possibly in the eighteenth century. The area therefore affords no evidence of any former structures with the exception of the cloister south walk arcade. This is of an austere late medieval round fourcentred arch design, much later than the church building to the south. The arcades are now blocked and today form the churchyard north boundary wall. The entrance to the cloister south alley from the west is now indicated only by its brick-built north jamb: the north-west corner of the church has been requoined in limestone, presumably in 1875-6, making the stratigraphic relationship between the cloister west wall and the church uncertain. The east end of the south walkway has similarly suffered, but a room at the far end possibly represents a slype or warming room. Its western wall is in bond with the church nave wall, whilst its eastern wall was clearly butted on. There are a number of shaped limestone

pieces now built into the churchyard walls but, of those visible, none are exceptional. With the extensive flint walls, built to revet the edges of the post-medieval quarry (now a private garden), these provide the only evidence of the claustral buildings once having been of stone construction.

On the assumption that the cloister was square, its garth seems to have been some 210.25sq. m. in area, a very modest size compared to many monastic cloisters, including even that of the poor Trinitarian convent of Thelsford which had a garth of some 321.75sq. m. (Gray 1993, 52). Mellor and Pearce have pointed out that narrow cloister alleys are typical of mendicant building practice since "the cloister was not intended as a place for study but simply to provide communicating passages between the different buildings" (1981, 23). However, such narrow alleys are found in many other regular monastic cloisters, and it would be unwise to suggest this as a mendicant trait manifesting itself at Ingham. Instead, it shows a cloister with much in common with other late medieval institutions such as colleges and hospitals. Perhaps the crucial point is that the surviving remains indicate structures far more modest than the design of the church. This is well illustrated by the two north

doors into the nave, usual in monastic churches. That to the east, from the ?slype, is an insertion of the same austere plain-chamfered design as the cloister arcading. The western door, by contrast, is an early Perpendicular design contemporary with the build of the church, enriched with two orders of moulding. The north wall of the church is blank except for a decorative band of knapped flint in the wall, in anticipation of the attached cloister, showing that the church was designed with the needs of a community in mind. Whilst these needs were apparently met, the emphasis on architectural quality was made inside the church, where the presence of the founder and his family was most easily visible to those outside the priory community. Understanding the material evidence of this building is therefore fundamental to our understanding of the foundation and the development of the Trinitarian priory itself.

Although the documentary evidence for the establishment of the priory is good, dating the actual building is more difficult, there being much uncertainty about the speed with which ideas in exemplar buildings were disseminated to the provinces. Because of the relatively rich sources detailing its origins, Ingham has often been seen as a useful example from which to extrapolate dates for other buildings. In fact, the sequence of construction is not as clear as many would like to believe, and examination of the building fabric shows some parts to date to a period before Sir Miles Stapleton became involved at Ingham. The fundamental difficulty is that the tomb of Sir Oliver de Ingham is fitted against the chancel north wall. Sir Oliver died in 1344 but the wall appears to exhibit features of both the early 1340s and of Sir Miles Stapleton's Trinitarian foundation. Ultimately, the problem is in knowing how much building work had taken place by the time Sir Miles Stapleton arrived at Ingham in about 1350. It could be argued that an early date for much of the building still standing means that his foundation was no more than a continuation of an already-existing project, and that its initiation and *raison d'être* were not his.

By 1355, when permission for a college was first obtained, some rebuilding must have already occurred. The tracery of the chancel north and east windows is clearly of the Decorated style, datable to the 1340s. Additionally, within the modern vestry, originally a side chapel to the north of the nave, a piscina in the south wall is of a similar style and date (fig. 3: P1). The presence of such an aisle or side-chapel reached through a door is curious though. Sir Oliver de Ingham's tomb was placed against the north wall of the chancel beneath a canopy now almost wholly destroyed. The tomb is of interest in portraying Sir Oliver's effigy lying on a bed of cobbles, one of only

three such representations known in England. Stylistically, Sir Oliver's tomb can be dated to the time of his death, by the design of his armour and the mini-skirted dress of the male weepers on the chest base (Martindale 1989, 68). Wilson (1979, 248-9) has attributed Sir Oliver de Ingham's tomb to royal master mason William Ramsey and Howard has also stressed the tomb's polychromy to be "closely allied to those of the finest 14th-century wall paintings and panel paintings in England" (1993, 1). The tomb sits uneasily in its place, and appears to be a later insertion rather than of the same period as the Decorated north window upon which it impinges. By analogy with other tombs, though, it may have been up to a few years after Sir Oliver's death before the monument was actually built. Additionally, although we know that the tomb also commemorates Sir Oliver's wife, Elizabeth, the date of her death is unknown. This suggests a chancel of the early 1340s with a slightly later tomb imposed upon the north wall. There is little other evidence for the rest of the chancel dating to so early a period. Wilson has seen the fine piscina/sedilia in the chancel (fig. 3: P3) and the stone screen as being *en suite* with Sir Oliver's tomb (1979, 249), but there are stratigraphic difficulties which make this unlikely. In any case, the mouldings used on the tomb, piscina/sedilia and screen are of a common enough stock and found elsewhere (for instance at the collegiate church of Cobham, Kent, founded 1362) to make it perfectly possible that they are later, or perhaps even designed to match an earlier tomb monument.

Instead, there are numerous signs that a chancel, already begun, was finished in the same building programme that saw the foundation of the priory and the construction of the nave. First, the engraving by Neale and le Keux shows the westernmost of the chancel south windows to be of the same Perpendicular design as that which is shown in the nave central and western windows. Although the tracery was renewed in the 1875-6 restoration, the chancel windows are all of identical proportions, and differ from those of the Decorated window in the north wall. Indeed, fragments of their arch mouldings appear to be original medieval work and although differing from the nave south windows, are visually similar to the *internal* arch mouldings of the aisle west windows.⁴ Whilst it is possible that the chancel was simply refenestrated as part of a renewed building campaign in the 1360s following the priory's foundation, this is unlikely for two reasons. First, the

⁴ The profiles of these mouldings have yet to be measured accurately.

chancel north window, and indeed the great east window, remained untouched. Secondly, the chancel west end, as built, clearly anticipated the nave, as is shown by the sacristy that was built into its south-east angle. Whilst the chancel south wall face is of knapped flint, the sacristy's originally internal wall is of rounded cobbles beneath the (Perpendicular traceried) western chancel south window. The sacristy entrance was from the nave south aisle where its door has a facing of dressed stone jambs; within the room the jambs were of brick. This sacristy presumably served the Lady Chapel which was contained in the transept and south aisle. A further hint of the chancel's completion at the same time as the nave are the two square two-light clerestorey windows which originally ran the length of the church; although still surviving in the chancel, those in the nave were destroyed when its walls were heightened by J.P. Seddon in 1875-6. These elements show that the screen at least cannot have been contemporaneous with Sir Oliver de Ingham's tomb (unless the latter were to be dated substantially later) as it could not have blocked off a chancel not yet completed.

This sequence appears to be confirmed by the physical remains of the two ruined buildings now attached to the chancel north side. By tradition called the Jesus Chapel and Sacristy,⁵ they once formed part of the conventual church. These rooms were demonstrably originally one, the inserted wall dividing them reflecting a change in function sometime during the life of the priory. The doorway within this wall was meant to be viewed from its ashlar-jambled western side; the eastern side is constructed of brick, flint and ashlar rubble. The rooms are best interpreted as, to the east, a sacristy for both the High Altar in the chancel, and for a chapel in the room to the west that is suggested by a "London" style Perpendicular piscina, partly obscured by a post-medieval wall-blocking (fig. 3: P2). The north wall of these two rooms extends, completely in bond, from the chancel to the nave west end with its Perpendicular door.

The foregoing evidence suggests that building, started at Ingham in the 1340s with the chancel, had either proceeded slowly or had reached a halt by the time Sir Miles Stapleton arrived. Such an hiatus need not be difficult to explain since Sir Oliver de Ingham, the previous lord of the manor, was frequently absent abroad in the later years of his life in his capacity as seneschal of Gascony. The overall form of the church, with its blank north walls and sacristies, suggests that

it was designed with the needs of a religious community in mind. The fact that the walls are all in bond, and that only the north-east corner of the chancel contains any evidence of dating to the 1340s, indicates that Sir Miles Stapleton's role was crucial. This physical evidence shows that he was not simply fulfilling a programme already running; indeed there is no documentary evidence even to suggest that Sir Oliver de Ingham had planned a chantry or college here. The Perpendicular window design recorded by Neale and le Keux and still surviving in the two aisle western windows has been dated by Harvey to c. 1370 (1978, 95) and associated with Robert de Wodehirst who worked as a royal master mason at Westminster. He is suggested to have worked on the new presbytery at Norwich Cathedral by 1362, and was master of the work for the cloister there by 1385 (*ibid.* 105-6). His appearance in Norfolk might provide the perfect context for the new work at Ingham. Whichever mason was responsible, his evident royal background had presumably brought him to the attention of Sir Miles who would have been keen to import the latest, and most fashionable, architectural styles to Norfolk. That both the documentary and physical evidence point to the pivotal role of Sir Miles Stapleton in the foundation of the Trinitarian priory inevitably invites us to investigate the man himself, and his wider family.

Family Background

The Stapletons were a major Yorkshire landowning family with estates elsewhere, notably in Berkshire. In common with such families of the day, they had a particular preference for certain Christian names. The Stapletons favoured Miles, Brian and Nicholas. The common use of Miles was as confusing for the family then as it is now, and on the death of our Sir Miles' grandfather (also Sir Miles) the separate branches of the family began to be known after their landholdings. The grandfather's son, Sir Nicholas, became known as 'of Carlton', and brother Sir Gilbert (our Sir Miles' father) was 'of North Morton and Bedale'. It was the Bedale landholdings that our Sir Miles was often to be known by, although his descendants chose to be known as 'of Ingham'.

Born c.1320, Sir Miles began a distinguished military career at the age of 22, if not earlier. He appears to have been in Edward III's expedition to Brittany in 1342, and at the battle of Crecy and the siege of Calais in 1347 (*DNB* xviii, 984). He was clearly one of the more successful household knights on these campaigns as in 1347-8, at the age of about 30, he was made one of the first members of the

⁵ A room above with a Tudor-arched niche, the "Treasury", is later and reached by an inserted newel staircase with moulded brick jambs.

Order of the Garter, standing 17th in the list on the "King's side". The Order was "by its very nature an elitist institution. It comprised a maximum of 26 knights, and was inevitably dominated by the royal family and the high aristocracy ... [although] the founder had been eager to reward the good services of relatively obscure knights" (King 1988, 174). Sir Miles' relatively modest ancestry places him as one of the latter, but through his evident abilities he had risen to attain, in membership of the Garter, what K B McFarlane has called "the fighting man's highest reward" (1973, 162). Although only a household knight, through his membership he moved in the highest circles of English society. Sir Miles was to continue his military career fighting in the wars of France (1349) and as a negotiator of the Treaty of Bretigny in 1360. He was celebrated by Geoffrey le Baker in his *Chroniculum* as "a man of great probity and singular devotion to the Blessed Virgin" (Maunde Thompson 1889, 139).

He married twice. His first marriage brought him a son, John, who died without issue. His wife Isolda must have died before John because when Sir Miles married his second wife, Joan de Ingham, around 1350, they settled by fine the inheritance of John and any issue by Joan. Joan de Ingham was the widow of Roger le Strange of Knockyn (d. 1349), and as her only brother, John, predeceased their father, Sir Oliver, she came to inherit all her family's Norfolk landholdings. Although Sir Miles had his own inheritance, the advantageous nature of the marriage to him seems the reason he moved to Norfolk, which was thereafter the home and burial place of his branch of the family. The principal estate at Ingham was probably of some antiquity. The proximity of the church and manor house (the Old Hall), hint at a close proprietary relationship extending probably back to the Anglo-Saxon period and a few pieces of reused Romanesque masonry point to a church with at least twelfth-century origins.

Sir Miles Stapleton's father-in-law, Sir Oliver de Ingham, was the last male member of a line first documented from at least 1183 (Blomefield 1808, 317). A "worthy knight, accomplished and intrepid" according to the chronicler Knighton (Martin 1995, 3), he led an eventful life as both an ally and enemy of the king, reflecting the turbulent politics of the period and the uneasy relations between the unpopular Edward II and Queen Isabella. Sir Oliver first served Edward in France, helping to secure the English possessions there as seneschal of Gascony. De Ingham's faithful service under Edward led to his appointment as a member of the council of regency for the future Edward III, but his subsequent alliance with Isabella led to his arrest when Edward III

assumed power at Nottingham in 1330. The Earl of March, Sir Oliver and Sir Simon Bereford were all arrested on a charge of high treason. However, whereas March and Bereford were executed, Sir Oliver was released and returned to rule his province in June 1331, remaining there for most of the rest of his life. Sir Oliver's chequered political career was therefore also pursued at the highest level of society, like that of Sir Miles.

Politically, Sir Miles Stapleton's marriage to Joan appears to have been advantageous. His father, Sir Gilbert, was mentioned along with brothers Nicholas and John, and five other Stapletons, in letters of pardon issued by Edward II to the Earl of Lancaster for the murder of Piers Gaveston. Edward's favouring of Gaveston had polarised resentment, politically isolating the king, and Gaveston's murder was very likely to have been the work of Isabella and her followers (King 1988, 163). Since both the Stapletons and Sir Oliver de Ingham were allies of Isabella, the marriage of Joan to Sir Miles would therefore appear to reflect political as well as social ties. Familial ties with Ingham are also evident in the marriage of Miles' sister, Catherine, to Sir John de Boys, or 'du Bois', of Ingham and Coningsby (Lincs.). This marriage is significant in terms of the Trinitarian priory as it introduces Sir John's brother, Sir Roger de Boys, and his wife, Margaret de Gimmingham, named as co-founders of Ingham priory. Their tomb-chest, in the nave south aisle, is another crucial and opulent feature of the priory church.

Sir Miles Stapleton's arrival in Norfolk appears to have provided the impetus for a number of moves. An important factor was that an incomer became the lord of the manor, and master of estates that had been controlled by his wife's family for more than two centuries. As both the manor house and the church were the focal points of the village, it should occasion no surprise to find his active involvement in both, and indeed Ingham Old Hall may well have at its core a building dating from Sir Miles' arrival (Bolingbroke 1907). Since the advowson went with the lordship, the church acted as a natural focus for patronage, and as part of this the desire to establish a chantry would have been unexceptional and indeed a wholly logical choice. The foundation of chantries was especially popular in this period as the zeal for a quick exit from Purgatory encouraged those who could afford it to buy priestly intercessions. There was a clear precedent within the family, as Sir Miles' grandfather had established a chantry dedicated to St Nicholas in All Saints' church, North Moreton, on their Berkshire estate (*VCH Berks* iii, 495).

What was less typical was the manner in which this was to be accomplished at Ingham. Rather than

simply founding a perpetual chantry in a chapel within the church, in itself an expensive but wholly more popular choice, Sir Miles had determined to create a collegiate community. Such foundations were the most expensive form of ecclesiastical benefaction (Rosenthal 1972, 53) and immediately elevated the status of his enterprise; it made him a founder and not simply a benefactor, and provided him with an eloquent means of displaying his wealth, status and prestige, as well as securing the salvation of his and his family's souls. The cost of such foundations ensured that they remained isolated, although not uncommon, occurrences. In fact, the creation of whole communities was at its height in the period of Stapleton's foundation, and in the half-century within which Ingham was founded some 38 secular colleges were established or re-endowed to form new institutions (Knowles & Hadcock 1971). Examples of these are Cobham, founded in 1362 by Sir John de Cobham for a master and four priests to say masses for the souls of his ancestors (Newman 1976, 226-30), and Kirby Overblow, N. Yorks, a church made collegiate, also in 1362, in accordance with the will of Henry, Lord Percy (Knowles & Hadcock 1971, 428). Unlike Cobham, "a good example of a parish church made into a mausoleum and showplace by an important local family" (Alexander & Binski 1987, 249 Cat 136), at Ingham the church was entirely rebuilt. If this underlines the expense of the enterprise, one final factor remains to be addressed – the conversion of the projected college into a Trinitarian priory in 1360.

As has been shown, this order was idiosyncratic, ill-understood and not well known. Its introduction to Ingham was therefore a highly conscious decision by Sir Miles Stapleton. The desire to "upgrade" his foundation from collegiate to priory status is not without parallel. A precedent can be found in the Augustinian priory of Maxstoke (Warwicks), which was founded in 1337 by Sir William de Clinton, newly created Earl of Huntingdon, after licence to create a chantry college had been purchased in 1331 (Knowles & Hadcock 1971, 166). The establishment of monastic houses at this period was unusual, as Robinson has shown in his extensive survey of Augustinian foundations; of over 200 houses, only five of the order were founded between 1270-1360 (1981, 24). Whilst Maxstoke reiterates the level of society at which such foundations and conversions were made, a more interesting example is perhaps that of Edington (Wilts), founded in 1351 by William de Edington, Bishop of Winchester. In 1358 the founder, according to Leland, converted the college into a priory of the Bonhommes, at the insistence of the Prince of Wales, the Black Prince (Knowles & Hadcock 1971, 203). This was a college and priory not

only made at the same time as Ingham, but on the urging of a figure whom Sir Miles Stapleton would have known through the royal court and membership of the Order of the Garter.

It is also interesting that Sir Miles, a man of "singular devotion" to the Virgin in Geoffrey le Baker's words, should have chosen in 1355 to found a college dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Indeed, if family devotion were to have played a part, the invocation of St Nicholas could have been a potential choice. Instead, it is possible that either a full Trinitarian priory was envisaged by Sir Miles from the start, or the order's association with the Holy Trinity subsequently attracted his attention. The latter option seems more likely, as the Trinitarians' chantry duties at Ingham are clear, attested by the superior, unusually, being called "prior, minister seu custos". This was something of a cover-all description for the governor of a priory, for the head of a Trinitarian foundation and for the head of a college of secular canons. Moreover, at no point is any element of a charitable function visible at Ingham, as was usual in the other Trinitarian foundations.

In following a rule similar to that of the Augustinians, every Trinitarian was a canon and thus able to officiate in chantry masses. Yet the choice of regular Augustinians, as at Maxstoke, would have enabled both the execution of chantry duties and the establishment of a monastic house.⁶ The selection of Trinitarians was therefore a very deliberate, and personal, choice by Sir Miles Stapleton. Several good reasons can be proposed for this. The first is clearly the ability of the Trinitarian canons to discharge chantry functions. The common misconception that the Trinitarians were mendicants may also have done them no harm, as the traditional monastic orders were generally avoided by founders by the mid-fourteenth century. Probably most important, though, was their link with the Holy Trinity.

This dedication was not common amongst those 38 secular colleges listed by Knowles and Hadcock as founded 1326-1375, occurring only five times, three of these in association with other saints as part of the dedication. Whilst Ingham is therefore unlikely to have owed its dedication simply to widespread contemporary fashion, there are a number of other instances of interest in the Holy Trinity within the court circle. The most important of these was the case of the Black Prince, whose special devotion to the Trinity derived from his having been born on Trinity

⁶ Similarly, the Bonhommes at Edington were able to discharge such functions, being regular priests who followed the Augustinian Rule (Knowles & Hadcock 1971, 203).

Sunday; in death his tomb effigy looks up at a wooden tester on which is painted an image of the Trinity (Alexander & Binski 1987, 476). Similarly, the third Earl of Arundel projected a college to be installed in his castle. A licence for this was obtained from Pope Innocent VI in 1354, but the College of the Holy Trinity was only finally founded in 1380 after complex negotiations (Elvins 1981, 7-13). Edward, fifth Lord Despencer, made a Garter knight in 1361, was similarly commemorated by a chantry chapel, in Tewkesbury abbey, in honour of the Holy Trinity and the Virgin Mary. These may potentially have acted as an influence upon Sir Miles, whose own choice might have reflected a desire to advertise his own position alongside them in society.

Finally, and crucially, when moves were first made to create the Trinitarian priory at Ingham, there were only eight other houses of the order in England. Although all of them were minor, at least that at Knaresborough must have been known to Sir Miles. His own landholdings in Yorkshire were not confined to Bedale but stretched into Knaresborough, some 20 miles away. The fame of St Robert, if nothing else, would have ensured Stapleton's familiarity with the Trinitarians. His grandfather Sir Miles, seneschal of Knaresborough, prevented the canons from digging turves in the forest in 1306 (*VCH Yorks* iii, 297) and our Sir Miles' land ownership might also have involved dealings with the order in Yorkshire. If indeed this was the source of Sir Miles Stapleton's knowledge of the Trinitarians, their selection was not simply in name only, as we have seen by the plantation at Ingham of canons from Easton.

The move from chantry college to Trinitarian priory had taken some five years, in clear and deliberate steps, during which time an expensive and luxurious new church building began to be erected. Ultimately, the appearance of Trinitarians may have been held by Sir Miles to have had extra symbolic value. Their obvious similarities and relations to the military and hospitaller orders may have been of interest to a such martial figure. Although the age of crusading in the Holy Land was essentially over, its ideal lived on, intrinsically bound up with the concept of chivalry. Images of crusading were arguably especially dear to Stapleton. His ancestor, another Sir Miles, had been a Crusader who had married the King of Cyprus' daughter, Penrodas (Lee Warner 1879, 192). Ingham's founder was to maintain family tradition and in turn call his son Miles, with its unmistakable family associations with this ancestor. Sir Miles appears to have cultivated this image within courtly circles too, using a Saracen's head as his crest in games and tournaments (Vale 1982, 71). In selecting the Trinitarians to staff his new priory, Sir

Miles was able to reinforce such crusading associations and in their unfamiliarity they would doubtless have carried with them some 'novelty' or exotic value, especially in rural Norfolk. In addition to being memorable, they may have provided a reminder of their founder's Yorkshire origins.

That crusading associations were being made at Ingham is confirmed by the tomb of the priory's co-founders, Sir Roger de Boys and his wife Lady Margaret. Although severely damaged over the centuries, the monument retains traces of its polychromy and finely sculptured effigies. At the top of the chest, a painted inscription of their names and dates of death (now lost but recorded by Blomefield), was preceded by a Trinitarian cross. Not only did their tomb allude to their role in the priory, but to crusading in general. Sir Roger's head lies not upon a tilting helm or cushion, but upon a Saracen's head and shoulders. Polychromy on the hollowed out body cavity is an appropriate red. His feet rest upon a dog which has between its paws the dead Turk's chopped-off hand, still within its gauntlet. Finally, both he and his wife wear a mantle over their clothes, fixed at the neck and bearing a circular emblem on the right shoulder. Each has a Tau cross, with the letters AN MON above, most likely to relate to the Order of St Antoine prés Mons. This confraternity of knights went to Prussia to help the knights of the Teutonic Order fight pagans, but after their failure there, they continued to be military in name only (Graham 1930, 369).

In a final twist, the wealth of a successful soldier like Sir Miles must have been substantially augmented by the profits of war, seen so clearly in the case of Sir John Fastolf some eighty years later (McFarlane 1981). The large sums to be made by ransoming captured enemy nobles may have given Stapleton not only the means to lead a lifestyle in the image of his new-found social circle, but may have added a piquant significance in his selection of Trinitarians.

Conclusion

Ingham priory has been shown as fundamentally the work of one man, Sir Miles Stapleton. He developed it from a chantry college to a full monastic house, and built it *de novo*. Within the context of contemporary piety and patronage, his establishment at Ingham was notable and bears comparison with other endowments made at the highest level of society. In turn, it served to underline Stapleton's own ambitions within that society and, perhaps, its expectations of him. Ingham's foundation occurred in a period that thrived on such displays, the age of chivalry, beloved by royalty and nobility alike. This

concept was to reach its ultimate form of expression with the establishment of the Order of the Garter by Edward III.

Stapleton's foundation proclaimed his position in society at several levels. At a regional level, it spoke of his new role, the priory clearly demonstrating his own position in the village. This came to be literally cast in stone with his and his wife's tomb, with its elaborate brass, lying in the "founder's position" in front of the High Altar. Immediately to the north was the tomb of his father-in-law, and village namesake, Sir Oliver de Ingham. Another demonstration of this social legitimation was the inscription on his tomb brass which read

Priez pour les almes Monseur Miles de Stapleton, et dame Johanne, sa femme, fille de Monseur Olivier de Ingham, fondeurs de ceste mayson, que Dieu de leur almes eit pitee (Blomefield 1808, 324).

Despite the lengthy list of Stapleton family relations for whom the priory was to direct its prayers, his own tomb draws attention not to his own descent, but to that of his second wife and her father.

With his father-in-law's effigy overlooking his own tomb, centrepieces within his great project, we may also perhaps discern a statement of continuity, that the new master continued to represent the old order. The foundation of a new religious community brought involvement more widely in Norfolk society too, and with it the message of Sir Miles Stapleton's arrival.

Ultimately, though, it was towards a third level, the aristocratic, that Sir Miles's foundation must have been most consciously directed. Stapleton's status as a founder member of the Garter stresses his and his wife's movement in this social stratum. Whilst his patronage might have been expected to reflect his powerful connections, the way in which it was mediated was both original and clever. The foundation of a priory brought the solemnity of religious devotion, but the choice of the Trinitarians made this stand out. With the abiding relationship between crusading and Christianity, in which the primary aim of knighthood was the defence of the Church, Stapleton's foundation was able to forge open associations with many elements of the chivalric code. At its heart was a monastic order whose crusading connotations had the potential to be made overt. They enhanced Sir Miles Stapleton's claims to a noble crusading ancestry within the context of the knightly ideals with which he so firmly identified. The military aspect and religious concerns so openly displayed at Ingham priory were not simply an expression of power and status; they could be seen as an epitome of contemporary chivalric society – and ultimately the virtues

and attributes to be expected of a Knight of the Garter.

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Timothy J. Pestell
The Centre of East Anglian Studies
University of East Anglia
Norwich
Norfolk NR4 7TJ
UK

Peter A. Yeoman

Pilgrims to St Ethernan: the Archaeology of an early Saint of the Picts and Scots

Abstract

Rarely can archaeology pursue intangible subjects such as the reality of an almost forgotten early saint, and the pilgrimage associated with his shrine; least of all can this be attempted in south-east Scotland, where the early church sites are rarely available for investigation. The recently completed five year campaign of excavations on the Isle of May in the Firth of Forth has revealed convincing evidence of the occupation of the site by religious communities from the 7th century onwards, and has uncovered some of the earliest ecclesiastical buildings ever found in the south-east. A contribution is thus made to the debate regarding the conversion of the southern Picts to Christianity.

Introduction

Ithernan [and Corindu] died among the Picts
Annals of Ulster AD 669

With this simple obit announcement an early chronicler introduced the name of a man, who may have played a significant role in the conversion of the southern Picts, and whose name was to become inexorably linked with the Isle of May (Anderson 1922, 180). This island site, 7 km off the coast of Fife, has been the subject of a five year programme of excavations, and for the first time an opportunity now exists to combine the hagiographical and historical record with the results of the archaeological investigations (Fig. 1). In doing so the question can be posed – what potential does archaeology have for attempting to unravel the confusion that reigns when examining the reality of early saints?

Records of Ethernan

For Ethernan's death to be recorded in the contemporary chronicle being kept at Iona, suggests

that he was either a noteworthy noble or a cleric; the use of the name in early church dedications would seem to rule out the former. Boyle quite reasonably suggests that "...Iona's interest in Ethernan may have been that he was trained there to work in Pictland" (Boyle 1981, 60). The name is rare, being of either Irish or Pictish origin (Tom Clancy pers comm). The only other contemporary records, probably from the 7th or 8th centuries, are two class II symbol stones with ogham inscriptions which translate as *Ethernan*. The Scoonie stone, from near Leven (30 km west of the Isle of May), is inscribed with - EDDARRNONN (Allen & Anderson 1903, 347). Identical lettering, minus the last N, appears on the stone from Brodie, Moray, now in Inverness Museum (*ibid.*, 132-3). A third, although not so secure inscription, transcribed as *Idarnoin*, has been recognised on a stone from Fordoun (Angus) (Jackson 1955, 139). Whereas it does seem likely that these do record Ethernan, it is also important to consider the meaning of this latin loan-word, being 'eternal' or 'the eternal one'; rather than referring to a personal name, the stones may simply be stating a core Christian belief in eternal life for the faithful.

There are a number of placenames and early church dedications which feature his name, the great majority of which are south of the Mounth (Grampian mountains). The most significant placename is *Kilrenny*, on the Fife coast due north of the May, which is probably an early 8th century name meaning 'church of Ethernan' (Taylor 1996, 99). *Aithernie*, in the same parish as the Scoonie stone, may be a corruption of the name. At Lathrisk in the Howe of Fife, the de Bernham rededication of 1242 includes 'St Atherniscus', which is not the same as Ethernan, but is very close. One explanation for this has been suggested to me by Simon Taylor, being that it may be a hypocoristic form of the saint's name which has gone on to develop a separate identity and cult, a process found in both Scotland and Ireland (O Riain 1977). Confusion can also arise when considering the dedication of the fine 12th century parish church of Leuchars (Fife) to *St Athernaize*, who can be clearly

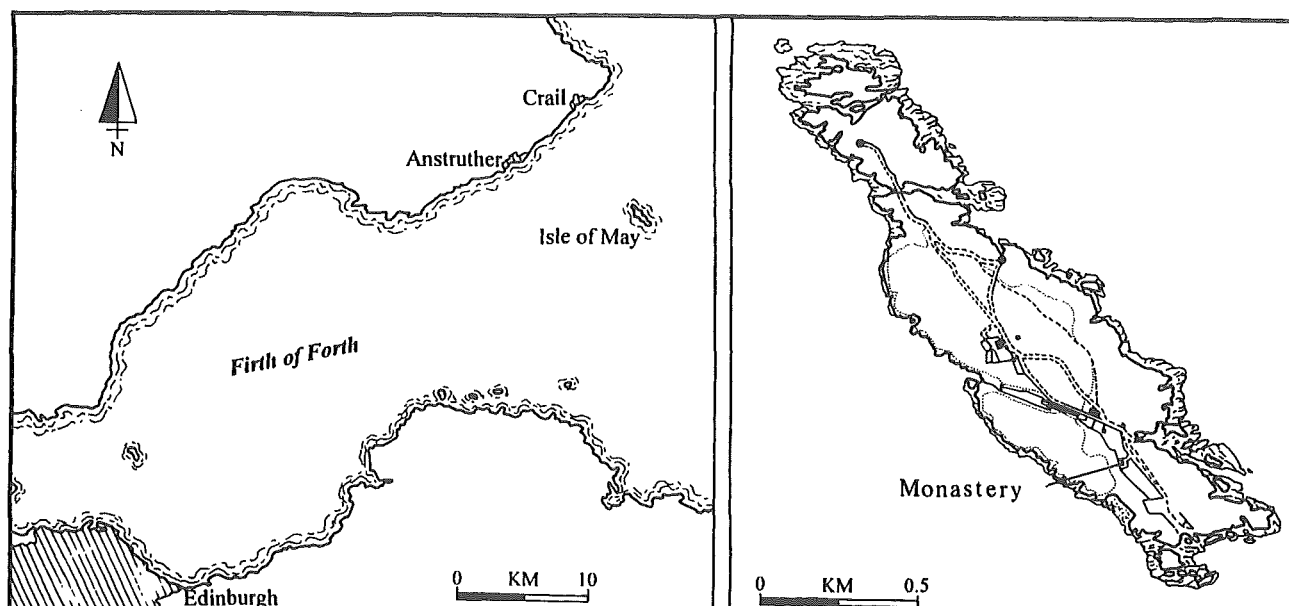


Fig. 1 - Location maps for Isle of May and the monastery.

identified with a separate Irish saint. Outwith Fife, mention should be made of St Ethernan's Church at Madderty in Perthshire. This was the *Ecclesiam Sancti Ethernani de Madernin*, which was granted along with several other churches by Earl Gilbert of Strathern to Inchaffray Abbey around 1200, the dedication being considerably earlier than this (Inchaffray Charters 1906,6). The placename – *Madderty* – is itself a corruption of the Saint's name.

We must traverse the Mounth once more to consider the only other evidence for Ethernan being held in reverence in the north-east Scotland, presumably as a result of his missionary activities there. All the principle secondary sources repeat the dedication to the saint at the church of Rathin in Buchan, as well as informing us of the traditional site of his hermitage, being St Ethernan's Slack in the same parish (Forbes 1882, 333-4; MacKinlay 1904, 140-1; and Watson 1926, 321). Much of this was culled from the Aberdeen Breviary, written by Bishop Elphinstone in 1509, who styles the saint as 'Bishop and Confessor', having been written with a clear propagandists agenda to create a Scottish usage complete with a full complement of native saints and cults. This promotional element can sometimes be taken too literally, as in Jackson's (1955, 139-40) view when he repeats an earlier reference to Ethernan as the 'founder and first Bishop of Rathin'.

A counter to the argument in favour of Ethernan having a presence in reality in Buchan in the 7th century, depends on interpreting the reason behind a late 13th century charter of Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan (Stuart 1868, xv). This records an annual payment 'for the lights of St Ethernan's [chapel/altar]

of the Isle of May' (*ibid.*, no.27). Why should the Earl have made such a gift? - the answer is that this was in part due to the close links which existed between the Earls of Fife and Buchan, as a result of intermarriage between the two families possibly during the 12th century (Taylor 1995, 163). A result of this was that the latter gave gifts and grants of land from their estates in Fife to a number of neighbouring religious houses. Could the Earl have imported the Ethernan cult to Buchan, at this late date, to the church at Rathin, which was conveniently located in the same parish as one of their chief castles at Cairnbulg?

Documentary evidence

Before advancing further it is necessary to summarise the history of the Priory, dedicated to St Ethernan, and founded on the May as an endowment of David I by around 1145 (Duncan 1957). King David's endowment to his royal brother-in-law, Henry I's house of Cluniac Benedictines at Reading, seems to have been intended to create a relatively important monastery near Perth at Rhynd, with only a cell on the May, which was by comparison an inhospitable location, "ill-suited to Cluniac observances" (Duncan 1957, 55). For whatever reason, Rhynd was abandoned by around 1160, with the brethren and property transferred to the May (Fig. 2). The island monastery was well-provided with estates on either side of the Forth, so that the monks could live a comfortable life of prayer while their convent was gradually built around them. The documents indicate that from the later 12th century, the Prior

spent much of his time in their property at Pittenweem "...due to extensive landward interests" (*ibid.*, 59).

The descent into conflict with England resulted in a change of fortune for the Priory, when Alexander III realised the danger of having an English-owned outpost in such a strategic location. The King arranged for the Bishop of St Andrews to annexe the May as a dependency of the Cathedral Priory, which resulted in a lengthy ownership battle in the courts, with both sides twice regaining possession and being ejected. Success at Bannockburn probably brought an end to this dispute, but probably not without the ruination of the house; Duncan's statement for a lack of evidence "...that a convent of Augustinian canons from St Andrews ever occupied the island", seems to be entirely correct (*ibid.*, 66). From then on, most references are to the Priory of Pittenweem, which developed on the site of the long-established prior's house, at the expense of the older island monastery.

This was no means the end of the Priory on the May however; contemporary and later documents show that even in ruins the May increased in fame as one of the "heid pilgrimages" of Scotland (McKay 1968, 77). It is believed that the shrine of the saint and "the other holy martyrs" was maintained by a canon from Pittenweem (Eggeling 1985, 21), and this is not surprising considering that the income from such a place of pilgrimage could be quite substantial. A tradition has persisted that the island was "much frequented by barren women, who went thither in pilgrimage, and were always cured by a Recipe pos-

sessed by the lusty Friars (sic). Some wives thought the Air did it." (Gordon 1868, 110). James IV visited the shrine and the hermit on a number of documented occasions between 1490 and 1508. In 1513 he issued a charter to Sir John Wood, the retired grand admiral, to be "ready to convey the King and Queen to the May" (Eggeling 1985, 23). James V also followed the cult, and in 1540 ordered gold to be used to make a reliquary for a bone of the saint (*ibid.*). The cult would probably have died out soon after the island was transferred into secular ownership in 1549 (*ibid.*, 24).

The Adrian enigma

But there is a problem - the saint revered by the many pilgrims, from the *guid wives* to James IV, was known as *Adrian*, and not as Ethernan. At some time between the charter of the Earl of Buchan of the 1280s referred to above, and Wyntoun writing his chronicle in around 1400, this radical change of identity had taken place. The latter author adds further confusion, which is repeated in the Aberdeen Breviary, by stating that St Adrian was murdered on the May by the Danes in 875 (Skene 1867, clxi), for which there is no corroborative early historical source. This enigma can be dealt with quite simply - the two saints are one and the same, and the 9th century date is a red herring. For whatever reason, during the regularisation of the Calendars by the Scottish church which would have accompanied the promotion of

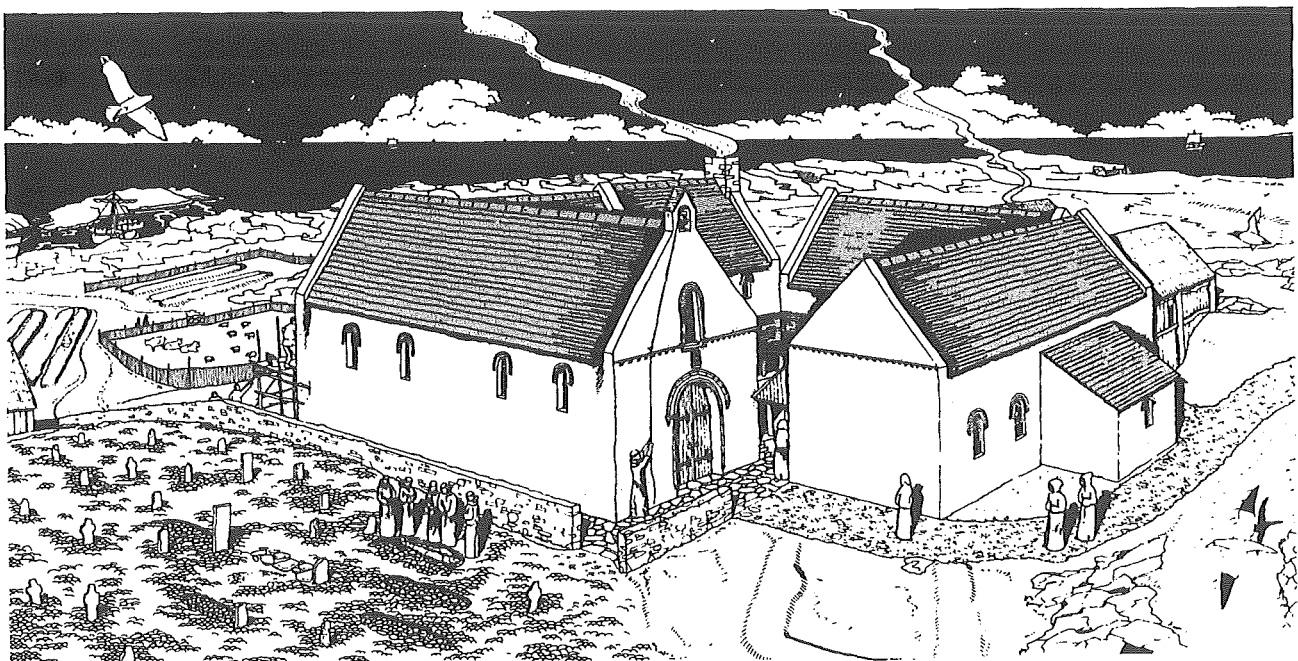


Fig. 2 - The Benedictine Priory: reconstructed as completed circa 1250.

native cults in the 14th century, the more familiar Latin saints' name of Adrian (of Fife) "was inserted in Scottish Calendars on 4th March, being the Feast more widely attributed [in Europe] to St Adrian of Nicomedia" (Dove 1988, 130).

Excavations on the May

The Isle of May lies at the mouth of the Firth of Forth, 50 km north-east of Edinburgh. The island is just over 1.5 km in length, with high cliffs facing the Lothian side to the south. The excavations were focused on the likely site of the monastery as currently occupied by a ruined building standing to gable height, which contained architectural features dated to both the 13th and 16th centuries. This building, which was aligned north-south, has long been named 'St Adrian's Chapel' on Ordnance Survey maps. This is in a sheltered location, tucked into the lee of a high western rock face, with an open aspect to the east. The available land was naturally bounded to the south by outcropping bedrock, and to the east by a steep slope down to Kirkhaven. The site is within the only good pasture land, and is equidistant from the two main landings at Kirkhaven to the east, and Pilgrim's Haven to the west, each just 200m away (Fig. 3).

Prehistoric Origins

The excavations have revealed evidence of prehistoric occupation of the May, in the form of considerable quantities of stray artefacts, found at the monastery and elsewhere on the island. These finds comprise worked flints, a fragment of a polished stone axe, and sherds of Bronze Age and Iron Age pottery. The prehistoric farmers of east Fife clearly had the maritime skills and opportunities to exploit the seals, fish and seabirds, but we can only speculate as to the nature or permanence of any settlements here. There is also the possibility that the island had a religious significance for the ancient Fifers, and was used as a place of burial from time immemorial. Could the Christian religious communities have been perpetuating a tradition of burial which began thousands of years before they arrived on the May?

Sepulchral Isle

The main evidence from the excavations for the Pictish and early Christian use of the island was a large cemetery, 15m wide and over 40m in length, north to south, the unusual shape being dictated by

the topography (James 1992-96). This was, in part at least, bounded to the west by a substantial, kerbed roadway running from north to south. Only part of this large cemetery was excavated, and an even smaller sample of the total number of burials uncovered; in all about 45 near complete skeletons were excavated and lifted. The structure of the cemetery was essentially that of a long platform cairn, the basis of which was formed from a raised beach of fist-sized, water-worn cobbles. During the excavation two distinctive groups of early burials emerged, the first being concentrated to the south and comprising two or more layers of burials within the man-made cairn. Through time this had been constantly restructured and enlarged, with a stone revetment constructed to define the east boundary, and to stop the cairn from sliding down the steep slope here. The burials were covered in places by 1m of beach stones, the nearest source for which was at Pilgrim's Haven.

Within the northern part of the cairn was a well-defined long-cist cemetery; the cists being built on the surface and covered with lintel slabs. The latter must have been visible, and regularly removed to allow the insertion of fresh burials. Most cists contained more than one burial, and in some cases four. Whether or not these were family graves is impossible to say. Four of the skeletons from the long-cists have been subjected to radiocarbon dating. While full documentation of these will be provided in the final excavation report (James & Yeoman forthcoming), it is relevant to offer a preliminary discussion of the results here. These range from cal AD 434-610, to cal AD 647-682 (GU 4211-14, all expressed at the one sigma level of confidence). More radiocarbon dates are to be produced, including dates from cairn burials, some of which, in stratigraphic terms, might be significantly earlier than the long-cists.

While the cairn burial rite is likely to be pre-Christian in origin, there is evidence to suggest that a high proportion of these, and of the long-cists, are burials of the early Christian era. As yet there is no clear understanding of when the Christian faith was adopted *en masse* by the southern Picts, although a date during the later 7th century, at the very latest, is generally assumed. Space does not allow a full rehearsal of this debate, or a detailed discussion of the dating of such burial forms. It is sufficient to say that long-cist cemeteries, concentrated in Fife and the Lothians, seem to have spanned the period from the 3rd to 9th centuries (Etheridge 1993). The cairn and long-cist burials, quite distinct from the later burials, share a set of common characteristics:- they were all extended inhumations, and the 20 so far studied were all adult males. They were all orientated almost SW-NE, with the head at the SW, 60-70 degrees from

Fig. 3 - Site plan: the completed excavations, with early burials and churches, and the claustral ranges of the Benedictine Priory.

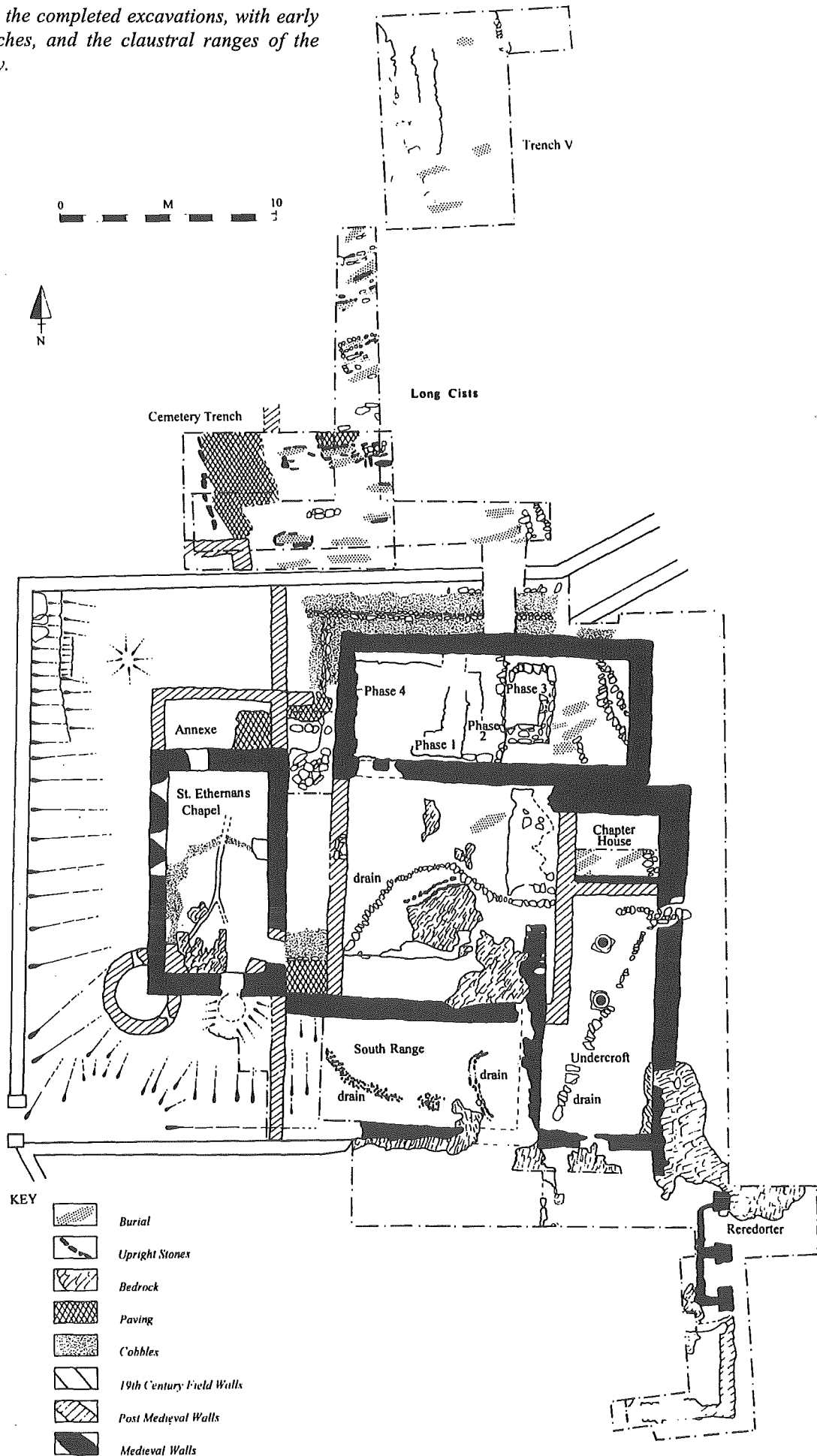
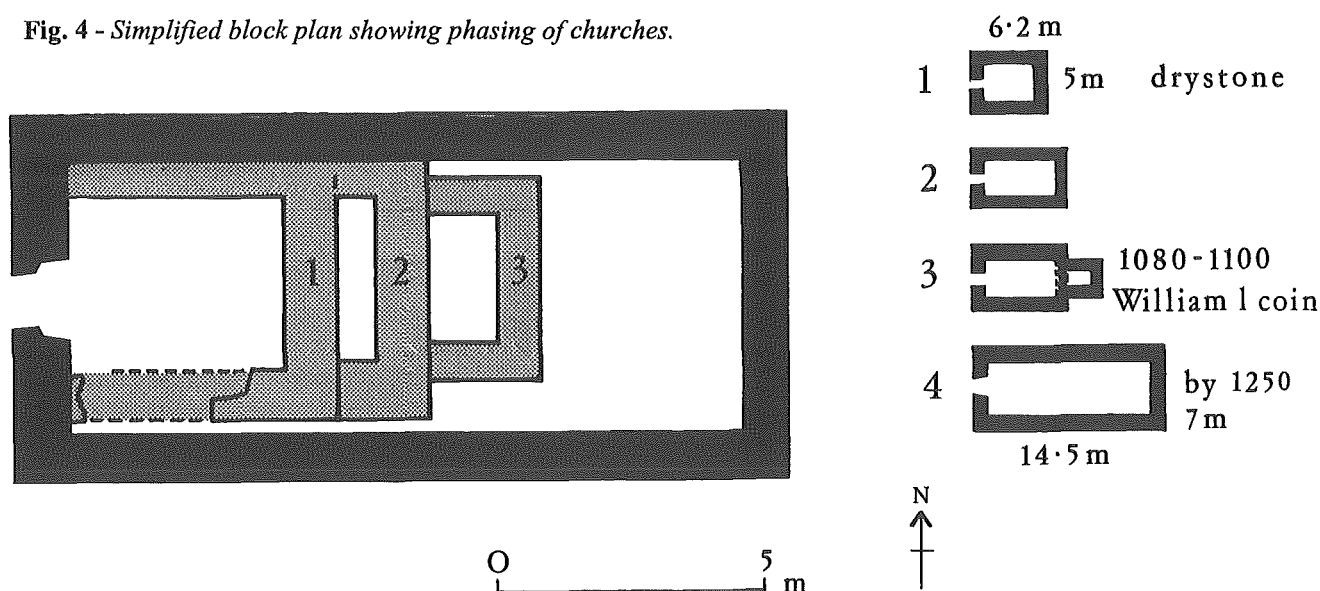


Fig. 4 - Simplified block plan showing phasing of churches.



magnetic north. The burials with the most extreme orientations were found in the long-cists furthest to the north, and in the cairn beneath the later monastery. There were no gravegoods, except quantities of white quartz pebbles, and deposits of shell sand. White quartz, which does not occur naturally on the island, is commonly found in prehistoric graves, and there may have been a belief in the Christian era that these pebbles were a token for entry into heaven (Fiona Baker pers comm). White quartz was also found in the graves of monks at Iona, uncovered during the restoration of the abbey church (Simon Taylor pers comm.).

Apart from the roadway, the only other excavated structure which may be contemporary with the early burials was a wall of a building with stone foundations, found beneath the west end of the later churches. This wall was on the same alignment as the early burials.

Whether the early monastery was formally bounded by a *vallum* is uncertain; however, the site is located within a natural shelf of land which would naturally determine the shape of such an enclosure. This measures 170m from north to south, by about 40m in width, with the cemetery area located in the middle.

Churches

Three churches were found, all on a true E-W alignment, within and beneath the later church (13th century) of the Benedictine Priory (Fig. 4). An assumption is made here that all the burials found close to the churches, and sharing the same alignment as the churches, post-date the cairn and long-cist burials, and are broadly contemporary with the long life of the churches. This area contained a number of

disturbed slabs similar to those used to construct the long-cists. This might suggest that the long-cist cemetery originally spread further to the south, but was obliterated by later graves. The later burials were all found within a few metres to the north of the churches; many of these were in coffins (identified by coffin nails), in graves dug into the top of the cairn. Only one radiocarbon date is so far available from these, being cal AD 968-1021 (GU-4125). Two special grave markers were found close to the west door of the churches, comprised of long stone slabs, each weighing around 2 tonnes. These were roughly shaped, high slabs, without any trace of carving, but strongly reminiscent of hogback stones. A stray coin find from the cemetery is also of interest; this was a slightly worn silver penny of Burgred, the Saxon King of Mercia (852-874).

The three early churches seem to share a constant west end, with each successive phase extending the structure to the east. The first church was of drystone construction, and roughly 6m square in plan. This could equally be the base of a tower as it could an oratory. This building was then extended by 1.6m to the east, forming a rectangular chapel with mortared foundations. This second building was further enlarged, to a length of 10m, in the late 11th century by the addition of a square ended apse, dated by a coin of William the Conqueror, of a type which was replaced in 1077 (Donal Bateson pers comm). Little detail of the structures survived, apart from the lower foundations. The first two buildings had earth floors, and one may have had a roof which incorporated the use of ceramic ridge tiles, a very coarse example of which was found. No burials survived to be found inside the early churches. The only dressed stonework to survive was the first course of ashlar at the south-east corner of the 11th century apse.

These churches were built close to the south end of the burial cairn, the voided stones of which had been levelled to create a far from ideal building platform. This pattern of construction, continued on an even larger scale by the Benedictines, wreaked havoc on the cairn burials, and consequently thousands of stray fragments of human bone were found during the excavations.

So we can be reasonably certain that by the time of the colonisation of the May by nine Benedictine monks from Reading in around 1145, there was a church already standing which was immediately adaptable to their needs. Indeed, the excavations have revealed that they built their convent around this church, and only replaced and enlarged it more than 50 years after their arrival.

The Benedictine Priory

The excavations have shown that this was built to the standard plan, albeit on a small scale, with the church and the other three main ranges conjoined in a square around an open cloister. The church was on the north side, adjacent to an east range which contained a small Chapter House and an undercroft. Stone bases with columns supported an upper floor which would have been the monks' dormitory. A large latrine block was found at the south-east corner, with direct access from the dormitory. This consisted of a wall with three arched outflows which supported a 6m long garderobe chute, rather large for this scale of monastery. Fragments of another range were found adjacent to this, behind the south range which would have been the refectory and kitchen. The west range (the one standing building) would have contained offices, and possibly accommodation for the Prior. Ancillary buildings, probably including an infirmary, would have stood nearby, but have not been located.

Quantities of building materials were recovered, sufficient to provide a clear picture of the appearance of the priory buildings. There was abundant hard stone on the island for walling, and the softer sandstone needed for doors and windows was shipped from a quarry at Fife Ness, just a few miles distant on the mainland. Roofs were covered with stone slates from quarries in Angus, and glazed ceramic tiles were also used. The walls were rendered with lime, inside and out, making the buildings clearly visible when viewed at a distance from the north and east. Windows were glazed with plain greenish glass, and the floors were covered with plain, glazed ceramic tiles.

The archaeological evidence is consistent with the documentary evidence which suggests that the monastic buildings were largely in ruins as a result of raids

and abandonment during the Wars of Independence in the early 14th century. And yet the west range at least was rebuilt, and the pattern of burial in the cemetery continued, presumably to serve the needs of the many pilgrims, as outlined above. The east coast of Scotland was effectively blockaded during episodes of English naval activity, and raids continued on island 'soft targets' as recorded by Walter Bower. To quote one example, during 1421 "...the abbot was staying with his monks on the mainland during summer and autumn. They did not dare at this time remain on the island for fear of the English, for there were not then such defences at the monastery as there are now." (Watt 1987, book 15, line 5).

The Santiago connection

The most fascinating single burial was found centrally placed, in front of where the high altar would have stood at the east end of the priory church. The skeleton was that of a young man, who had died in his 20s, and who was of some importance to warrant

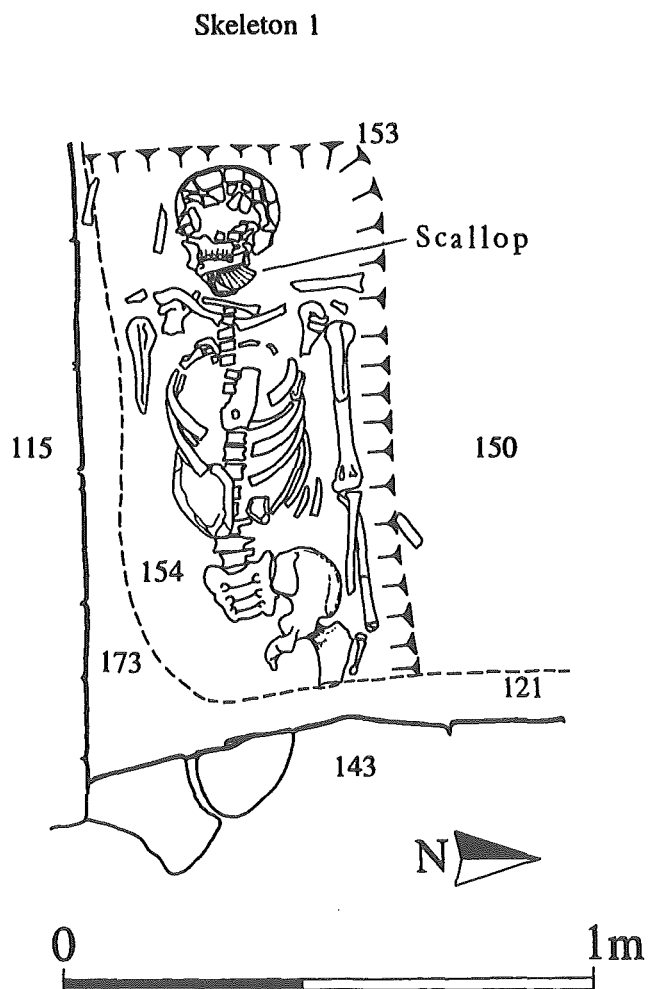


Fig. 5 - 14th(?) century burial from choir of Benedictine Priory church, with a scallop shell in the mouth.

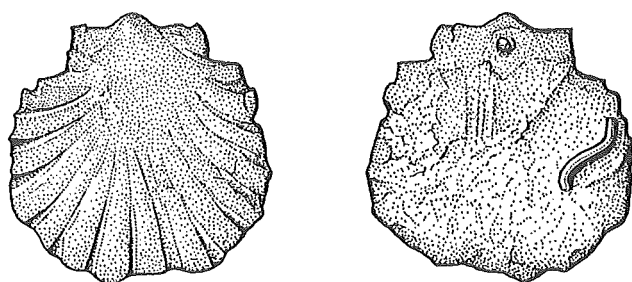


Fig. 6 - Santiago lead pilgrim's badge from St Monans, Fife.

0 1 cm

burial in this prestigious location. The date of the burial is uncertain, and it could be that the church was ruinous at the time, possibly in the later 14th century. What was so unusual was that he had been buried with his jaws wedged open and a scallop shell inserted in his mouth. This is identified as the burial of a Santiago pilgrim, one of a growing number of such burials found throughout Europe. It seems likely that this young man or cleric, had returned from his arduous pilgrimage, only to die and be laid to rest close to the shrine of St Ethernan, with his devotional credentials prominently displayed for recognition when he arose on the Last Day (Fig. 5).

It is well established that many Scots participated in this great pilgrimage, especially as the saint was the patron of the Stewart dynasty. A painted and pierced scallop, which had been worn on clothing, has been found at Perth (Santiago 1985, 293, no 175), and 1996 saw the exciting discovery of the first Santiago lead pilgrim's badge to be found in Scotland, of a type dated to around the 13th or 14th centuries, at St Monans, Fife, only a few kilometres from the May (Fig. 6).

Conclusions

Writing this paper has provided the opportunity to combine a summary of and speculation on the life of St Ethernan with the preliminary results from the five years of excavations on the May, the first investigation ever to take place at the site traditionally regarded as the principle place where he lived and died in the 7th century. It is unlikely that the excavation report will be published before 1999 and so this is an ideal chance to air some of the discoveries and interpretation, in the context of a review of the evidence for the Saint. The full publication of the results of the detailed analysis of the enormous quantity of excavated data may, inevitably, change the views expressed here.

The great strategic importance of the location has always influenced how people have used the May. The island is the gateway to the Forth, the maritime route to and from some of the main centres of trade, prestige and population in Scotland. One of the busiest times that this route had ever seen was when monks from Iona, initially under the leadership of St Aidan had been invited by King Oswald of Northumbria (633-41), to develop the Columban Church in his kingdom. The islands in the Forth would have made ideal staging posts on the route between Iona, Jarrow and Lindisfarne. This would explain the early links between Columba and Inchcolm, and would increase the likelihood of some of the larger islands being the location for sites of this period. To travel freely in the Forth at this time, which was after all a disputed border zone between the Picts and the Saxons, would have required special protection.

The data presented above, combining the documentary, hagiographical and place-name evidence, can be used to support a view that a holy man called Ethernan existed and was evangelising in eastern Scotland, although we can never be sure as to whether he died on the May in or around 669. We can be sure however, that his shrine was here, accompanied by the firm belief that the body of the saint was also here, sufficient to allow the cult to develop. The archaeological evidence can now be used to underpin this, in that around this time a sizeable early Christian population, which probably included a religious community, was being buried in a large cemetery on this island. This may have been a purposeful adoption of an ancient ancestral burial isle with origins in the mythic past, firmly impressed upon by the superimposition of new Christian buildings and burial rites. Local families may have continued to be buried here alongside the monks. The importance of the place seems to have developed and grown, to use the analogy of the development on the church site, commencing here with the construction of the almost square oratory possibly in the 8th or 9th centuries. This in turn may have replaced one or more buildings on the older SW-NE alignment, possibly built in association with oratories, working and sleeping huts, and other domestic buildings. Some of these could have been of timber or sod construction, the fugitive remains of which may yet survive to be discovered in the future. A possible location for some of these would have been in the northern part of the putative monastic enclosure, which was developed as part of a naval base in the Second World War. After all, the impressive road (processional way?) must have led from somewhere, to somewhere.

The archaeological discoveries are of great importance as this is the first site on the east coast to pro-

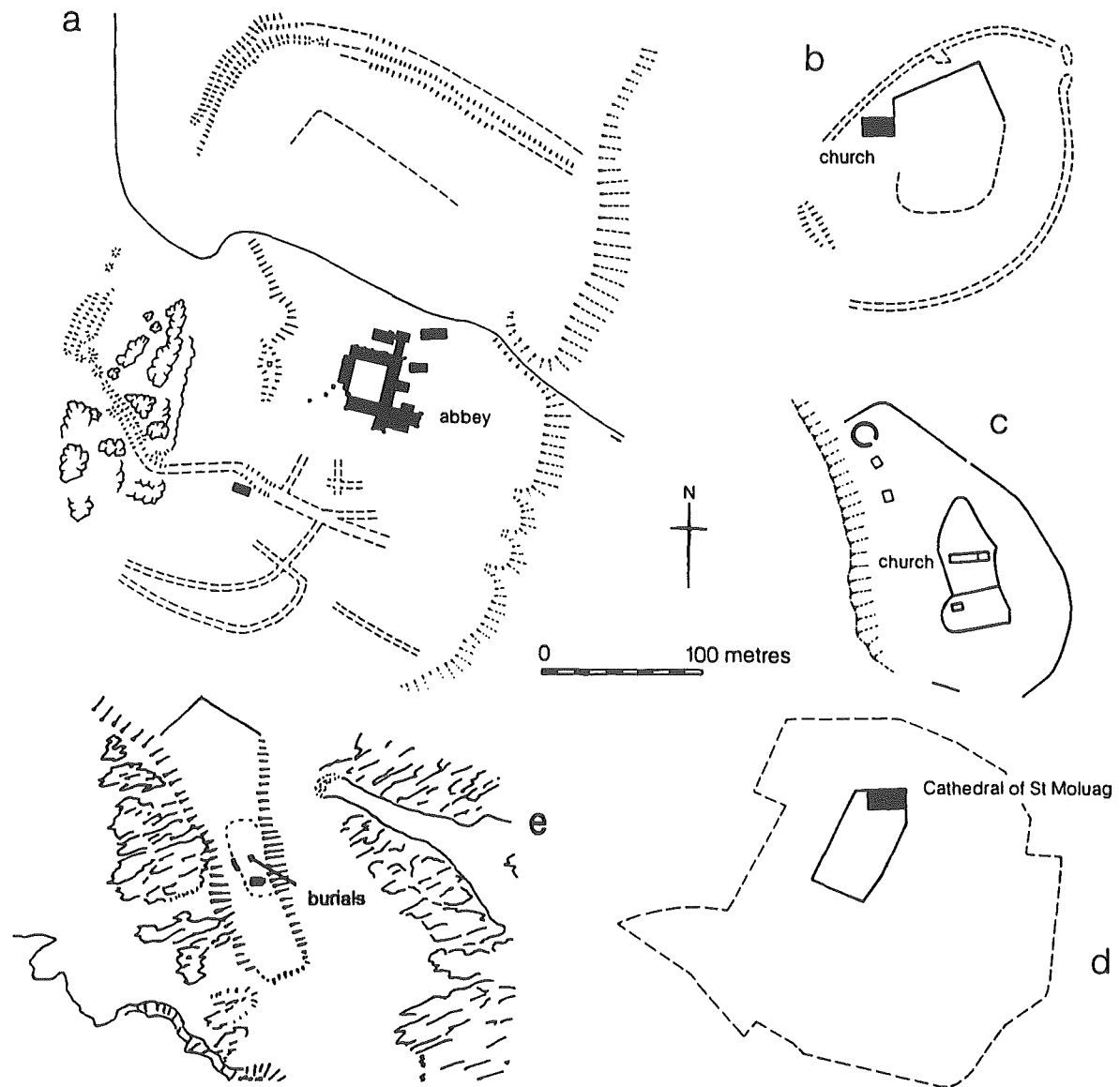


Fig. 7 - Comparative plans of early Christian enclosures in Scotland: Iona (a), Applecross (b), Kingarth (c), Lismore (d), and Isle of May (e) (after Foster 1996, 82).

duce this kind of evidence. Space does not allow a more detailed comparison with the paralleled sites which are all in Wester Ross and the Hebrides (Fig. 7), although the scale of the putative early monastic enclosure on the May does compare favourably with the major sites at Applecross, Kingarth and Lismore, whilst being a fraction of the size of that at Iona (Foster 1996, 82). Whilst on this subject, a small mention can be made of the investigations on Canna at St Columba's Chapel (*A'Chill*), a site with early Christian origins, where trial excavations have produced results with a striking similarity to the situation on the May. On Canna the chapel seemed to have a long developmental history, and was built on top of a large burial cairn which may have origins in prehistory (Hunter 1994).

The subject of how the Burgred penny came to be deposited in the cemetery is of interest. This coinage

was probably circulating in Northumbria, only a relatively short distance from the May, on the south side of the Forth. It is entirely possible that at this time the island was within the Anglo-Saxon sphere, as it certainly had been in the middle of the 7th century, and that the coin was brought in via commerce or else as an offering at the shrine. This coin prompts mention of an extraordinary coincidence; Burgred was forced to flee to Rome by the Vikings of York in 874, at much the same time as Halfdan, and his Danes from Tyneside are alleged by Wyntoun to have raided the May. Could these events provide an alternative explanation of how the coin came to be deposited on the island? (David Etheridge pers comm).

It is proposed here that the Isle of May was a prominent site in the consciousness of the early medieval population of south-east Scotland; bearing all this in mind, it seems highly likely that Margaret, Saint

and Queen (1057-93) must have at least visited the shrine, if not provided the means to embellish it. A knowledge of this may even have influenced her youngest son when establishing the Benedictine house. The coin evidence shows that the site continued to develop during Margaret's lifetime, and must already have been a well-established pilgrimage place. The heritage of sanctity, along with the presence of important relics and an existing church, all combined to recommend the site to David I to introduce a reformed monastery here, possibly at the expense of any incumbent Celtic clergy.

The pilgrimage survived, and even grew, despite the apparent devastation of the site during the Wars of Independence; the fact that the pilgrims now believed that they were venerating the shrine of a 9th century martyr, rather than a 7th century father of the Church, is neither here nor there.

Acknowledgements

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There would be nothing to write were it not for the skill and dedication of the excavation team directed by Heather James of Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division. The project was led by Fife Regional Council (latterly the Fife Council), in partnership with Scottish Natural Heritage, who manage the island which is a National Nature Reserve. The project also received generous support from: Historic Scotland, North East Fife District Council, the Russell Trust, the Hunter Archaeological Trust, and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

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Peter A Yeoman
Council Archaeologist, Planning Service
Fife Council, Fife House
Glenrothes KY7 5LT
Scotland

Henk Stoepker

Susteren and Brunssum

Recent excavations of a medieval monastery and a church in Limburg (The Netherlands)

The archaeological study of churches and monasteries has a long tradition in the Netherlands. Started by A.E. van Giffen (University of Groningen) and H. Brunsting (*Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*) in the thirties and forties (for instance in Rijnsburg and Valkenburg, both in the province of South-Holland; Egmond, province of North-Holland; and in Utrecht), P. Glazema (ROB) carried on the work in a very productive way after the Second World War. As happened everywhere in Western Europe, the destructions caused by war created the need for an archaeological rescue program. Most of the church excavations took place in towns and villages in the central and south-eastern part of the Netherlands, along the rivers Rhine and Meuse, where fighting had been fierce during and after the Battle of Arnhem.

After some large-scale investigations following the clearing of the war rubble and damages, the fieldwork focused on small excavations located inside the building and preceding a regular restoration. H. Halbertsma (ROB) carried out most of them, especially in the northern provinces Groningen and Friesland.

In the sixties and over the following decades the possibilities for church archaeology gradually dwindled, whereas other topics in medieval archaeology developed into prominent subjects. For almost 40 years, not a single extensive church excavation took place in Limburg, the southernmost province of the Netherlands where Glazema had worked in 20 churches in 1948. After that long period, the excavation carried out between 1985 and 1989 by T. Panhuysen (town archaeologist of Maastricht) inside the St. Servaas' Cathedral in Maastricht, preceding its restoration, was the first new operation of this kind.

A few years later the need arose for a complete excavation of the former St. Salvator's monastery in Susteren. The occasion was the remodelling of the square on the north side of the still existing Romanesque abbey church. This monastery has a history of more than a thousand years. Founded by Willibrord around 700, it was closed and partially destroyed around 1800, after the French Revolution. The excav-

ation was directed by H. Stoepker (ROB) and took place between 1991 and 1993.

In 1995, it was decided to demolish the former parish church in the town of Brunssum in order to make room for a residential area. The church building dated back to 1840. From an archaeological point of view, the situation could be compared with the post-war clearing of medieval church sites. The excavators, H. Stoepker and K. van der Graaf (ROB), faced the challenge of considering what progress church archaeology had achieved between 1948 and 1995 and whether new possibilities – such as C14 dating and the analysis of mortars – would be beneficial to church archaeology.

This paper will present a summary of both excavations. The interpretation of the results in Brunssum is not all that complex, but it does present some interesting methodological aspects. The Susteren monastery on the other hand has yielded an enormous quantity of finds and data and for this reason, the analysis and publication of the information has not yet been completed. As a result, this contribution can only offer no more than a preview and is of a preliminary nature.

The medieval parish church of St. Gregorius the Great in Brunssum (Limburg).

The town of Brunssum is located in the south-eastern part of the Netherlands, a few kilometres from the German border. Its name is well-known among medieval archaeologists, because of the pottery kilns excavated by Anton Bruijn (ROB) around 1960. Large quantities of earthenware, proto-stoneware and stoneware, dating from the 11th to the 14th century were recovered. Together with the closely related pottery from nearby Schinveld, the publication of the Brunssum material by Bruijn set up a typochronological framework which had a strong impact on medieval pottery studies in the Netherlands, Belgium and the German Rhineland.

In the settlement where the potters could have lived, no archaeological fieldwork was carried out. But in 1995 an opportunity arose. The former parish church of Brunssum – which had been out of use for several years – was to be demolished. This building dated back to 1840 and replaced an older church. Early 19th-century maps show this church on the east bank of a small stream, surrounded by a few farmsteads. A parish church in Brunssum was first mentioned in 1150 in the *Annales Rodenses* (Chronicles of the monastery of Rold which still exists and is located in nearby Kerkrade). No other historical dates are known about medieval church buildings in Brunssum. According to a local historical publication, the post-medieval church consisted of a nave, a chancel and a north aisle. The chancel was enlarged in 1667 and a tower was added in 1698.

The excavation aimed at investigating the architectural history of the building and at checking which of the modern methods could contribute to the interpretation of the archaeological data. There were no obstacles on the site because the whole of the 19th-century building had been torn down and the debris had been cleared away. Nevertheless, the excavation area was restricted to the site of the church and churchyard. Excavations were not possible in adjacent parcels of the settlement.

After the removal of the debris from the demolished 19th-century church, the area cleared for excavation looked much like the cleared site of a church devastated by war. There was in fact no fundamental difference between the excavation techniques needed and used in Brunssum in 1995 and those used by Glazema in 1948. Progress had of course been made as to accuracy in terms of measurement techniques and the use of colour photography. Whether the use of a mechanical excavator with only two workers instead of a small army of men with shovels and wheelbarrows is an advantage in terms of digging techniques can be questioned. From an economic point of view it is inevitable. The stratigraphical method used in combination with a long east-west section and two north-south sections still gave the best results. In a grid system consisting of six squares, the layers were levelled off until the natural soil was reached. The detailed study of the remains of the foundations of several periods, laying on top of and running across one another, allowed us to draw up – without any difficulty – a relative chronology of the site and the buildings remains.

The architectural development did not offer many surprises. The first church consisted of a rectangular single cell nave (11 x 9 m) with a slightly narrower rectangular chancel at the east side (4.50 x 5.50 m). Later on, a tower was added at the western side, the

nave was rebuilt and the chancel was replaced, first by another rectangular one and later by a chancel with a polygonal end. An aisle was added on the north side of the nave. After an extension of the nave, a new tower was built at the western front. According to a local historical publication, this happened in 1698.

This process of 'organic growth' in the Middle Ages, a consolidation or even decline from the 16th until the 18th century and a replacement by a complete new building in the 19th century, is the common type of development in smaller parish churches in the southern half of the Netherlands and in the adjacent regions. The excavations in the late 40s and 50s had already revealed this pattern.

With regard to the relative chronology of the building, special attention was paid to the joint of the nave and the first rectangular chancel. Glazema had noted that in many cases it was not clear whether the chancel had been added to the nave at a later date or belonged to the same building period as the nave. In Brunssum, however, there was no doubt about this point: the foundation constructions of chancel and nave revealed no trace of any separation.

Unfortunately, the chemical analysis of the mortars cannot confirm this. During transport between laboratories in Amersfoort, Utrecht and Brussels a sample from the wall of the first nave got lost. Comparing the results of chemical analysis of the mortars from the second building period (second nave and second chancel and the first tower), the conclusion was drawn that these foundations probably were laid at the same time. Chemical analysis of mortars can be useful in church archaeology, as it offers clues as to relative chronology, but it is to be recommended to involve the geophysicist at an early stage in the excavation.

A recurrent question in church archaeology is the possibility that a timber structure preceded the stone church. In the Low Countries, where stone is an exotic building material, stone was rarely used before 1000.

In excavation reports, the discovery of a few post holes, left undisturbed by later burials, often leads to the conclusion that a timber church had been present. Sometimes ground plans are reconstructed on the basis of very few data. We must, however, bear in mind that even when the presence of a wooden building underneath a stone church can be proven, it is not necessarily a timber church. In Brunssum this was very obvious, as among the few post holes found in the central part of the church a small oven was discovered. The oven consisted of a round pit with a flat bottom and tunnel-shaped openings at two sides. This type of oven is well known from medieval settlements, such as Haagsittard at a few kilometres distance. Neither the oven in Brunssum, nor the one

in Haagsittard yielded enough remains of its contents to allow for definite conclusions as to its function. Particles of carbonated rye found in Haagsittard are so few in numbers that there is no proof for the oven having been used as a bread-oven. Whatever the case, the presence of an oven underneath the first stone church in Brunssum is a warning against a straightforward ecclesiastical interpretation of the post holes.

Samples for archaeobotanical research were also taken from the humus fillings from three of the oldest graves, but they contained no carbonised seeds. Thus, although in my opinion the taking of samples for archaeobotanical research should be part of the standard excavation procedure in present-day church archaeology, the Brunssum results were poor. Possibly, this is due to the fact that while archaeobotanical research is most useful in settlement archaeology, most of the church excavations – and this was the case in Brunssum as well – are confined to the limited space of the former church itself and the churchyard. Large-scale settlement archaeology is impossible in residential areas. Therefore, in archaeological terms, churches are in fact divorced from their historical environment and this is a serious handicap.

While relative dating in church archaeology never was one of the major problems, absolute dating long relied on historical evidence and art historical determination. In Brunssum, no wood was available for dendrochronological research. Samples for C14 dating could, however, be taken from mortars, charcoal and human bone.

The dating of the mortars proved fruitless. Only one result fitted reasonably well (first stone church: between the first half of the 11th century and the first half of the 12th century), but the other samples yielded both prehistoric and modern dates. For the time being, contamination of the mortars seems to exclude the useful application of this technique. The dating of eight charcoal and bone samples gave some better results. It should, however, be taken into account that the 1 Σ calibration can span a period of 100 to 150 years while the 2 Σ calibration can even range from 200 to 300 years! In this sense, even absolute dating has first and foremost a relative meaning.

We may assume that the post holes from the settlement preceded the church without significant interval of time. They can be ascribed to the late 11th or early 12th century, while a 12th-century date can be assumed for the oldest graves. An date of the first stone church and nave in the first half or middle of the 12th century is confirmed by a potsherd of the Brunssum/Schinveld early period I type, found in the foundation trench of the chancel. Finds are rare in churches and it is probably only because of the fact that this church was built in the middle of a contemporary settlement, that we

have some pottery finds in stratigraphic relation with the foundations. All sherds belonged to the locally made Brunssum/Schinveld type wares.

It is not only through their products that we met with the potters of Brunssum (and their relatives, neighbours and the other inhabitants). Twelve skeletons were lifted. As result of the churchyard having been used continuously for burials up to the 19th century, only a few skeletons from the oldest and the youngest graves proved useful for anthropological research. The other graves were too strongly disturbed. It is very important to realize that this sample is too small to allow for the application of demographic techniques. Apart from sexing and ageing, the stature of the individuals could be reconstructed. For this purpose, the maximum length of all complete long bones was recorded. This information was then used to provide an estimate of stature. Among the skeletal material from Brunssum there were several interesting osteological manifestations of disease and trauma. One female, who lived in the 13th/14th century and had reached an age between 34 and 40 at the time of death, displayed lesions related with *spina bifida occulta*.

Summing up, it appears that scientific techniques such as C14 dating and mortar analysis in combination with more accurate excavating methods and a better knowledge of ceramics offer some possibilities for absolute dating. However, the basic principle in church excavations remains the drawing up of a solid relative chronology and in this regard, the situation and practices have not changed over the past fifty years.

St. Salvator's in Susteren (Limburg): a monastery founded by Willibrord.

In 1991, excavations started in Susteren on the site where a monastery was founded by the missionary and bishop Willibrord in the beginning of the 8th century. The first historical record dates from 714 when Pepin donated the estate 'Suestra' to Willibrord.

Susteren lies in the province of Limburg, 30 kilometers north of Maastricht, and is located not far from the river Meuse. It can be regarded as a halfway station between Utrecht and Echternach, where Willibrord used to have his headquarters.

In 882 the abbey was destroyed during a Viking raid. After rebuilding, it was converted into a Benedictine nunnery. In the 11th century, the abbey church was replaced by the Romanesque building which still dominates the village. In the 13th century, the nunnery became a secular foundation, destined exclusively for ladies of high nobility. In 1802, the building was closed and demolished. The site (c. 70

x 50 m) eventually became a parking lot. The former abbey church is now a parish church.

The monastery was located on the north side of the church. The complete remodeling of the square led to the archaeological fieldwork. Excavations by the ROB took place from 1991 to 1993 and yielded a vast quantity of finds and data. The post-excavation process and the definitive publication will take a long time. This paper can present only a limited version of the main results.

The church and monastery have been built on a faint slope of sand-and-loam soils along a small stream. The site was first settled in the Middle- and Late Iron Age and some post holes and pits can be ascribed to this period. Roman finds such as roof-tiles, re-used in the Middle Ages, indicate the presence of a Roman villa in the neighbourhood. At a distance of 500 m from the monastery a Roman graveyard was discovered in 1955.

The oldest medieval finds are fragments of Merovingian pottery (late 7th century), which fits in well with the historically known foundation date. Some structures can be ascribed to the early medieval period, *i.e.* 8th to 10th century. A more accurate and definitive dating is not yet possible.

At least one well, three single-nave timber structures and three buildings with foundations made of local stones (large pebbles from the bed of the river Meuse) do belong in the early medieval period. The same stones may also have been used above ground-level.

The oldest monastery probably consisted of some scattered buildings, as is the case with the contemporary monastery of Whithorn. The width of the rectangular buildings varies from 4 to 8 m. The largest building may have had a length of 20 m.

Very remarkable for this building phase is a round stone structure with an outer diameter of 4.3 m. The foundation consisted of large pebbles and had a width of 0.5 meter. A piece of charcoal, found between the pebbles, yielded a calibrated C14 age: 604-776 AD. A potsherd from the same location dated from Carolingian times (8th/9th century). The foundation was intersected by a grave with a calibrated C14 age of 1013-1162 AD. Whether this round building may be interpreted as a small round tower is still an open question. A well was situated between this 'tower' and the church. This well was constructed of stone – an extremely rare phenomenon – and had a width of 1.80 meter and a depth of 2.40 meter below the present surface. The latter is probably 20 cm or less higher than the early medieval level. A Merovingian glass bead was found between the pebbles on the bottom of the well. After being filled in, the well was cut through by a grave. The skeleton had a calibrated C14 age of 885-1014 AD.

A total of 93 graves was uncovered. Most of the deceased were laid in wooden coffins. One person was buried in a stone cellar, 1 m wide. He did have a lead cross without inscriptions on his chest. At a later date, two children's graves were laid over this very particular burial.

Seventy burials have a west-east orientation. This is different from the present church (northwest-southeast), but corresponds to the axis of one stone building and of at least two timber buildings. The area where the graves are located can be seen as a separate zone between the living quarters and the church. It may be assumed that the first church underneath the present one had an orientation corresponding to that of the graves and the buildings.

In the 11th century, a new church was built with a changed orientation. From that time on, the monastery was renewed as well. It got a completely different lay-out with buildings set at straight angles and connected to the church. A cloister was constructed around a square yard. In the 12th and 13th century, the small stream along the early medieval buildings was filled in in order to make room for extending the buildings to the north. It was replaced by a wide moat, which surrounded the enclosure till the end of the habitation period.

In 1995, this moat was reconstructed in 1995, while the ground plan of the cloister is marked in the modern pavement. A memorial plate with an inscription has been laid down on the site of 'Willibrord's well'.

This summary of the excavations in the Salvator's monastery in Susteren can only be of a preliminary nature. It is, however, clear that the archaeological record from this site contains many interesting data which can contribute significantly to the study of early medieval monasteries in Europe.

Conclusion

The archaeology of churches and monasteries should be linked as closely as possible with settlement archaeology and rely on the methods used in this field. Churches should be considered primarily as a part of a settlement, be it as a part with a specific character. Monasteries are by definition settlements, again with a specific character. This approach could improve the work on ecclesiastical sites.

Henk Stoepker
Rijksdienst voor Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek
Postbus 1600
3800 BP Amersfoort
The Netherlands

Medieval timber churches in Hungary

Introduction

The study of medieval timber churches constitutes a neglected branch of Hungarian archaeology. Though the collection of data on the decaying medieval timber churches took a first start in the last century, the research stopped in the beginning of our century. A few eminent archaeologists restarted the work in the 1930s, collecting the evidence for late medieval timber churches. In recent years, a few studies have been published, but they focused on the collection of the data. The reason for this is very simple: there are hardly any written or archaeological sources on the timber churches of the period between the 10th and 16th centuries. A large number of these churches were demolished as a result of the Mongol Invasion (1241/42) and the Turkish occupation which lasted for more than 150 years (1526-1698).

Timber churches in medieval Hungary

In historical studies the problems of medieval timber churches have never constituted a special field. This is not surprising taking into consideration that even masonry churches of the early medieval period survived until the modern times only sporadically, and buildings made of more perishable wood – houses, churches – did not survive at all. In the documents at our disposal we can hardly find any timber churches.

It was the first Hungarian king, (Saint) Steven I (1000-1038), who organized the church from the top to bottom. In the code he issued in 1030, it was ordered that a church had to be built collectively by 10 villages. These were community churches organized according to Italian pattern, places of baptisms and burials. They were erected by the villages. The king endowed the churches with the necessary equipment and the bishop gave books, but the villages had to care for the priest themselves. Choosing the priest was the bishop's task and the bishop also gave permission to chose a patron saint or title. Despite our

knowledge of the law, there is little information on the number of the rural churches built following the order. Most of the rural churches were built of wood and did not survive. An example of this is the monastery from Szentjobb dating from the second half of the 11th century. The churches were either destroyed during the pagan revolts or later fights or replaced with larger churches built out of less perishable material. At the same time, in the early 11th century, most villages had a church within a walking distance of a 3 to 4 hours (15-24 km). But as their number was not sufficient, king Steven I issued his order on church building (Györffy 1977, 243, 264, 349).

Most likely, the first large wave of building rural churches must have finished at the end of the 11th century, in the time of the reign of king Saint László (Ladislaus) (1077-1095). In the 11th century, in the period between the reign of Saint Steven and that of Saint László, rural churches were mostly build using timber and mud, or only timber. This seems to be supported by the orders of the Council of Szabolcs which talk of the reconstruction of churches which collapsed as a result of their advanced age. One of the most interesting indications comes from the biography of Saint Altmann, the bishop of Passau (1065-1091), which says that during the visit of the bishop, all the churches from Passau to the Hungarian border were built out of wood. (Valter 1985, 17-18.) This is a particularly and especially important fact, if we take into consideration that the bishopric of Passau played a major part in the missionary activity in Hungary in the 11th century.

According to the description of Otto von Freisinger who visited Hungary in 1147: "... *in villages and other places they have only very mean dwellings built out of reed, sometimes wood and even more rarely stone*" (Gombos 1913, 108). "... *Also the prince... camped close to the other bank of this river, which is the border of this kingdom and that of the Roman Empire... On the next day on this plain the king goes to a timber church...*" (Gombos 1913, 109).

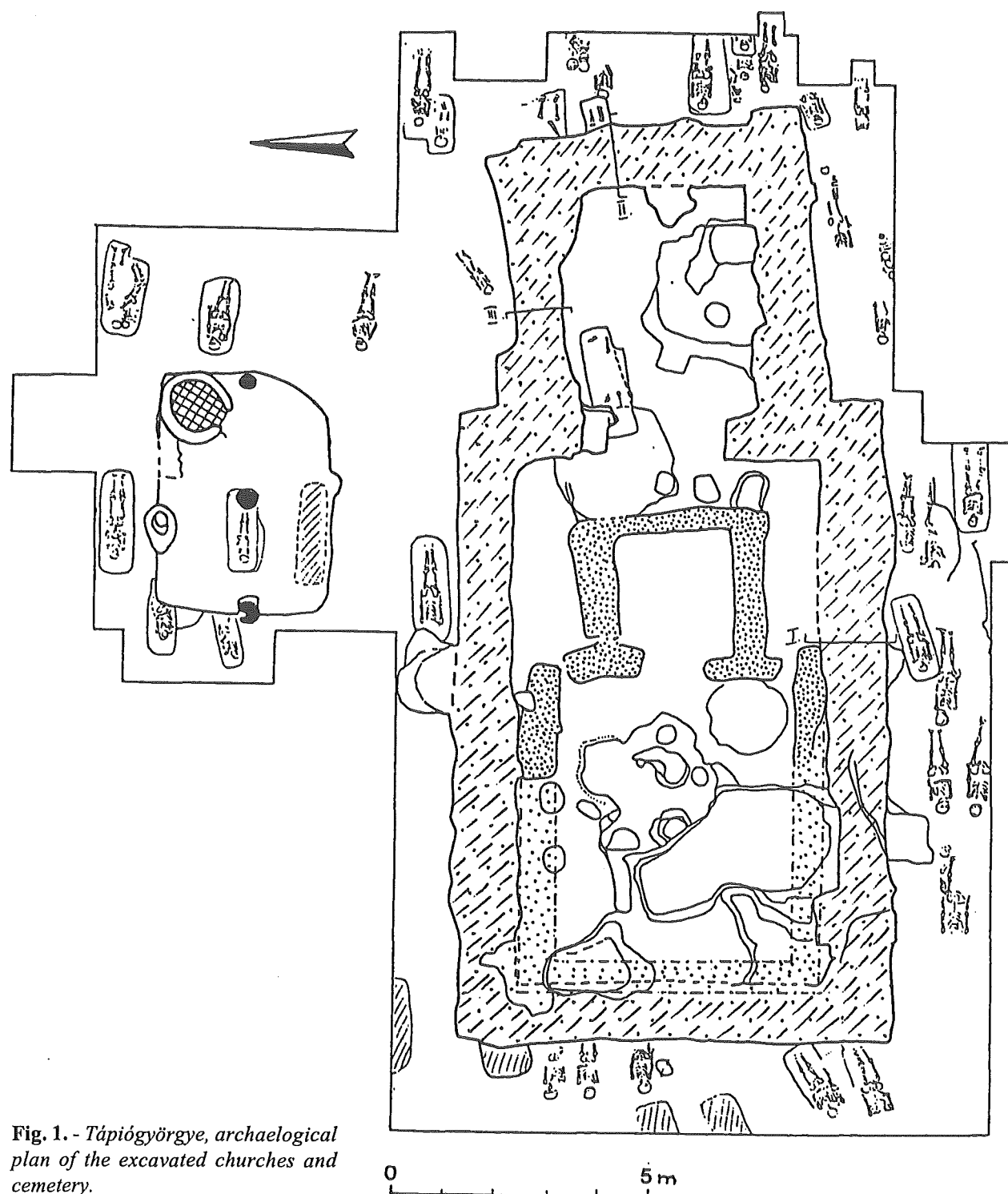


Fig. 1. - Tápiógyörgye, archaeological plan of the excavated churches and cemetery.

Timber churches mentioned in diplomas

Knezech – 1075, Szentjobb – 1094, Vitéz – 1267, Hegymagas – 1274, 1414, Kiscsány – 13th century, Szőlős – 1313, Pereske – 1314, Kiskunlacháza-Pereg-Szentimre – 1321, Csenger – 1322, Páka – 1325, Tiszaszalka – 1331, Kék – 1333, Szinte – 1338, Nagymon – 1367, Sarkadon, Makarián, Zadnán – 1418.

Pálvágása – 1438, Rás – 1476, Bödsháza, Erked, Krasznahorváti, Kucsó, Menyő, Szamos-Ardó, Szamos-Udvarhely, Völcsök and possibly Hernádpetri – around 1470 (see also: Tari 1997).

Some data on wooden castles have also to be mentioned. Some examples: Bene – 1301, Újvár – 1332.

Timber churches also survived in the place-names: Ágasegyház (ág = branch), Botegyház (bot = stick), Gerendásegyház (gerenda = girder), Tövis-egyház (tövis = thorn).

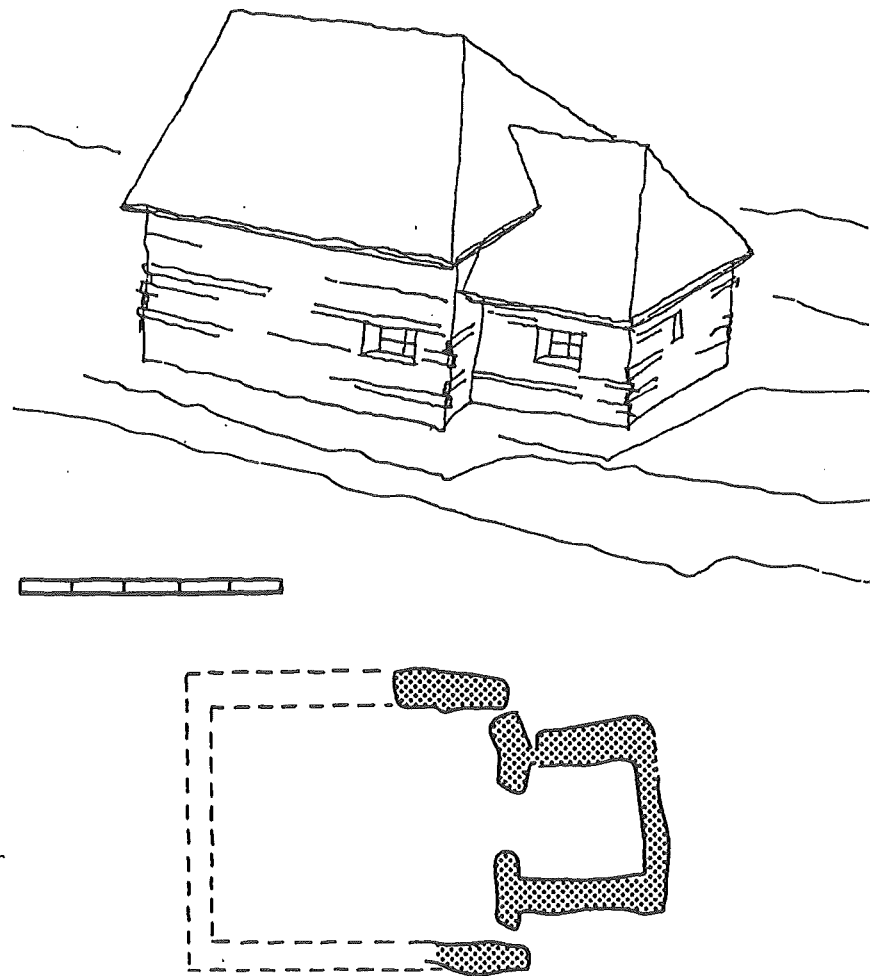


Fig. 2.

1: Tápiógyörgye, reconstruction of the timber church (D. Holnapy's drawing).

2: Foundation of the timber church.

Remains of timber churches excavated in Hungary (Fig. 3)

ZIRC (county Veszprém)

It was dated to the 10th-11th centuries. A line of post-holes found inside the masonry church was identified as belonging to a timber church. In some of the post-holes the traces of rotten wooden posts have been found. The wooden construction was torn down when the masonry church was built (Koppány 1972, 139, 144; Kralovánszky 1985).

ZALASZABAR-BORJÚÁLLÁS-SZIGET (county Zala)

Single-nave timber church; only the wall of the apse was made out of stone fixed with very thin mortar mixed with earth. Some stones put under the breastsummer of the church survived. The apse was rectangular, the length of the church was 17 m, its width almost 7 m. It could have been made using log-building techniques. The cemetery around the church was enclosed with a palisade. The church was dated to the 9th-10th centuries (Müller 1994, 92).

NYÍRDERZS-GREEK-CATHOLIC CHURCH (county Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg)

A wattle church from the turn of the 12/13th centuries was excavated by Péter Németh. In the 13th century, a brick church was built over the earlier building (Istvánovits & Kurucz 1990, 26).

SZOMBATHELY-ST. MARTIN CHURCH (county Vas)

Inside the present Baroque church, a church with a rectangular chancel and with pile-work was excavated and dated to the beginning of the 11th century. The importance of the *locus sacker* was underlined. This church was built not in the village, but in the cemetery which already existed and was located at some distance (Kiss & Tóth 1993, 185, 187-188).

TÁPIÓGYÖRGYE (county Pest)

This is the last timber church found recently (Tari 1995, 106-120).

Timber church from Tápiógyörgye

Remains of the foundations of a timber church have been found on the territory of an Árpadian Age (12th-13th centuries) village situated on the bank of a river. It is the first example of a timber church

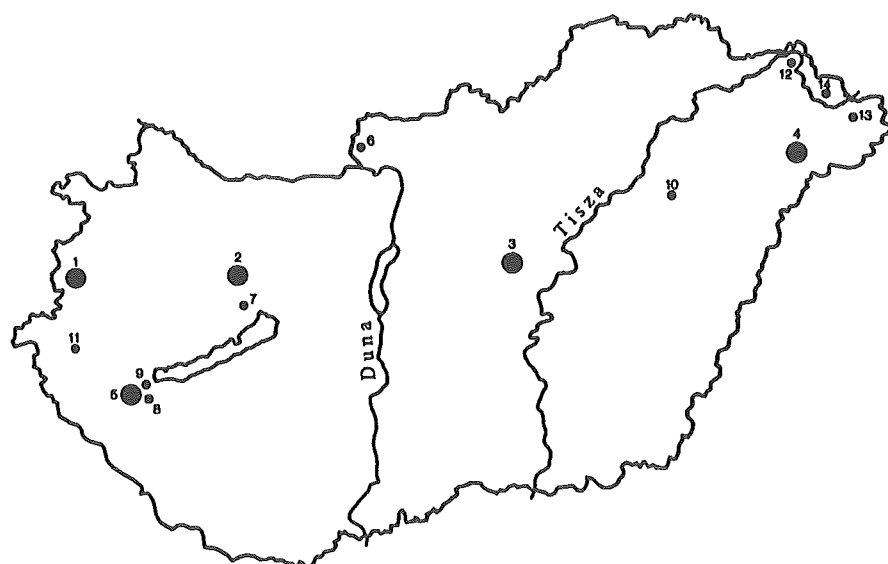


Fig. 3. - Excavated remains of the timber churches,

1: Szombathely-Saint Martin church; 2: Zirc; 3: Tápiógyörgye; 4: Nüirderzs-Greek orthodox church; 5: Zalasabar.

Uncertain archaeological data about timber churches,

6: Ipolytölgyes; 7: Veszprém; 8: Balatonmagyaród; 9: Zalavár; 10: Papegyháza.

Early modern times timber churches, 11: Zalacséb; 12: Mándok; 13: Mánd; 14: Tákos.

known in the Great Hungarian Plain. The remains were unearthed in the nave of a later and larger masonry church (Fig. 1). The foundation trench of the masonry church was recognizable by fragments of lime and mortar. At the same time, the foundation trench of the timber church was shallow, about 10-15 cm deep and only 50-60 cm wide. It was filled with brownish black humus. The timber church probably was built onto breast-summers. The maximum capacity of the timber church must have been 45 persons.

Sizes: the reconstructed external length of the East-West oriented timber church amounted to c. 8.8 m, its width was 6.2 m. The interior of the nave measured 4.9 x 5.5 m, its floor surface 27 m². The length of the nave, that is to say its western wall, was outlined by the graves set along its edge. These graves belonged to the cemetery surrounding the timber church and have been dug when the masonry church was built. With the help of the burials, the complete ground plan of the timber church can be reconstructed (Fig. 1-2).

The time of the building of the timber church

In the cemetery around the church, a total of 47 graves were excavated. Seven of these are obviously associated with the early timber church. Only 3 meters off the masonry church we found a house with an oven. It yielded many iron tools and ceramic finds as well as a coin from the end of the 12th century, which demonstrates that the house already existed at this time. This house was demolished by a sudden fire, most probably as a result of war. The finds from the house and the masonry church with rectangular chancel are synchronous. Judging from this we can suggest that the masonry church may have been built at the beginning or in the middle of the 12th century

at the earliest or in the early 13th century at the latest. Taking this into consideration, we have to date the timber church to the 11th century.

Techniques used to build the timber church:

We do not need to underline the close relationship and mutual impact of the construction of sacral and profane buildings. Our original idea on the Tápiógyörgye breast-summer timber church construction was supported after the survey of ethnographic literature.

Breast-summers were put next to each other on the corners. Some researchers think that the origin of the breast-summer construction is linked to the fact that in the case of pile-works, wooden parts which were put into the ground soon rotted away; therefore, the beams were first set on stones and later assembled into huge girders lying horizontally. For many centuries, this used to be a common way of construction throughout Europe. It remained common in rural areas in many countries (England, Germany, Holland, certain parts of France) (Cs. Sebestyén 1937, 49-50). There are several techniques for building the walls. Sometimes the walls were made with vertical or horizontal logs. The vertical openings between the logs were covered with planks, and the holes between laths were filled in with tamped earth. In this period, the holes were sometimes covered with mud and wickerwork. Archaeological research did not reveal any information concerning the walls of the church from Tápiógyörgye, so each of the techniques mentioned above may have been used. A possible reconstruction of the church is shown in fig. 2.

Uncertain archaeological data (Fig. 3.)

Balatonmagyaród-Pusztaszentegyház (county Zala). On the basis of an earlier cemetery it was suggested

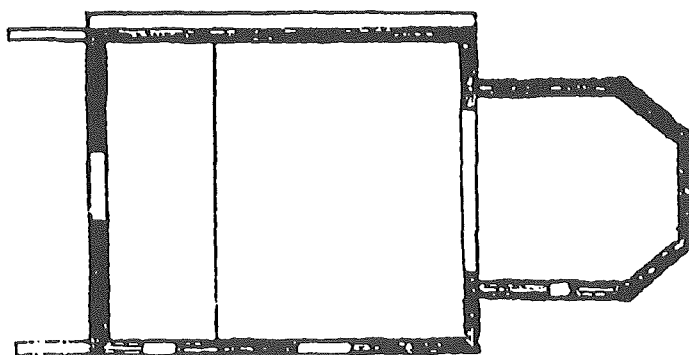
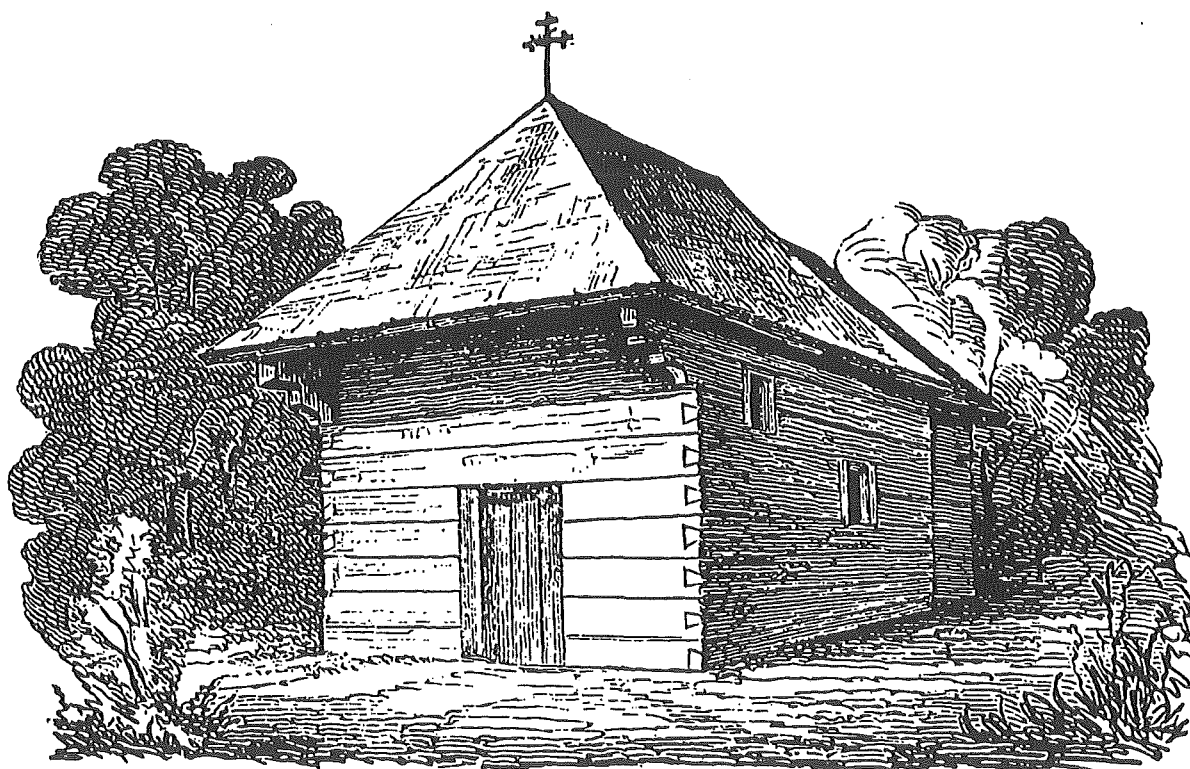


Fig. 4. - Timber church of Zalacséb. Drawing made by Flóris Rómer in 1863.

that before the masonry church a smaller – possibly timber – church existed on the hill (Szőke & Vándor 1986, 79).

Ipolytölgyes (county Pest). the excavating archaeologist suggested that the unearthed masonry church was built on the site of a timber one. However, he did not have any direct evidence for this interpretation (Bakay 1989, 146).

Veszprém-Tolbuhin street 35-37 (county Veszprém). A pile-work building was found. Neither its ground plan, nor its function could be determined convincingly. It can be dated to the period 'before the construction of the main walls' in the 10th-11th centuries. The excavating archaeologist suggested that it could have been part of the bishop's (?) *palatium* (Kralovánszky 1986, 118).

Zalavár-Récéskút (county Zala). The traces of the pile-work 'building' found in a church are said to

belong not to a timber church, as the excavating archaeologist had suggested, but to a scaffolding constructed in connection with the masonry church (Tóth 1973, 623; Szőke 1976, 80). Northeast of the church other traces of pile-work constructions were found.

Papegyháza (county Hajdú-Bihar). No traces of stone building were found in the vicinity of the village but judging from the name of the settlement ('priest's church') and the cemetery of the Árpadian Age it could be suggested that a timber church did exist here (Zoltai 1925, 48).

Moving timber churches

We have an interesting medieval source according to which standing timber churches and other buildings were moved to other places as a whole, without

taking them apart. Such an operation can only be imagined when these buildings had a breast-summer construction. Several examples from modern times in Transylvania indicate that the 13th-century written source mentioning the church in Kiscsány by oxen must be correct. According to the 14th- and 15th-century data, peasant houses were then also made of wood and could equally be transported (Kordé 1994, 207). Several 17th- and 18th-century indications concerning the transportation of timber buildings provide us with the means to reconstruct retrospectively how the churches were moved in the Middle Ages.

A few examples may be mentioned here. In many places in Mezőség (Transylvania), no stone churches or towers were built because of the continuous landslides of the salty clay soil. It frequently happened that the neighbouring village bought the old timber church from the village that was building a new one (Kós 1989, 112). Two other examples are equally of interest. In 1741, the community of Bölkény moved the timber church together with the bell-tower from the cemetery hill to the centre of the village (Kós 1989, 112). The same happened in 1753 in Mája on the river Nyárád, where the timber church was transported from the church hill to the centre by 28 pairs of oxen and 84 people (Kós 1989, 112, footnote 144; Balogh 1935, 169).

A smaller, *i.e.* 9 m long building (a timber barn) was not taken apart, but moved as whole even at the beginning of this century. This task required at least 50 people. A similar situation must be imagined when a timber church was moved. The lower ends of the posts of the long sides of the building were connected with a girder to prevent them from moving from their position during transportation. After that, the earth was dug out below the reed wall in order to reach the barn itself. With the help of a crow-bar the building was raised at the corners and 4-5 logs put under the girders connecting the posts. If the building proved to be too heavy it was rolled on 1.5 m long wooden trunks. In the latter case the lower part of the girder connecting the posts was rounded off. As the building was moving forward, rolling trunks were put in front of it (Vajkai 1937, 337).

Still existing timber churches from the 16th-18th centuries (Fig. 3)

In the county of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, three timber churches are known of:

1. Mándok. According to oral tradition, the church dates from the time of the Reformation around 1550, but the account book of the church shows 1640 to have been the year of construction. The patron saint

of the Greek-Catholic church was St. Nicholas. It is a timber building with a single nave, a rectangular chancel, and wall constructed of logs with daubing. Its tent-like roof is covered with shingles. The southern side has a rectangular window, and rectangular windows also occur in the southern and eastern sides of the apse. The entrance is in the west. An interesting feature of the church is that in the middle of the chancel an oak tree trunk (diameter 1 m) served as an altar; at the time of construction of the church, it could have been living tree (Szabolcs & Szatmár m. m. II. 1987, 59).

2. Mánd. The present-day church built of wood and wattle was erected between 1787 and 1790 on the site of the old timber church. It has a wooden shell and wattle walls with daubing. There are two windows in the southern wall of the nave, and the apse is a little narrower and more trapezoid. the windows have segment-shaped closing parts. The roof is covered with shingles. Originally, the western entrance was arch-shaped at the top. (Szabolcs & Szatmár m. m. II. 1987, 264).

3. Tákos. This church with wattle walls and shingle roof was built in the 18th century. In its lower part, a breast-summer lies on a stone foundation. On it, bearing posts stand at equal distances from one another. They constitute the shell of the wall and support the roof. From both the exterior and interior sides, a wattle wall was put in between the posts. The entrance is at the southern side and there is a little wooden hall in front of it (Szabolcs & Szatmár m. m. II. 1987, 59).

We have to mention the log-wall timber church from Zalacséb (Fig. 4) (Rómer 1871, 5). According to the description by Ferenc Rómer, it was a Gothic church with a polygonal apse and rectangular windows only in the southern side. The length of the nave was 4 fathoms, the length of the chancel 1.5 fathoms; the width of the nave was 1.5 fathoms, its height 2 fathoms. The bell of the church was cast in 1670.

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Frühchristliche Architektur in der Provinz: das Beispiel des Bistums Martigny/Octodurus

Die Architektur- und Kunstgeschichte geht traditionellerweise von den Monumenten und Entwicklungen in den Zentren aus und erprobt an diesen ihre Modelle. Erklärermassen oder stillschweigend setzt sie voraus, dass in den Provinzen – oder häufiger einfach in *der* Provinz – diese Formen und Entwicklungen mit mehr oder weniger Verspätung und häufig mit etwelchen Vereinfachungen rezipiert wurden¹. Auch für die Anfangs- und Frühzeit der christlichen Architektur scheint – betrachtet man die Handbücher – diese Vorstellung weitgehend akzeptiert, selbst wenn dabei ein polyzentrisches Modell in Rechnung gestellt wird. So konstatiert Friedrich W. Deichmann: "Für die spätantike bzw. frühchristliche Architektur war in jeder Region die einheimische Überlieferung der Architektur der römischen bzw. parthischen Zeit mit ihren so unterschiedlichen Wurzeln entscheidend."² Unter Region wird dabei in der Regel eines der hauptstädtischen Zentren – Rom, Ravenna, Mailand, Trier, Konstantinopel – verstanden, das in die nähere und weitere Umgebung ausstrahlt, oder aber eine der grossen meist östlichen Landschaften des spätantiken Hinterlandes wie Nordafrika, Syrien, Palästina oder Kleinasien.

Die archäologischen Untersuchungen der letzten Jahrzehnte belegen nun aber für die einigermaßen intensiv erforschten Gegenden auch und gerade des Westens eine grössere Vielfalt an Möglichkeiten und vielschichtiger Prozesse, als sie mit einfachen Zentrum – Peripherie – Vorstellungen erfassbar sind. Freilich fehlt uns gerade für die Frühzeit der christlichen Architektur oft die Monumentendichte, die erforderlich wäre, um von den Einzelbeispielen auf

eine allgemeine Entwicklung zu schliessen. Als eine der glücklichen Ausnahmen ist die Situation im heutigen Schweizer Kanton Wallis zu nennen, wo die Dichte der spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Befunde zumindest den Versuch wagen lässt, einen Überblick über die Anfänge der christlichen Sakralarchitektur gewinnen und – nicht zuletzt im Vergleich mit gut untersuchten Monumenten der Nachbardiözesen – die einfachen Modelle korrigieren zu können. Gründe für diese spezielle Konstellation sind zum einen in der Morphologie des Territoriums – geschlossene, noch heute eine Einheit bildende Tal-schaft mit beschränktem Baugrund und ausserordentlich wichtigen Alpenübergängen –, zum andern in der bruchlosen religiösen Kontinuität – überdies ohne umfassende Barockisierungen – und in der Forschungstradition zu suchen: Vor genau hundert Jahren begannen die archäologischen Untersuchungen in der Abtei St-Maurice; seit den 1950er Jahren kamen im Zeichen des Bau- und Ausstattungsbooms zahlreiche weitere Kirchengrabungen dazu, die schliesslich in den 80er und frühen 90er Jahren mit den Grossprojekten der Friedhofskirche Sous-le-Scex in Sion und der Pfarr- und ehemaligen Bischofskirche von Martigny ihren vorläufigen Abschluss fanden³.

Diese letzte Ausgrabung bestätigte, dass sich der erste Bischofsitz im alten Hauptort *Forum Claudii Vallensium* oder – vorrömisch – *Octorodus*, befunden hatte, wie dies aus der Nennung eines "Theodorus episcopus octodorensis" am Konzil von Aquileia i.J. 381 zu vermuten, mangels archäologischer Zeugnisse bislang aber nicht zu belegen war⁴. Da seit dem späten 6. Jahrhundert der Walliser Bischof in

¹ Grundlegend zur Diskussion des Zentrum-Peripherie-Modells: Castelnovo & Ginzburg 1979, *passim*; anhand eines Glanzlichts der Kunstgeschichte – dem gotischen Figurenportal – hat Peter Cornelius Claussen das Modell kürzlich um eine interessante Komponente erweitert: Claussen 1994, *passim*.

² Deichmann 1983, 236.

³ Es ist nicht zuletzt das Verdienst des ehemaligen Kantonsarchäologen François-Olivier Dubuis, dass die Renovationen

der Kirchen in der Regel von archäologischen Forschungen begleitet waren. Seit den 80er Jahren sind es vor allem Hans-Jörg Lehner und Alessandra Antonini, welche die neuen wissenschaftlichen Anforderungen in der Mittelalter-Archäologie im Wallis zu verankern suchten.

⁴ *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, t. III, col. 613; dazu Dubuis & Lugon 1992, 10.

Sitten/Sion residierte, war nicht auszuschliessen, dass das kirchliche Oberhaupt den Namen des alten Zentrums als *pars pro toto* für das ganze Tal verwendet, aber stets schon in Sion residiert hätte. Das erste monumentale Zeugnis von Christen auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Schweiz wird denn auch im Sittener Rathaus aufbewahrt: Die Bauinschrift des *Praeses* Pontius Asclepiodotus mit dem Christusmonogramm aus dem Jahre 377, deren Herkunft freilich nicht lokalisiert werden kann⁵.

Der in Aquileia firmierende Theodor aus Martigny war derselbe Bischof, der nach dem Bericht seines Amtsbruders Eucherius von Lyon (um 434-ca. 450) in Agaunum die Gebeine der Märtyrer der Thebäischen Legion entdeckt und darauf eine erste Memorialie in St-Maurice erbaut haben soll⁶. Er legte damit den Grundstock eines zweiten kirchlichen Zentrums im Wallis, das dank der Anziehungskraft der Märtyrererbe dem Bischofsitz bald den Rang ablaufen und seit der Einrichtung eines eigentlichen Klosters durch den nachmaligen Burgunderkönig Sigismund im Jahre 515 zum Hauptheiligtum des Tales werden sollte. Dass die wachsende Bedeutung des nur wenige Meilen von Martigny entfernten Klosters Konflikte mit dem Bischof provozierte, liegt auf der Hand: Nach der Chronik des Marius von Avenches sollen die Mönche von St-Maurice 565 sogar versucht haben, den damaligen Walliser Bischof Agricola zu ermorden⁷. Dieser Zwischenfall dürfte wie der Langobardeneinfall von 574 Symptom einer allgemeinen Krise gewesen sein, welche die Bischöfe schliesslich zur Verlegung ihres Sitzes talaufwärts nach Sitten veranlasste⁸: 585 ist am Konzil von Mâcon jedenfalls von "Eliodori episcopi a Sedunis" die Rede⁹.

Wo in Sion die erste bischöfliche Hauptkirche lag, bleibt vorerst unklar: Weder unter der spätgotischen Kathedrale noch unter der den gleichen Status beanspruchenden spätromanischen Valeriakirche sind bislang spätantike Baureste nachgewiesen, und die Ausgrabungen unter der Theodulskirche, in der seit karolingischer Zeit der bereits genannte Bischof Theodor/Theodul verehrt wurde, sind noch nicht ausreichend ausgewertet. Dagegen führte 1984 ein Bauvorhaben in "Sous-le-Scex", d.h. am Südfuss des Valeriafelsens, zur überraschenden Entdeckung einer grossen, in keiner Schriftquelle erwähnten frühchrist-

lichen Friedhofskirche. Dank diesem archäologischen Neufund ist nun neben dem berühmten Kloster in St-Maurice und dem frühen Bischofssitz in Martigny eine dritte wichtige Funktion frühchristlich-frühmittelalterlicher Sakralbauten im Wallis nachgewiesen.

Das erlaubt uns, nach den Bauformen zu fragen, die man für diese verschiedenen Aufgaben wählte: Wie sahen diese Kirchen aus, wie standen sie untereinander und mit den massgeblichen Bauten der umliegenden Diözesen in Beziehung und wie wurden sie an weniger bedeutenden Orten im Bistum rezipiert?

a) Martigny: Durch Umnutzung und Umbau zur Doppelkathedrale

Die 1990-93 unter der Pfarrkirche Notre-Dame-des-Champs in Martigny ergrabenen Vorgängerstrukturen lassen sich grob in sechs Hauptbauphasen zusammenfassen, von denen für unsere Fragestellung hier die ersten vier von Bedeutung sind¹⁰.

Als älteste bauliche Struktur wurde ein mehrräumiger römischer Gebäudekomplex erfasst, dessen Orientierung für alle Nachfolgebauten verbindlich blieb. Er liegt knapp 100 m nördlich ausserhalb der Stadtgrenze von *Forum Claudii Vallensium* im Suburbium und weicht um knapp 15 Grad vom Raster der *insulae* der römischen Innenstadt ab¹¹. Vier etwa parallele Nord-Süd-Mauern und fünf Ost-West-verlaufende Mauerzüge bilden eine Reihe von längs aneinandergereihten rechteckigen Räumen mit einer gemeinsamen Westflucht. In einem Abstand von gut vier Metern folgt westlich davon eine weitere Nord-Süd-Mauer. Die Ausdehnung der Räume nach Osten differiert, wobei sich im Süden ein Baukörper bzw. die südlichste der erfassten Mauern über die östliche Grabungsgrenze hinaus nach Osten erstreckt, wo nach etwa 15 m eine aus der Stadt hinausführende Strasse verlaufen sein dürfte. Wie die einzelnen Räume unseres Gebäudekomplexes erschlossen waren, ist nicht mehr zu bestimmen: Die nachfolgenden jüngeren Mauern und vor allem die über 1100 Bestattungen, die in der Kirche geborgen wurden, haben alle entsprechenden Befunde zerstört. Es sind daher aus dieser ersten nachgewiesenen Phase auch keine Böden oder andere Benutzungsniveaus mehr fassbar; ebensowenig konnten andere Ausstattungsg-

⁵ Jörg 1977, 35.

⁶ MGH *Script. rerum merov.* t. III, 1896, 32-40.

⁷ Favrod 1991, 80f., 103.


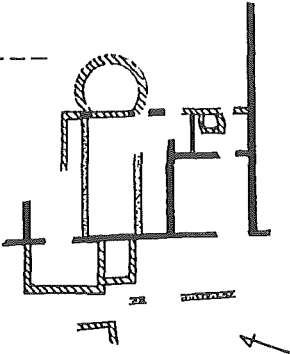
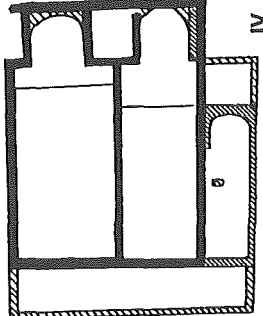
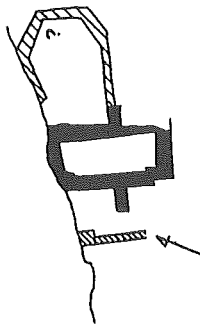
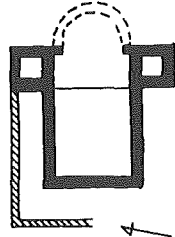
⁸ Auf dem Gebiet der nachmaligen Schweiz wurden in dieser Zeit mehrere Bischofsitze verlegt: von Augusta Raurica wohl nun definitiv nach Basel, von Vindonissa nach Konstanz und von Avenches nach Lausanne, dazu H. MAURER, in: *Helvetia*

Sacra I.2. 1. Teil, Basel 1993, 86f.; G. COUTAZ, in: *Helvetia Sacra* I.4, Basel 1988, 46f.

⁹ MGH, *Conc.* t. I, 173.

¹⁰ Dazu demnächst Faccani/Meier 1997; vgl. bisher Lehner & Wibl 1994.

¹¹ Zum römischen Martigny Wibl 1986; Drack & Fellmann 1988, 435ff.

Vorkarolingische Kirchen im Wallis	HRM96		7. Jh.	6. Jh.	5. Jh.	4. Jh.
						
Martigny						
St-Maurice Klosterkirche						
Notre-Dame-sous le-Bourg						

teile gefunden werden. Da offensichtlich nicht einmal die Wände verputzt waren, müssen wir von einem sehr bescheidenen Ausstattungsniveau und Raumkomfort ausgehen; es dürfte sich folglich kaum um den Herrentrakt einer suburbanen Villa gehandelt haben. Eine provisorische Durchsicht der geborgenen Keramik lässt auf eine Errichtung der Anlage im 2. Jahrhundert schliessen. Die Funktion der Räume ist nicht zu bestimmen; auch über den Nordsaal, der beim ersten nachgewiesenen Umbau durch die Niederlegung einer Binnenmauer und den Einzug eines ersten Mörtelbodens entstand, lässt sich angesichts der weiteren Entwicklung allenfalls spekulieren.

Erst die zur Phase II zusammengefassten Bau-massnahmen klären die Situation, indem die Anlage in mehreren Etappen zu einer schliesslich zweifelsfrei erkennbaren Kirche transformiert wurde. In einem ersten Schritt fügte man dem Nordsaal eine nach Osten gerichtete Exedra an und schuf damit eine herausgehobene Zone, in der dann bis zum barocken Neubau – der eine Umorientierung der Kirche bedeutete – stets der Chor lag. Daraus resultiert aber, dass in diesem intensiv genutzten und mehrfach erneuerten Bereich die Störungen durch Gräber und jüngere Einbauten ausserordentlich gross sind und sich aus dieser Frühzeit nur mehr sehr spärliche Mauerfragmente sowie – in einem nordöstlichen Nebenraum – der Rest eines Mörtelbodens erhalten haben. Trotz der bescheidenen Befunde ist die Exedra zumindest für den Fundamentbereich mit einiger Sicherheit hufeisenförmig zu rekonstruieren, eine Form, die im 4. und frühen 5. Jahrhundert in der kirchlichen Architektur des westalpinen Grossraums durchaus Vergleichsbeispiele kennt, so in Sion Sous-le-Scex, im Baptisterium der ersten Genfer Kathedrale, der kleinen Kirche der Nekropole der Porta Decumana in Aosta oder in der *basilica Virginum* (S. Simpliciano) in Mailand¹². Für Martigny ist freilich weder aus dem Faktum der Anfügung einer Exedra noch gar aus diesem Formvergleich auf eine christliche Nutzung der ganzen Anlage bereits zu diesem (archäologisch nicht datierbaren) Zeitpunkt zu schliessen. Dass eine sakrale Funktion in unserem Fall dennoch nicht unwahrscheinlich ist, geht aus der weiteren Bauentwicklung hervor. Denn möglicherweise in derselben Bauetappe – wenn auch im Bauvorgang sekundär – wurde neben diversen andern Um- und Anbauten der zur Exedra gehörende Nordsaal verbreitert und schliesslich südlich davon ein Baptisterium eingerichtet. Dafür wurde ungefähr in der

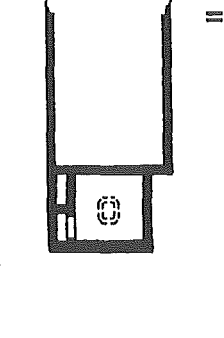


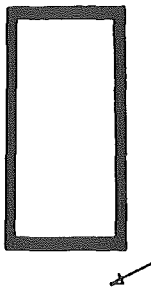


Mittelachse eines mit der Ostmauer des Nordsaals bündigen querrrechteckigen Raumes ein birnenförmiges Taufbecken unmittelbar an der Aussenmauer etwa zu einem Drittel in den Boden eingetieft. Der Zugang zum Becken erfolgte von Westen über je eine Treppenstufe vom Boden zum Beckenrand und von diesem in die *piscina*. Schrankenplatten, deren Negative beidseits der Wanne in Abständen von etwa 30 cm im Boden und in der Westwand noch als Nuten zu erkennen sind, trennten den Raum. Ein Zugang in den Taufraum von Süden ist gesichert, ein weiterer im Süden der Westwand wahrscheinlich; allfällige weitere Eingänge sind durch spätere Umbauten zerstört. Da in und um diesen Raum keine sanitären Installationen vorhanden waren, ist ausgeschlossen, dass die *piscina* zu einer Badeanlage gehörte. Ihre Zweckbestimmung als Baptisterium steht somit ausser Zweifel, wobei das Fehlen von Zu- und Abfluss zugleich einen Hinweis auf den Taufritus gibt: Eintauchen des Täuflings in fliessendes Wasser (Inversion) war nicht möglich, so dass Besprühen (Asper-sion) oder Begiessen (Infusion) in Frage kommen¹³. Möglicherweise gibt das Taufbecken in Martigny auch einen Datierungshinweis, fällt doch auf, dass im ganzen westlichen Oberitalien und Alpenraum bis ins Rhonetal seit dem ausgehenden 4. Jahrhundert praktisch sämtliche Taufeinrichtungen in irgendeiner Weise auf die Achtzahl Bezug nahmen, nachdem in der Metropole Mailand Bischof Ambrosius (374-397) in berühmten Versen die Taufsymbolik mit der Seitenzahl seines oktogonalen Baptisteriums zusammengebracht hatte¹⁴. Dass sich in Martigny – einem Ort, der via Grossem St. Bernhard (*mons Poeninus*) mit Mailand eng verbunden war – nichts entsprechendes fand, könnte somit auf eine Entstehung der Taufanlage in vor-, allenfalls frühambrosianische Zeit deuten.

Dieser zeitliche Ansatz fügt sich nahtlos zu dem einleitend vom frühen Christentum im Wallis Berichteten. In einer Zeit, in der ein Bischof aktenkundig und eine offizielle Bauinschrift eines Amtsträgers mit dem Christusmonogramm geziert ist, können wir auch mit architektonischen Zeugen des Christentums rechnen. Allerdings war diese erste bischöfliche Kirche kein repräsentativer Neubau, sondern ein mit bescheidenen Mitteln für den neuen kultischen Zweck hergerichteter Teil eines grösseren Gebäudekomplexes am Stadtrand. Die Christen folgten so mit ihrem eher unauffälligen Bau anderen Glaubensgemeinschaften, die ihr religiöses Zentrum

¹² Bonnet 1993, 24f.; Bonnet & Perinetti 1986, 50f.; Milano capitale 1990, 135f.

¹³ Vgl. Picard 1989, 1451-1468.

¹⁴ Zur ambrosianischen Taufsymbolik vgl. Schmitz 1975; Picard 1989.

Glis	
Sailon	
Muraz	
Leuk	
Bramois	
Villa/St-Ginier	

seit längerem im Suburbium von Martigny gehabt und wohl noch immer hatten¹⁵; sie unterschieden sich damit zugleich von ihren Mitchristen in den benachbarten Bischofstädten Aosta und Genf, deren erste Kirchen im 4. Jahrhundert zwar jeweils auch in Wohnkomplexe eingerichtet wurden, die dort aber im politischen Zentrum der Siedlungen lagen¹⁶. Offensichtlich erfreute sich die Kirche in Martigny nicht ähnlich vermögender Donatoren – vielleicht auch deshalb, weil ihr Ort gesamthaft in einer Krise steckte.

Denn erhebliche Störungen im römischen Stadtgefüge bezeugt nicht zuletzt das Baumaterial, mit dem der nächste grössere Umbau der Kirchenanlage in Martigny ausgeführt wurde: Anders als in allen früheren Bauphasen sind es nun zumindest im Fundamentbereich nicht mehr durchwegs Handquader und plattige Bruchsteine, sondern in grösserem Ausmass auch Spolien. Ein mächtiges Kapitell, ein Architravfragment mit einer Jupiter-Inschrift, Grabaltären und Deckplatten der Forumsmauer belegen eindrücklich, dass selbst zentrale Bereiche der einstigen Stadt wüst lagen und zur Spoliation zur Verfügung standen. So ist zu fragen, ob mit dem Neubau die ehemals suburbane Kirche zum neuen Zentrum der wohl stark reduzierten spätantiken Siedlung wurde, wie dies andernorts aufgrund umfangreicher Siedlungsbefunde schön belegt werden konnte¹⁷.

Jedenfalls wurde die Bischofskirche durch umfangreiche Um- und Anbauten in zwei Etappen weitgehend erneuert. In Bauphase III sind im Südteil der Anlage Baumassnahmen belegt, die bereits mit dem Gesamtumbau zusammenhängen, aber zugleich eine dieser vierten Phase vorangehende Nutzung sicher machen. Es muss sich folglich um eine Art Provisorium während des Baus der neuen Anlage gehandelt haben. Konkret lassen sich die Veränderungen wie folgt zusammenfassen: Der Südsaal wurde um gut fünf Meter nach Westen verlängert und im vergrösserten Saal ein leicht nach Westen ansteigender Mörtelstrich eingezogen. Auch nach Osten wurde der Südtrakt verlängert: Etwa vier Meter östlich der Baptisterium-Aussenwand begann man mit dem Bau des späteren Südchors, wobei vorerst offenbar nur ein schmaler, durch eine eingezogene West-Ost-Mauer ausgeschiedener Korridor entlang der Südmauer genutzt wurde. Während der Südsaal als Baukirche funktionierte, schritten die Bauarbeiten im

Norden voran. Die neue Westmauer wurde nach Norden verlängert, wo sie mit der zumindest im westlichen Teil ebenfalls neuen Nordmauer eine Ecke bildete. Diese war wie alle Ecken des Neubaus aus grossen Spolienquadern gefügt. Anstelle der abgebrochenen Hufeisenapsis errichtete man einen ungefähr quadratischen Rechteckchor. Zwischen diesem und dem Schiff erstreckte sich ein gut 1.2 m breiter Vorchor, der von letzterem durch eine Schranke getrennt war. Mit Ausnahme eines Zugangs von einem nördlichen Nebenraum in den Rechteckchor sind die Eingänge in den Nordsaal unbekannt.

Nach Vollendung dieser Kirche erfuhr auch der Südteil der Anlage grundlegende Veränderungen, die eine Anpassung an den nördlichen Teil bedeuteten. Das Baptisterium wurde an dieser Stelle aufgegeben und wohl in einen von der Grabung nicht erfassten Bereich verlegt. Seine ehemalige Westmauer sowie die gegenüberliegende Stirnwand brach man weitgehend ab. Auf den Fundamenten der ersteren wurde ein Schrankenmäuerchen errichtet, das den Ostteil des Südsaals abtrennte. Östlich dieses gut drei Meter tiefen Vorchores folgte nun auch im Südsaal ein Rechteckchor. Allerdings scheint zumindest die nördliche Mauer nur eingestellt gewesen zu sein, so dass fraglich ist, ob dieser Chor seine beiden Annexräume aussen überragte, oder ob wir nicht eher von einem dreiräumigen, von aussen einheitlichen Ostanbau ausgehen müssen. Der Nordchor, der konstruktiv eine selbständige Einheit bildete, dürfte dagegen trotz seiner Nebenräume nach aussen ebenso eindeutig in Erscheinung getreten sein, wie es bei beiden Chören nach innen zweifellos der Fall war. Während wir vom mittleren, die beiden Chöre verbindenden Nebenraum nichts wissen, hatte der schmale südliche vorerst weiterhin eine Korridorfunktion: Noch immer führte von Osten ein Zugang entlang des Rechteckchors in den Vorchor. Neu war, dass man nun auch von Süden zuerst in diesen Durchgangsraum trat, nachdem der alte Südzugang während einer weitgehenden Erneuerung der Südmauer aufgegeben worden war. Ein weiter westlich folgender zweiter Südeingang führte direkt ins Schiff.

Mit zwei parallel nebeneinanderliegenden, jeweils durch Schranken und erhöhte Presbyterien als Kirchen ausgewiesenen Haupträumen stellt diese Bauphase in Martigny den "klassischen" Fall einer früh-

¹⁵ Vgl. das Mithräum oder den gallorömischen Tempel in der westlichen Vorstadt, die aufgrund der Münzfunde beide mindestens bis gegen das Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts kultisch genutzt waren: Wiblé 1995; Wiblé 1983.

¹⁶ Bonnet 1993, 17ff; Bonnet & Perinetti 1986, 16.

¹⁷ Vgl. das Bsp. von Aquileia: Jäggi 1990. In Martigny bele-

gen Bestattungen und ephemere Einbauten in diversen Insulae, dass die Siedlung auch im 5./6. Jahrhundert weiterbestand, doch dürfte sie zunehmend einen dörflichen Charakter bekommen haben. Mit Ausnahme unseres Kirchenkomplexes sind keine Baumassnahmen an öffentlichen oder andern grösseren Bauwerken nachgewiesen.

christlichen Doppelkathedrale dar. Hier ist nicht die Gelegenheit, die Diskussion nach Zweck und Funktion dieses Baukonzepts aufzugreifen¹⁸; festgehalten sei nur, dass seit dem späten 4. und im 5. Jahrhundert Doppelkirchen im weiteren Umfeld unseres Gebiets eine vertraute Lösung darstellten. Wir finden sie zuerst in bischöflichen Zentren – in Genf um 400 in ähnlicher Anordnung mit zwei parallelen Kirchenräumen, in Mailand und möglicherweise in Aosta in longitudinaler Abfolge¹⁹ –, bald aber auch ausserhalb von diesen²⁰. Im Unterschied zu den genannten bischöflichen Vergleichsbeispielen, die durchwegs basilikal sind, behielt man in Martigny auch jetzt noch den einfacheren Typus des Saalbaus bei. Zusammen mit den weiterhin eher kleinen Dimensionen darf man daraus auf eine eher beschränkte Repräsentationskraft unserer Anlage schliessen. In diesem Zusammenhang sind auch die Rechteckchöre verständlich, die bei spätantiken Kirchen noch keineswegs so selbstverständlich waren wie dann seit dem Frühmittelalter und die gewiss als Reduktionsform, als praktikable Lösung innerhalb einer durchgehenden Raumfolge zu verstehen sind²¹.

Datieren lässt sich unsere Doppelkathedrale bisher nicht direkt. Liefert das Baptisterium der Phase II möglicherweise einen *terminus post quem* so die Bestattungen in dem sekundär parallel an den Süd-saal angefügten schmalen Südannex einen *terminus ante quem*: Im Steinplattengrab T1128 lag als dritte Nachbestattung ein Junge, der ein Bronzeschnällchen der Zeit um 600 auf sich trug. Da es sich um das vierte in diesem Grab bestattete Individuum handelt und zwischen der erneuten Benutzung desselben Grabes jeweils einige Zeit verstrichen sein muss, wird wohl der Anbau ins frühe 6., die vorher errichtete Doppelkirche damit ins 5. Jahrhundert zu datieren sein. Ob eine Umgestaltung der Chöre beider Säle vor oder nach dem Anbau des Südannexes erfolgte, ist archäologisch nicht zu entscheiden; jedenfalls dürften beide Chöre mit Kalotten überwölbt worden sein. Das legen die gerundeten Zwickel nahe, die als spätere Einfügungen in beiden Ostecken des Nord- und in der Südostecke des Südchores noch nachweisbar sind, die ehemals rechteckigen Sanktuarien in eigentliche Apsiden umwandelten und die Kirchen damit dem damaligen "Normaltyp" annähernten. Schliesslich wurde zu einem nicht näher

bestimmbaren Zeitpunkt vor die Westfassade der um den Südannex erweiterten Doppelkirche ein Narthex angebaut. Ob es sich um einen geschlossenen Annex oder um eine portikusähnliche Vorhalle handelte, kann nicht entschieden werden; Fundierung und Stärke der Mauern weisen aber darauf hin, dass wir zumindest teilweise mit geschlossenen Wänden zu rechnen haben. Wie in frühchristlichen Anlagen oft nachzuweisen, wurde auch unser Narthex als Bestattungsplatz genutzt.

Ob damals der Bischof noch in Martigny residierte, wissen wir nicht; mit Sicherheit wurde aber die Kirchenanlage auch nach dessen Wegzug weitergenutzt. Das bezeugen weiter die Bestattungen im Südannex, der offenbar seine Funktion mindestens bis zum nächsten Umbau ausübte. Dieser erfolgte wohl in karolingischer Zeit und brachte den Ersatz des Nordchores durch eine halbrunde Apsis²².

Fassen wir die Anfänge und frühe Entwicklung des bischöflichen Komplexes in Martigny zusammen, so ist die Übernahme und Umnutzung eines besiedelten Liegenschaft für die erste Kirche im Vergleich mit den umliegenden Diözesen nicht untypisch. Auffällig ist hier aber die Randlage und das bescheidene Ausstattungsniveau der Vorgängerbauten, wobei letzteres quasi symptomatisch sein sollte: Zwar sind mehrere, z.T. auch grössere Umbauten der frühchristlichen Anlage zu verzeichnen; zu einer konzeptuellen Neuplanung kommt es aber nie, stets geben die vorgefundenen Strukturen den Raster vor. Funktional fügt sich der Walliser Bischofsitz mit der Doppelkirche dem zeittypischen Kathedralschema ein, in der formalen Ausgestaltung und in den Dimensionen bleibt er aber ausgesprochen bescheiden. Gewiss zeigt etwa ein Blick nach Rätien, dass im Alpenraum Saalbauten nicht a priori einen der Basilika untergeordneten Bautyp verkörpern²³, zugleich sehen wir aber in St-Maurice, wie anspruchsvolle Auftraggeber auch im Wallis auf den offenbar doch höher konnotierten basilikalischen Bautyp zurückgreifen.

b) St-Maurice: Eine königliche Basilika für Märtyrer und Mönche

Auch in St-Maurice/Acaunus waren die ersten

¹⁸ Dazu zuletzt Piva 1990; van Welie 1993; Piva 1994.

¹⁹ Bonnet 1993, 28f.; Piva 1990, 40f., 64f.; zu Aosta vgl. Bonnet 1982, 391.

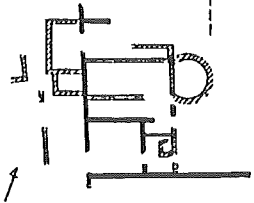
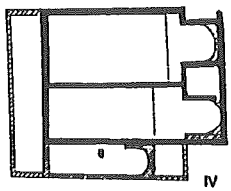
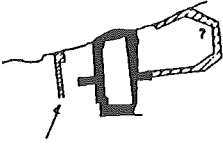
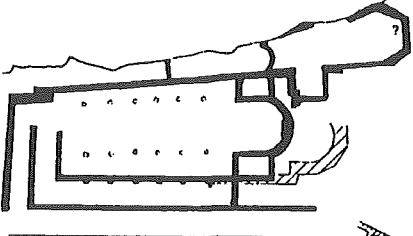
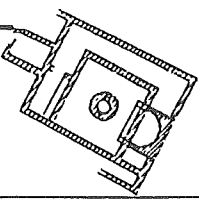
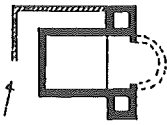
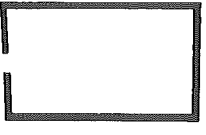
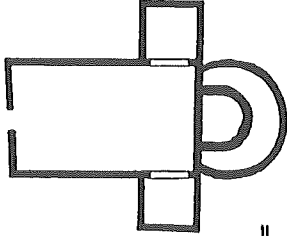
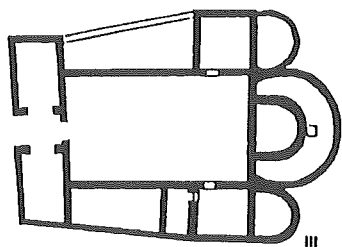
²⁰ Z.B. in Villeneuve im Aostatal: Perinetti 1986.

²¹ Für diese Fragen sei auf Faccani & Meier 1997 und vor allem auf die Schlusspublikation der Grabung in Martigny sowie

die in Vorbereitung befindliche Habilitationsschrift des Verf. zu Umnutzung und Umbau römischer Wohnanlagen zu frühchristlichen Kirchen verwiesen.

²² Dazu und zur jüngeren Baugeschichte Faccani & Meier 1997.

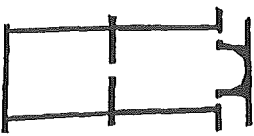
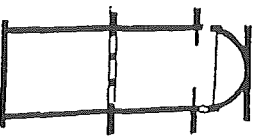
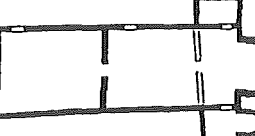

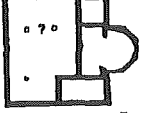
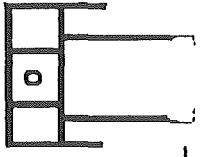
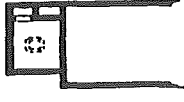






²³ Vgl. Sennhauser 1979, 137, 142.

Vorkarolingische Kirchen im Wallis				IRM 64
	4. Jh.	5. Jh.	6. Jh.	7. Jh.
Martigny				0 10m 20m
St-Maurice Klosterkirche				
Notre-Dame-sous-la-Bourg				
Sion Bous-la-Sces				
St-Théodule				

christlichen Bauten, die Bischof Theodor nach der Auffindung der Märtyrergebeine der Thebäischen Legion errichtete von bescheidenen Dimensionen, und auch diese befanden sich nicht in völlig unbebautem Gebiet, sondern in unmittelbarer Nähe zu römischen Gebäuden. Die Befunde im *Cour du Martolet* sind ausserordentlich kompliziert, und jüngste, 1994 von Hans-Jörg Lehner begonnene Nachuntersuchungen zeigen, dass die von Louis Blondel in den 1940-60er Jahren vorgelegten Resultate vielfach revisionsbedürftig sind²⁴. Für eine neue Gesamtübersicht ist es

noch zu früh; da aber die archäologischen Forschungen zur Zeit eingestellt sind, gilt es die verfügbaren Informationen zu sammeln und vorerst mit diesen zu arbeiten. Für die Frühzeit lassen sie sich wie folgt zusammenfassen: Als Kern der christlichen Anlage gilt seit Blondels Grabungen ein quereckiger Raum, der wohl von Bischof Theodor im Schutze der Felswand über zwei in den Felsgrund eingetieften Gräbern errichtet wurde. Dieser Memoria soll schon bald ein nach Osten ausgerichteter Saal mit polygonalem Abschluß angefügt worden sein, doch scheint es sich dabei um einen wesentlich jüngeren Anbau zu handeln, so dass die Ausdehnung von Theodors "basilica" vorerst unbekannt bleibt. Wenig südwestlich dieser ersten Kirche fanden sich im Bereich der späteren Memorie des Mauritius

²⁴ Vgl. Dubuis & Lugon 1995, 124ff.; Lehner 1995, 389f.; zu den Forschungen Blondels zusammenfassend Oswald, Schaefer & Sennhauser 1971, 297ff.; Jäggi 1996, 88ff.

Vorkarolingische Kirchen im Wallis					raum
	4. Jh.	5. Jh.	6. Jh.	7. Jh.	
Géronte					I II III
Ardon					I II
Glis					I II
Saillon					
Muraz					
Leuk					
Bramois					I II
Villa/St. Ginier					

verschiedene römische Mauerzüge, die bislang keinen deutbaren Zusammenhang ergeben, die aber wohl im Kontext des westlich daran anschliessenden Nymphäums zu sehen sind. Ob sich hier bereits in frühchristlicher Zeit ein zweites Verehrungszentrum befand und die später mit der doppelchörigen karolingischen Kirche offensichtliche Bipolarität damit in die Anfangszeit zurückreicht, ist noch nicht restlos geklärt. Jedenfalls scheint rasch ein beachtlicher Pilgerverkehr an den Gräbern der Thebäer eingesetzt zu haben, der zunächst offenbar von Frauen und "familiae saeculares" betreut wurde²⁵. Im Jahre 515 gründete dann der nachmalige Burgunderkönig Sigismund in *Acaunus* ein Kloster und führte dort die *laus perennis* ein. Dazu stiftete er eine erste dreischiffige Basilika, die unter Abt Ambrosius (516-520) zwi-

schen Theodors Memorie und den erwähnten römischen Bauten errichtet wurde. Mit den Dimensionen von etwa 25 x 10 m übertraf die neue Klosterkirche die bischöfliche Doppelkathedrale in Martigny in der Länge um gut fünf Meter. Die südliche Langhauswand war mit Lisenen gegliedert, wie wir das von den zeitgleichen Kirchen in Ravenna kennen; gegen Osten schloß der Bau mit einer eingezogenen und gestelzten Halbkreisapsis. Im Westen lag eine Vorhalle, zu der von der östlich des ganzen Komplexes gelegenen Siedlung entlang der Kirchensüdmauer zwei parallele Korridore führten. Der nördliche der beiden Gänge steigt als Rampe von Ost nach West kontinuierlich an, um direkt in den Narthex zu münden; entlang der Kirchenmauer luden Sitzbänke zum Verweilen ein. Der südliche Korridor ist als Kryptoportikus in den Boden eingetieft, so daß an seinem Ende eine Treppe zur Kirchenvorhalle emporführte. Dieser Gang entstand in mehreren Phasen und scheint bereits auf einen römischen Vorgänger, der möglicherweise zum Nymphäum führte, zurückzu-

²⁵ *Vita Abbatum Acaunensium*, MGH Script. Rer. Merov. t. VII, 1920, 332; dazu Theurillat 1954, 32ff.

gehen²⁶. Auch die beidseitigen Torbogen sind römisch; sie sind allerdings hier als Spolien sekundär aufgerichtet worden. Der Zugang zur verehrten Stätte war damit als eigentliche Triumphachse ausgestaltet, wobei man sich nicht nur des Formenapparats, sondern auch materiell der römischen Repräsentationsarchitektur bediente. Beide Korridore wurden im Laufe der Zeit auch intensiv als Grablegen genutzt. Weitere Bestattungen – zum Teil überhöht mit Grabbauten und -kapellen – erfolgten allmählich auch östlich des ganzen Abteikomplexes. Zu diesem gehörte wie bei vielen frühchristlichen Pilgerzentren ein Baptisterium, das noch im 6. Jahrhundert im Süden der Kirche errichtet wurde. Seine abweichende Orientierung gibt noch immer Rätsel auf; immerhin scheint der Zugang direkt vor dem Eingangsbogen zum Kryptoportikus und damit auf dem Weg vom Eingang des Klosters zu dessen Kirche gelegen zu haben. Ein quadratischer Kernbau war dreiseitig von einem Umgang umgeben, der später von einer Ostapsis unterbrochen wurde²⁷. Die zentrale, im Verlauf des Frühmittelalters dann verkleinerte *Piscina* war in einen runden Mauerblock eingelassen, der wohl von einem achteckigen Ziborium überhöht war²⁸. Bald schon musste die Kirche in St-Maurice vergrößert werden – Blondel denkt, auf Veranlassung König Guntrams nach einem Langobardenüberfall im Jahre 574. Der alte Chorschluss wurde aufgegeben und dem Langhaus ein Binnenquerschiff angefügt, auf das wiederum eine gestelzte, nun aber außen polygonal gebrochene Apsis folgte. Eine nächste umfassende Ausbauphase der Klosterkirche wird dann ins 8. Jahrhundert und damit in karolingische Zeit datiert: Sie brachte unter anderem eine deutlich größere Apsis mit der an Alt-St. Peter in Rom orientierten Ringkrypta mit zentralem Stichgang.

Schon dieser kurze Abriss der Bauentwicklung zeigt den grossen Erfolg, der dem Kloster von St-Maurice beschieden war. Der Verbindung von prominenten Märtyrerreliquien und königlicher Unterstützung – die ja bis weit ins Hochmittelalter anhalten sollte –, hatten die Bischöfe nichts gleichwertiges entgegenzusetzen. Obwohl einer der ihren den Kult der Thebäer initiiert und die erste Memorie errichtet hatte, scheinen sie mit dem Eingreifen des burgundischen Herrscherhauses und dessen Instrumentalisierung der Thebäer für eigene Ziele die Verfügungs-

gewalt über das neue Zentrum rasch verloren zu haben. Schon die erste Abteikirche machte die Ansprüche deutlich: Sie war grösser als die Kathedrale und führte – sofern der Forschungsstand nicht trügt – die Basilika als Kirchenbautyp im Wallis ein. Dass Martigny dadurch an Attraktivität einbüsste und die über den Grossen St. Bernhard kommenden Fernreisenden lieber gleich in St-Maurice Station machten, kann so nicht erstaunen.

c) Die Sepulkralbauten von Sion

Wie einleitend ausgeführt, konnte in Sion bislang keine frühchristliche Gemeinde- oder frühmittelalterliche Bischofskirche nachgewiesen werden. Entschädigt wird man dafür mit bedeutenden Befunden zum Bestattungswesen, wobei vor allem die 1984 entdeckte grosse Friedhofskirche *Sous-le-Scex* von überregionaler Bedeutung ist²⁹. Errichtet im Areal einer spätrömischen Nekropole, übertrifft schon der erste Bau mit 22 x 13 m die andern genannten frühen Kirchen des Bistums an Grösse. Es handelt sich um einen rechteckigen Saal, der neuerdings ins ausgehende 4. Jahrhundert datiert wird³⁰. Schon bald fügte man im Osten zwei seitliche Annexe und eine apsisähnliche Umgangsexedra an, die wie der Saal allmählich vollständig mit Sarkophagen und anderen Bestattungen belegt wurden. Altäre oder andere liturgische Einrichtungen sind aus der Frühzeit nicht nachgewiesen, ebensowenig ist ein Heiligengrab literarisch oder archäologisch bezeugt. Dafür lassen sich Gruppen von besonders prominenten Bestattungen ausmachen. All dies erinnert an die *coemeteria subteglata* in Rom, an die vorstädtischen Umgangsbasiliken des 4. Jahrhunderts, die primär als gedeckte Friedhöfe – zum Teil in der Nähe, aber nicht über verehrten Gräbern – angelegt wurden³¹. Der Sinn dieser Anlagen ist noch immer unklar; Richard Krautheimer brachte sie mit den zunehmend üppigeren Totenmählern zusammen: "The funeral banquets had grown into monster kermesses."³² Erst später wären die *coemeteria subteglata* dann als eigentliche Kirchen mit Altären genutzt worden, ein Prozess, der mit dem Einbringen eines Mörtelstrichs, in den nur noch selten Bestattungen eingetieft wurden, auch in Sion zu beobachten ist. Während die römischen Umgangskirchen aber durchwegs Basiliken waren und damit –

²⁶ Lehner 1995, 390.

²⁷ Sennhauser 1995, 13 zählt die Apsis neuerdings zum originalen Bestand.

²⁸ Ebd., tav. 6; 8.

²⁹ Vgl. Lehner 1987 und zuletzt Dubuis & Lugon 1995, 156 f.; die Schlusspublikation durch Alessandra Antonini steht bevor.

³⁰ Vgl. Dubuis & Lugon 1995, 157; für verschiedene Diskussionen zum frühchristlichen Wallis sei Alessandra Antonini herzlich gedankt.

³¹ Dazu zuletzt Fioocchi Nicolai 1995.

³² Krautheimer 1986, 51.

zwar mit Pfeilern statt mit Säulen – den andern konstantinischen Kirchen der Stadt folgten, blieb die Kirche in Sion trotz ihrer Grösse und den Annexen ein Saalbau – und folgte damit ebenfalls dem in der Diözese dominierenden Bautyp. Nachdem seit karolingischer Zeit nur noch gelegentlich in Sous-le-Scex bestattet worden war, wurde die Kirche gegen Ende des ersten Jahrtausends aufgegeben und als Steinbruch genutzt, so dass schon die ersten topographisch und historisch interessierten Gelehrten der frühen Neuzeit nichts mehr von dieser Anlage wussten.

Dagegen ist die Kontinuität der Kirche St-Theodule zurück bis ins Frühmittelalter gesichert. Die Probleme stellen sich hier in der Frühzeit zwischen der römischen und der karolingischen Bebauung: Eine Nutzung des Areals – konkret der Reste einer römischen Thermenanlage – zu Bestattungszwecken seit dem 5. Jahrhundert ist zwar gesichert, doch konnte bislang kein Grundriss dieser vorkarolingischen Phasen publiziert werden³³. Während eine Grabkammer mit Nord-Süd-orientierten Gräbern in den Hypokaust des ehemaligen *Caldarium*-Beckens eingebaut wurde, benutzte ein zweiter Grabbau, in dem sich auch einige Ost-West-ausgerichtete Gräber fanden, die Reste des einstigen *Frigidariums*. Nach Osten wurde dieser Bau von einem rechteckigen Annex mit eingeschriebener Hufeisenapsis abgeschlossen. Spätestens um 700 scheinen die Bauten – nicht aber das Friedhofsgelände – aufgegeben worden zu sein. Eine direkte kultische Kontinuität zur dreischiffigen karolingischen Anlage mit Winkelgangkrypta scheint so nicht gegeben³⁴. Das dort im zentralen Arkosolgrab vermutete „sepulcrum beati Theodoli“ dürfte folglich nicht die erste Begräbnisstätte des verehrten Bischofs gewesen zu sein – ein Befund, der sich mit den jüngsten Überlegungen zur Frühgeschichte des Bistums nach den Grabungen in Martigny deckt.

Es ist hier nicht möglich, die andern vorkarolingischen Kirchen des Walliser Bistums einzeln vorzustellen; es sei dafür auf die entsprechenden

Abschnitte von Hans Rudolf Sennhauser im Katalog der vorromanischen Kirchenbauten und von François-Olivier Dubuis und Antoine Lugon in ihrer Arbeit zur Frühgeschichte des Bistums verwiesen³⁵. Erwähnt seien die Kirche von Glis bei Brig im Oberwallis, wo bereits im frühen 6. Jahrhundert ein weiteres Baptisterium nachgewiesen ist³⁶, sowie die wohl zu einer *curtis* gehörende Kirche von Géronde bei Sierre, die dank ihres freilich in Leichtbauweise gefertigten Narthex recht gross erscheint und deren Ostpartie schon im Frühmittelalter mehrfach umgebaut wurde³⁷.

Damit sind alle bekannten Walliser Gotteshäuser vorkarolingischer Zeit genannt, die eine Gesamtlänge von zwanzig Meter erreichten bzw. übertrafen. Alle andern – selbst der möglicherweise 3-schiffige Bau von Ardon II – sind ausgesprochene Kleinbauten, die nicht dem Gemeindegottesdienst, sondern als Privatoratorien oder -mausoleen gedient haben dürften. Die Rezeption vorgegebener typologischer Modelle ist im behandelten Gebiet und Zeitraum die Ausnahme; in der Regel sind die frühesten christlichen Bauten *ad hoc*-Lösungen, die in mehr als der Hälfte der Fälle unter Verwendung bestehender römischer Strukturen gefunden wurden³⁸. Möglichkeiten und Nutzen architekturtypologischer Überlegungen werden dadurch stark eingeschränkt, womit zugleich hinter manche Datierung ein Fragezeichen zu setzen ist. Immerhin geben oft Bestattungen durch Beigaben und Grabbauten einen einigermaßen verlässlichen chronologischen Hinweis, sind doch im Umkreis fast aller Bauten Gräber anzutreffen³⁹.

Von diesen *ad hoc*-Lösungen weicht einzig die Klosterbasilika von St-Maurice ab: Hier wird mit der dreischiffigen Basilika mit gestelzter Halbkreisapsis und Apsisflankenräumen ein Typus aufgegriffen, der eine geläufige Variante des seit konstantinischer Zeit weit verbreiteten christlichen Repräsentationsbautyp darstellt. In ganz ähnlichen Formen und Proportionen begegnen wir ihm etwa ein gutes Jahrhundert vor Sigismunds Bau in St-Maurice als ebenfalls erste Basilika in der Südkirche der Kathedrale von Genf⁴⁰.

³³ Vgl. die jüngste Zusammenfassung von Dubuis & Lugon 1995, 157f.

³⁴ Zu diesem Bau Jacobsen, Schaefer & Sennhauser 1991, 387f.

³⁵ Oswald, Schaefer & Sennhauser 1971; Jacobsen, Schaefer & Sennhauser 1991; Dubuis & Lugon 1992; Dubuis & Lugon 1995.

³⁶ Descœudres & Sarott 1986.

³⁷ Zuletzt Dubuis & Lugon 1995, 49ff.

³⁸ Römisches Mauerwerk verwenden folgende Bauten wieder: Martigny, Sion St-Théodule, Ardon, Saillon, Muraz, Leuk und Villa/St-Ginier.

³⁹ In St-Maurice Sous-le-Bourg liefern Bestattungen unter dem Kirchenboden einen *terminus ante quem*, in Ardon Grabbeigaben einen solchen für Bau II, in Glis wurde im Taufraum

bestattet. Auch in Saillon bilden die Gräber einen *terminus ante quem* für die Kirche, in Muraz setzt ein westlich vorgelagertes Plattengrab Bau I voraus, in Leuk scheint der (wiederverwendete) Rechtecksaal eine eigentliche Bestattungskirche gewesen zu sein und selbst in Bramois sind trotz massiven Störungen des 19. Jahrhunderts Gräber zum ersten Bau sehr wahrscheinlich, während in Villa die früheste Bestattung (in den römischen Ruinen) der Kapelle offenbar vorausgeht. In Géronde fanden sich zwar römische Bestattungen und im Umkreis der – hier nicht aufgeführten – Kapelle St-Félix solche aus dem Frühmittelalter; zur hier besprochenen Kirche St-Martin sind aber keine entsprechenden Gräber überliefert.

⁴⁰ Bonnet 1993, 28f.

Von dort, dem burgundischen Residenzort, wird Sigismund die Form auch übernommen und als seinem Kloster angemessen ins Wallis verpflanzt haben. Eine direkte Nachfolge im Bistum scheint sein Bau nicht gehabt zu haben, wenn auch zu bedenken ist, dass wir die ungefähr zwei Generationen später in Sion bezogene Kathedrale nicht kennen. Ausserdem darf nie vergessen werden, dass uns die Überlieferung nur mehr die Beurteilung primärer Qualitäten wie des Grund- und bestenfalls einiger Elemente des Aufrisses erlaubt, während Dekoration und Ausstattung, die möglicherweise wesentlich einheitlicher waren oder gezielte Rezeptionen erkennen liessen, fast ganz verloren sind.

Gemeinsam ist allen bekannten Bauten die Ausrichtung nach Osten, die durch zuweilen sekundäre Apsiden erkennbar wird. Das Formenspektrum dieser Apsiden ist recht breit, doch scheint sich seit dem fortgeschrittenen 6. Jahrhundert – in der Folge des neuen Chorschluss von St-Maurice? – eine gewisse Präferenz für die polygonale Aussenform abzuzeichnen⁴¹. Ergiebiger als weitere formale Forschungen wären wohl solche nach dem Kontext der Entstehung sowie den Funktionen auch und gerade der kleineren Bauten. Verstärkt wäre dafür die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Nebenräume zu richten, die in praktisch sämtlichen Fällen direkt an die Sakralräume grenzen. Naturgemäss ist deren Beurteilung schwieriger und kann vor allem (aber nicht nur) in unseren an Schriftquellen eher armen Regionen nur durch archäologische Forschung gelingen. Das wiederum bedingte allerdings oft ein Ausweiten von Flächengrabungen über die Nachfolgekirchen hinaus, was in der Regel rasch an organisatorische und politische Grenzen stösst.

Kehren wir zu unserer Einleitung zurück und fragen nach den architekturgeschichtlichen Konsequenzen aus unseren Ausführungen: Offensichtlich orientierten sich die christlichen Bauherren im Wallis in der Frühzeit bis an die Schwelle der karolingischen Epoche nur sehr beschränkt an den Formen und Typen, die in den Zentren der spätantiken Welt entwickelt wurden. Meistens griff man auf bestehende und verfügbare Gebäude zurück und formte diese gemäss den aktuellen Bedürfnissen um⁴². Nur im oberen Anspruchsbereich wurden von vermögenden – und in unserem Beispiel von einem auswärtigen – Auftraggeber gezielt Bautypen rezi-

piert. Erst in karolingischer Zeit ist eine gewisse Vereinheitlichung festzustellen: Gestiegene Ansprüche an die Architektur und zentral verordnete Neuerungen in der Liturgie führten zu einem Bauboom, dem manche der inzwischen mehrfach umgebauten frühen Kirchen ganz oder teilweise zum Opfer fielen und in dessen Folge sich das Formenspektrum reduzierte und z.B. vermehrt die dreischiffige Basilika zum Zuge kam. Ähnliche Beobachtungen etwa in der benachbarten Waadt lassen vermuten, dass die Entwicklung im Walliser Bistum nicht singulär war; ob sie ihrerseits als modellhaft gelten kann, bleibt durch weitere vergleichende Studien abzuklären.

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⁴¹ Schon Sennhauser 1979, 137, verweist dafür auf oberitalienische Baugewohnheiten.

⁴² Einen Einblick in die Möglichkeiten und Bedeutung der Umwandlung antiker Bauten in christliche Kirchen gibt Vaes 1984.

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Hans-Rudolf Meier
Institut für Denkmalpflege
ETH-Zentrum
8092 Zürich
CH

Peter Eggenberger

Kontinuität und Diskontinuität im Frühmittelalter in der Schweiz anhand von Kirchenbauten

Thema, geographische und historische Grundlagen

Die Schweiz, die vier ethnische Gruppen umfasst, bildet eine unerschöpfliche Quelle zum Fragenkomplex von Kontinuität und Diskontinuität im Übergang von der antiken in die frühmittelalterliche Zeit. Unter den drei romanischen Regionen, der französischen, italienischen und rätoromanischen, die sich weitgehend aus der Organisation des spätrömischen Reiches entwickelten, interessiert uns für unsere Betrachtungen der französische, innerhalb der ehemaligen Provinz Maxima Sequanorum entstandene

Sprachraum. Die Provinz umfasste unter anderem das Gebiet der ehemaligen Helvetii und kam um 443 unter den Einfluss des germanischen Stammes der Burgunder, der von Aetius zur Verteidigung gegen die Alamannen angesiedelt worden war. Bezüglich der französischen Schweiz ist die lückenlose Übernahme antiker Kultur weitgehend unbestritten; der archäologische Bestand reiht sich unter denjenigen ein, der aus anderen romanischen Gebieten Europas bekannt ist. Die Frage der Kontinuität bildet hingegen für die vierte Gruppe, den germanischen Stamm der Alamannen, der im Frühmittelalter von seinem Wohnsitz nördlich des Rheines in den Raum südlich des Flus-

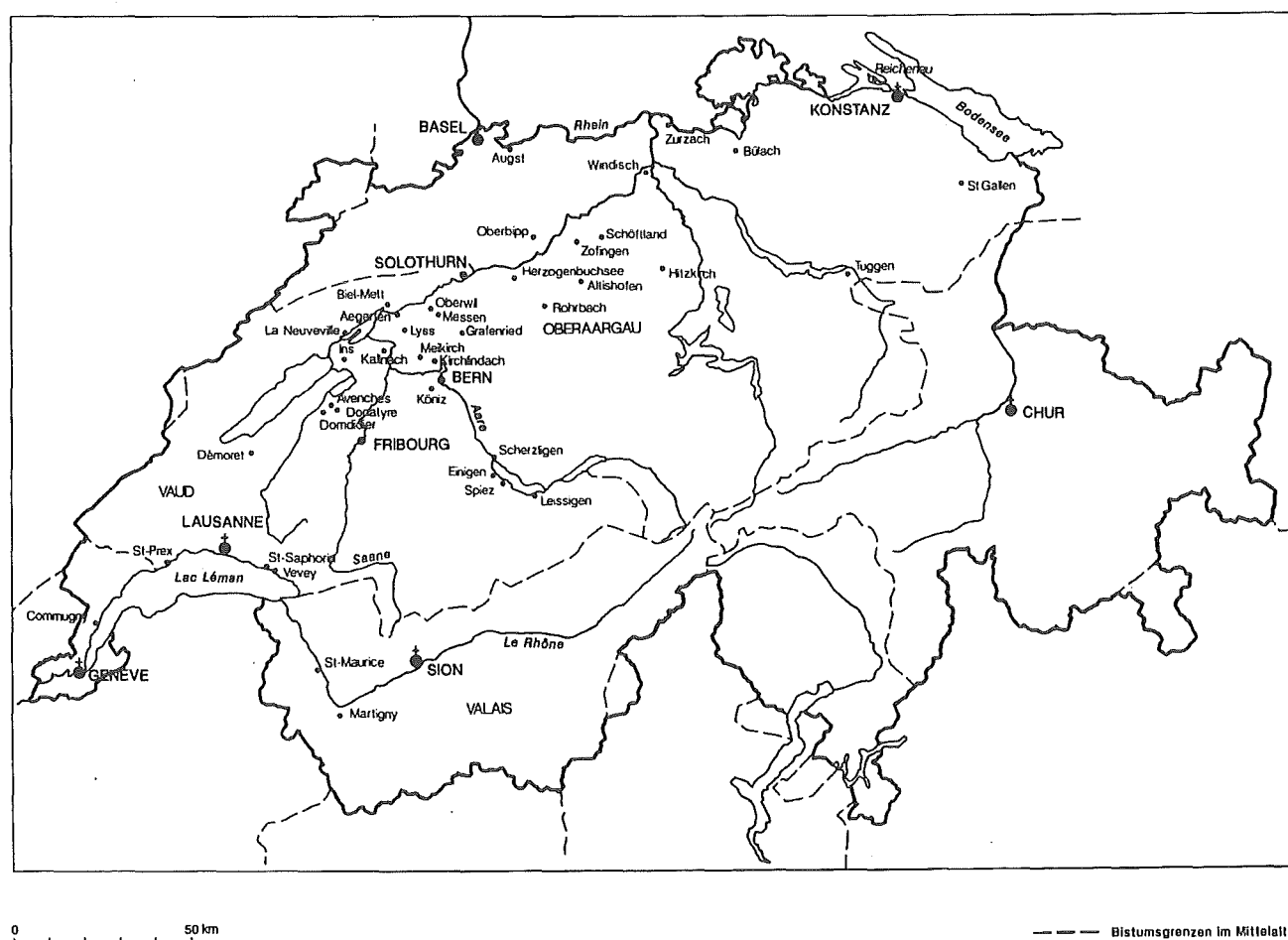


Abb. 1. - Karte der Schweiz mit den erwähnten geographischen Bezeichnungen. M. 1:2'500'000.

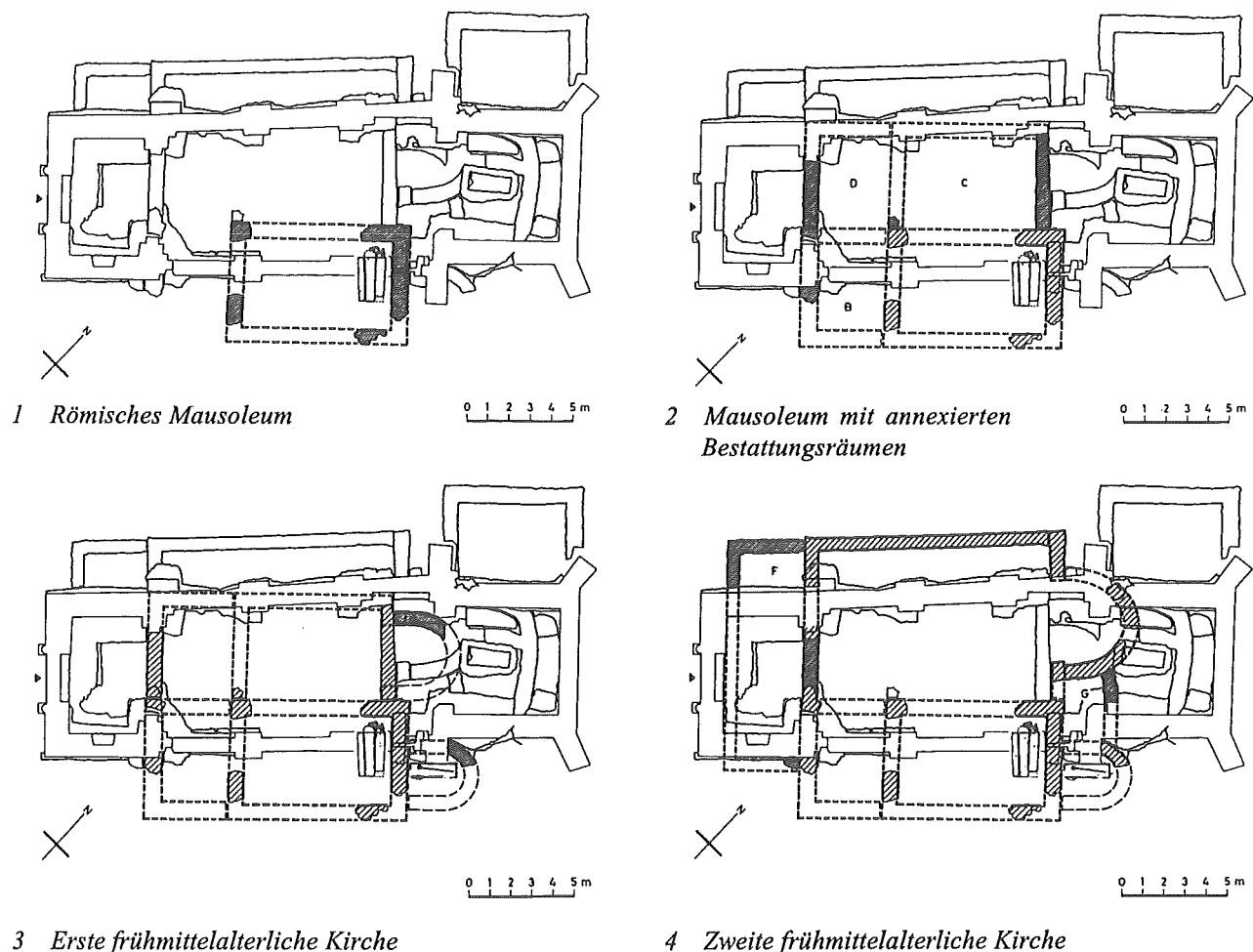
ses einwanderte, ein umstrittenes Thema der historischen Forschung.

Wir haben nicht die Absicht, zur Frage der Ablösung der Antike durch das Frühmittelalter neue Aspekte aufzuzeigen; um des klaren Zeitgerüsts wegen, wollen wir an demjenigen Zeitpunkt festhalten, der mit dem Abzug der römischen Staatsmacht anfangs des 5. Jahrhunderts bestimmt worden ist. Unsere Betrachtungen beschränken das Thema weiter, indem dieser Frage anhand der archäologischen Forschung vorzüglich an denjenigen Kirchenbauten nachgegangen werden soll, die in den letzten dreissig Jahren im Grenzgebiet der französischen, galloromanischen und der deutschen, alemannischen Schweiz archäologisch erforscht worden sind. Der Schwerpunkt unserer Forschungsskizze wird durch eine Auswahl der vom Autor bearbeiteten Gebiete der Kantone Bern und Waadt gebildet.

Die Kantone Bern und Waadt (Vaud) treffen sich im Einzugsgebiet der Flüsse Saane und Aare, das – im Sinne eines Grenzraums und nicht einer scharfen Grenzlinie – den französischsprachigen und deutschsprachigen Bereich trennt (Abb. 1). Die Aare fliesst über den Briener- und Thunersee und das schwei-

zerische Mittelland, wo sie die Saane aufnimmt, durch bernisches Gebiet zum Jurafluss, um – den Kanton verlassend – in nordöstlicher Richtung den Rhein zu erreichen. Das Flusssystem formt nicht nur die Zugangswege zu den nach Italien führenden Alpenübergängen, sondern war auch Teil der wichtigen Verkehrsader zwischen dem süddeutschen Raum und dem französischen Rhonetal. Das südwestliche Mittelland, unter anderem der Kanton Waadt, bildet die natürliche Fortsetzung dieses Verkehrsweges, der am Genfersee (Lac Léman) in denjenigen des Rhonetals mündet, der von den Alpenpässen des Wallis über die Waadt und Genf (Genève) in das heutige Burgund und zum Mittelmeer führt. Im Mittelalter waren die Diözesen Lausanne, die grossenteils durch das Waadtland gebildet wurde, und Basel durch die Aare vom Bistum Konstanz getrennt, das sich bis zum Main auf dem Siedlungsgebiet der Alamannen ausdehnte und sich auch als alamannisches Bistum verstand. Der Kanton Bern bildet darin die bis tief in die Landschaft "Kleinburgund" reichende südwestliche Grenzzone. Die Reformation wurde in diesem ehemaligen Stadtstaat der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft 1528 eingeführt; 1536 folgte die inzwischen

Abb. 2. - St-Prex, Abfolge der Kirchen. M. 1:350.



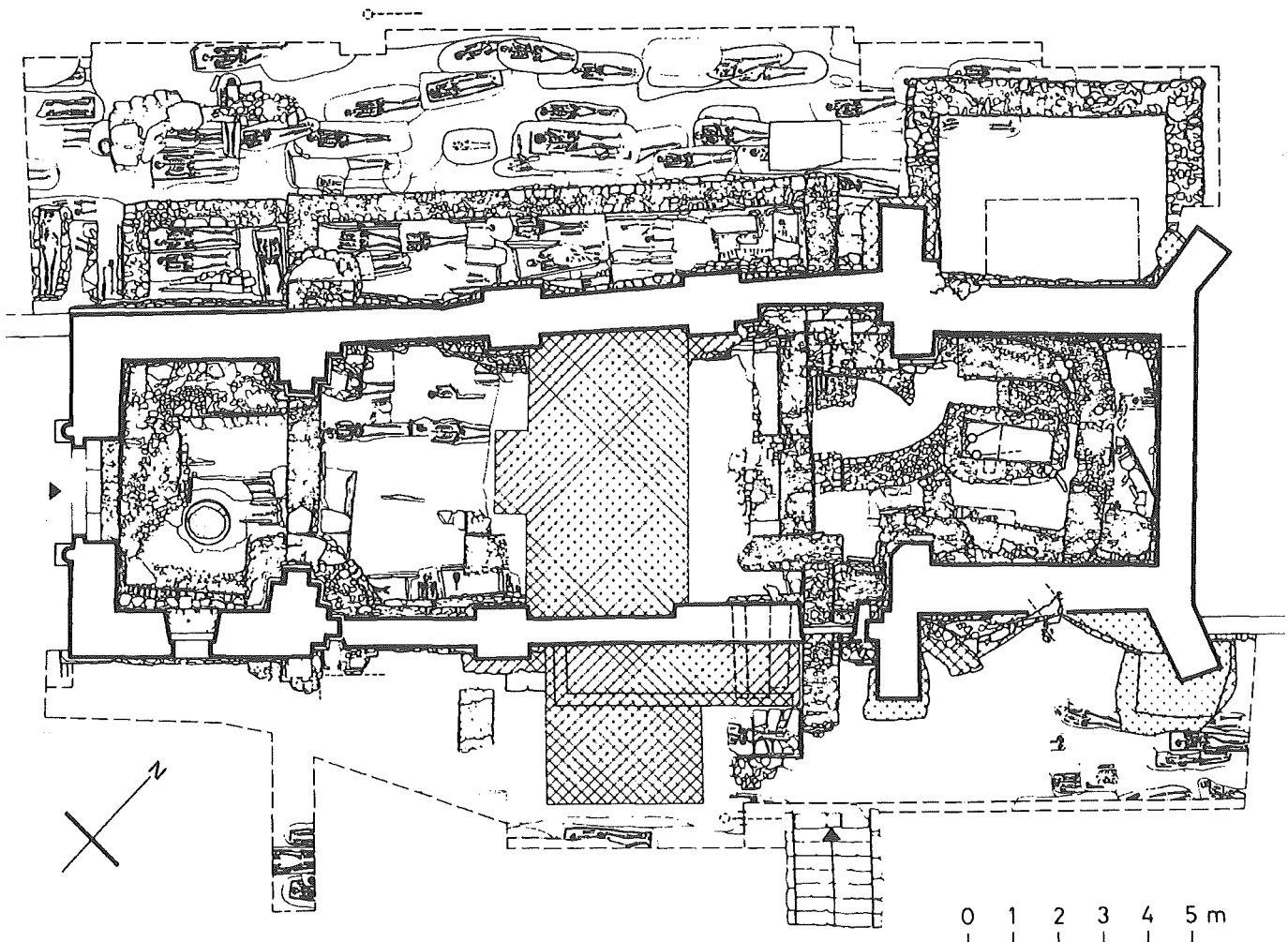


Abb. 3. - St-Prex, Grabungsplan mit den frühen Gräbern. M. 1:150.

von Bern eroberte Waadt. Damit verschwand auch die mittelalterliche Organisation der Diözesen Lausanne und Konstanz ebenso wie diejenigen der reformierten Städte Basel und Genf.

Frühmittelalterliche Kirchenbauten im französischen Teil der Schweiz

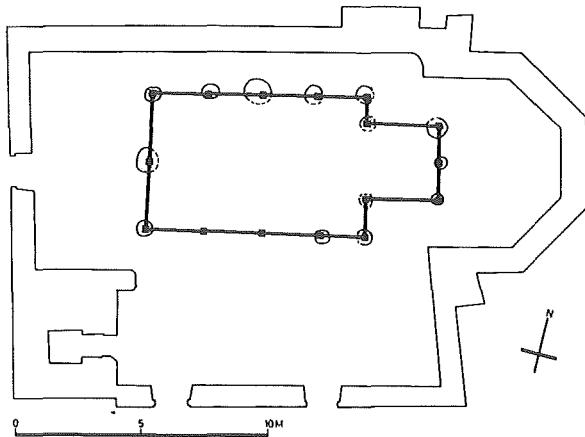
Mit Kirchengrabungen verbindet sich zwangsläufig die Frage nach der Christianisierung, die sich in der Gründung von Kultbauten widerspiegelt. Für den französischsprachigen Raum besteht kein Zweifel, dass das Christentum römisch-katholischer Observanz, wie es ab dem 4. Jahrhundert im römischen Reich eingeführt worden war, mindestens von einem Teil der galloromanischen Bevölkerung übernommen worden ist. Die angesiedelten Burgunder bevorzugten hingegen vorerst mehrheitlich die arianische Glaubensrichtung.

Eine grosse Zahl der archäologischen Grabungen in Kirchenbauten des Waadtlandes sowie der anschliessenden Kantone Genf und Wallis, aber auch schriftliche Quellen zeigen den nahtlosen Übergang

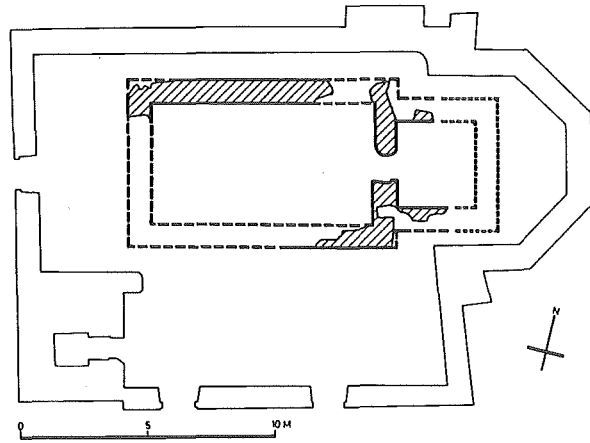
des spätrömischen Reiches in die ab Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts burgundisch, ab Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts schliesslich fränkisch kontrollierte frühmittelalterliche Zeit. Eindrücklich kommt sowohl die Kontinuität als auch der Einfluss auf die Übergangszeit an dem im 4. Jahrhundert gegründeten römischen Bischofsitz von Genf (Genava) und dem ursprünglichen Zentrum der Diözese Sitten (Sion) in Martigny (Octodurus), aber auch an weiteren Anlagen wie den Kirchen St-Gervais und der Madeleine in Genf, St-Théodule und Sous-le-Scex in Sitten sowie nicht zuletzt wie der Abtei von St-Maurice (Inscript: *Statio Aucanensis*) zum Ausdruck. Von hier aus beeinflusste das Martyrium der thebäischen Legion nicht nur die Entwicklung christlicher Kultorte im französischen, sondern auch im deutschen Raum der Schweiz.

Alle diese Anlagen wurden in engster Verbindung mit römischen Nekropolen oder Bauwerken religiöser und profaner Funktion wie Tempeln, Mausoleen und Gutshöfen eingerichtet, eine Tatsache, die sich auch bezüglich der überwiegenden Mehrheit der waadtländischen Kirchen konstatieren lässt. Es ist daher nicht erstaunlich, dass die Verbreitung von Kir-

Abb. 4. - Oberwil bei Büren a.A. M. 1:300.



1 Frühmittelalterliche Holzkirche



2 Frühmittelalterliche Steinkirche

chenbauten dem römischen Besiedlungsbereich entspricht; enge Alpentäler und Voralpengebiete sind davon weitgehend ausgenommen.

Verfolgen wir anhand der am Genfersee gelegenen Kirche von St-Prex die exemplarische Entwicklung eines bestimmten Kirchentypus, der die Grundlage einer grösseren Zahl von Kirchenbauten des galloromanisch-burgundischen Raumes bildet. Das Gotteshaus steht auf einer dominierenden Terrasse ausserhalb des 1234 vom bischöflichen Kapitel von Lausanne gegründeten Städtchens. Um ein römisches, vielleicht noch heidnisches Mausoleum des 3./4. Jahrhunderts (Abb. 2, 1) entstand ab dem 4./5. Jahrhundert eine christliche Begräbnisstätte. Einen der Anbauten, die dem Grabmal sukzessive angefügt worden waren (Abb. 2, 2), baute man im 5./6. Jahrhundert mittels einer angefügten Apsis in eine Kirche um (Abb. 2, 3), die im 6./7. Jahrhundert durch eine grössere abgelöst wurde (Abb. 2, 4). Eine grosse Zahl von Gräbern, die mehrheitlich aus Steinsärgen bestehen, belegten den Boden aller Räume (Abb. 3). Wenn die Häufigkeit der frühmittelalterlichen Grabanlage nur noch an peripheren Stellen des Kirchenraums zum Ausdruck kommt, ist dies einer ersten Grabung zuzuschreiben, während der die Gräber teils entfernt worden sind; andere Beispiele sind dahingehend eindrücklicher (Abb. 6). Trotzdem ist noch der ganze Katalog spätrömischer, sarkophagähnlicher Sargformen und in deren Tradition entwickelter frühmittelalterlicher Steinkisten vorhanden: Das aus grossen Kalkquadern gefügte Grab des römischen Mausoleums, die mit Mörtel ausgestrichenen *formae*, die aus Platten und Mauerwerk gefügten Steinsärge, die mit vermörtelten Steinen eingerahmten Gruben. Schliesslich begnügte man sich mit einfachen Erdbestattungen. Reichere Beigaben sind bis ins 7./8. Jahrhundert festzustellen, jedoch nur in den stratigraphisch und typologisch älteren, aus Stein gefügten

Gräbern. Die gesamte Anlage wurde mit der ersten romanischen Kirche des 10./11. Jahrhunderts bis in den Boden abgebrochen, die Gräber zum grossen Teil zerstört, um eine sichere Auflage für den dreischiffigen Neubau zu erhalten. Eine weitere romanische Kirche wurde nach mehreren Umbauten in das heutige reformierte Gotteshaus umgewandelt. Der Übergang von der Begräbnis- zur Pfarrkirche wird an dieser Baufolge augenscheinlich. Wie jedoch die vom Bischof an die Pfarrsprengel abgetretene Seelsorge schon in der zweiten Kirche begonnen haben dürfte, wurde die Innenbestattung früher, spätestens im 9. Jahrhundert aufgegeben, als das karolingische Königshaus die Ablehnung, welche die römisch-katholische Kirche dieser Sitte – ausser für Dignitäre – entgegenbrachte, in ein Verbot umgesetzt hatte.

In St-Prex bestand eine spätrömische christliche Bevölkerung zweifelsfrei auch nach dem Rückzug Roms fort, gefördert und erweitert durch die Bischöfe, denen nicht nur die Seelsorge, sondern auch die Mission der verbliebenen heidnischen Bevölkerung oblag. Grosser Einfluss wird auch die ansässige Grundbesitzerfamilie gehabt haben, welche die Kontinuität römischer Ordnung und Kultur, wenn auch verringert, garantierte; vielleicht war einer ihrer Vorfahren im römischen Mausoleum bestattet. Es könnte der auf dieser familiären Verbindung beruhenden Förderung zuzuschreiben sein, dass das Grab allmählich den Status einer verehrten Stätte erhielt, die nicht nur die Nachfahren des Notabeln und deren Klientel, sondern Gläubige aus einem weiteren Umkreis anzog. Ein entscheidender Impuls ging schliesslich von der Grabanlage eines der Bischöfe von Avenches/Lausanne, Prothasius, aus, der um die Mitte des 7. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche von St-Prex bestattet worden war. Die als Reliquiar verehrte Grabstelle entwickelte sich zu einem für den Totenkult gesuchten Zentrum, das nicht nur im eigentlichen Kirchenraum,

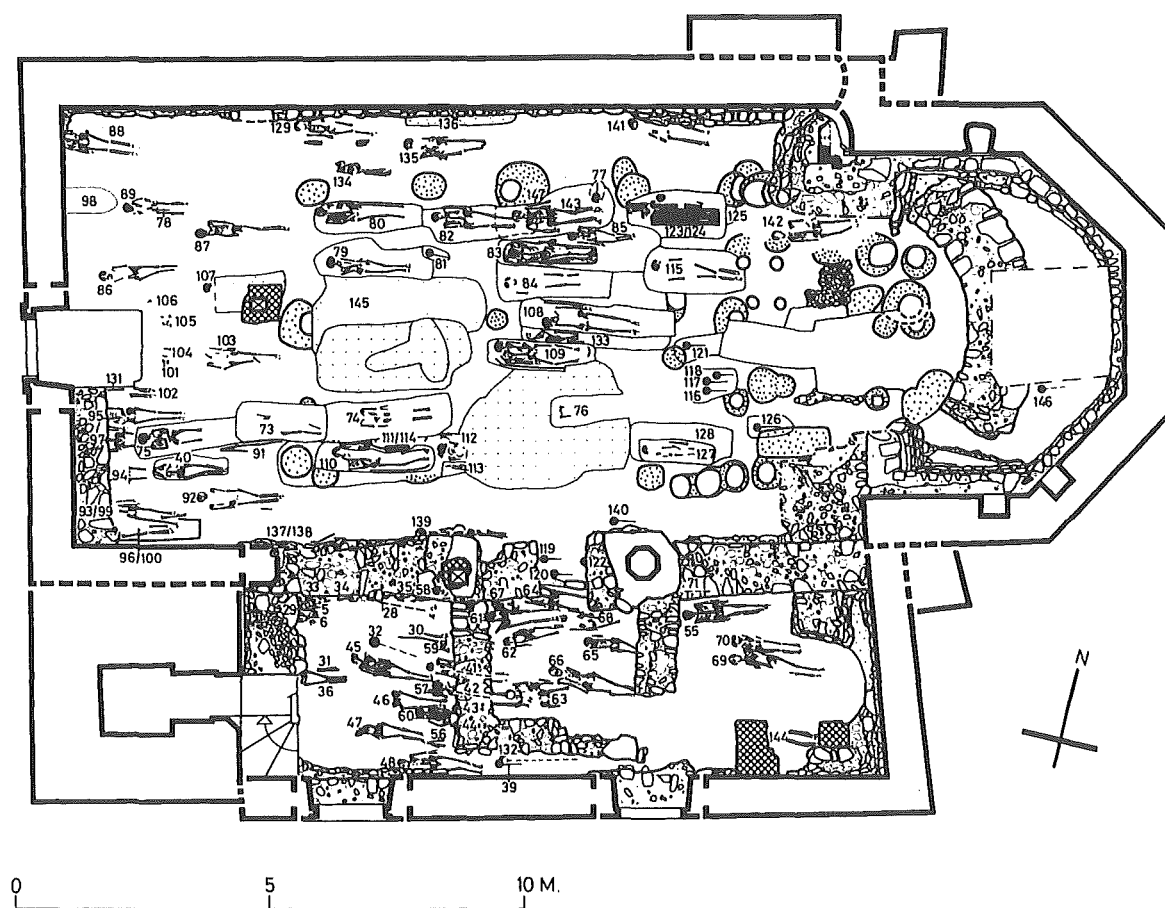


Abb. 5. - Oberwil bei Büren a.A., Grabungsplan mit frühmittelalterlichen Gräbern im Innern der Holzkirchen. M. 1:150.

sondern auch in Annexen Platz für die Bestattung *ad sanctos* bot, wie dies im romanischen Raum für weiterum bekannte Nekropolen üblich war. Prothasius wurde schliesslich als Patron der Kirche gewählt und gab dem Ort auch den Namen.

Neben diesen Bestattungszentren mit Kirche wurden jedoch auch Gräberfelder ohne erkennbar dominierende kirchliche Bauten gebraucht. Einerseits war ein Teil der Bevölkerung noch nicht christianisiert, andererseits verfügten die Christen nicht überall über nahegelegene Gotteshäuser. Einen weiteren Grund zeigt die in unmittelbarer Nähe der Kirche von St-Prex liegende Nekropole, die vielleicht vorzüglich von arianischen Burgundern benutzt wurde. Die Beigaben decken hier die Spanne von der spätrömischen Zeit bis zum Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts ab.

Die oben genannten Beispiele von Genf und des Wallis gehen mehrheitlich auf derartige frühmittelalterliche Bestattungskirchen (*églises funéraires*) zurück, die nicht für die Seelsorge, sondern vorzüglich für den Totenkult gebraucht wurden; es gab daneben allerdings auch Kirchenbauten ohne Grablegen. Im Waadtland weist der durch spätere Zerstörung arg reduzierte Bestand in Lausanne, St-Etienne (St. Stephan), und in Vevey (Vibiscus), St-Martin, darauf hin; in Commugny und St-Saphorin ist die Zahl der

Gräber bescheidener. Alle diese Beispiele sind am Genfersee gelegen und stehen auf ehemals römisch genutztem Grund. Wegen ihrer Lage in der Nähe des Grenzraums der Saane/Aare sind unter den kleineren Zentren noch Domdidier und Donatyre (beide Kanton Freiburg) zu erwähnen, die im Flusstal der Broye, in der Nähe von Avenches (Aventicum) liegen, das in römischer Zeit den grössten Ort Helvetiens bildete. Démoret ist das bisher einzige ergrabene Beispiel einer zwischen den grossen Flusstälern liegenden Kirche.

Frühmittelalterliche Kirchenbauten im deutschen Teil der Schweiz

Wenden wir uns dem deutschschweizerischen Siedlungsraum des oberen Aaretals zu, wobei wir uns vorerst auf die Gebiete beschränken, die rechts des Flusses liegen. Am Beispiel der nahe dem Fluss gelegenen Pfarrkirche von Oberwil bei Büren an der Aare lässt sich exemplarisch der Fundbestand zeigen, der in diesem peripheren Bereich des Bistums Konstanz an einer grossen Zahl von Kirchenbauten vorhanden ist, auch wenn eine Holzpfeilerkirche, welche die erste frühmittelalterliche Anlage bildete,

METT bei Biel
 REFORMIERTE KIRCHE, AUSGRABUNG 1979/80
 SITUATION I MIT GRÄBERN
 BÜRO SENNHÄUSER, JULI/AUGUST 1978 m. 1:160

KIRCHE I

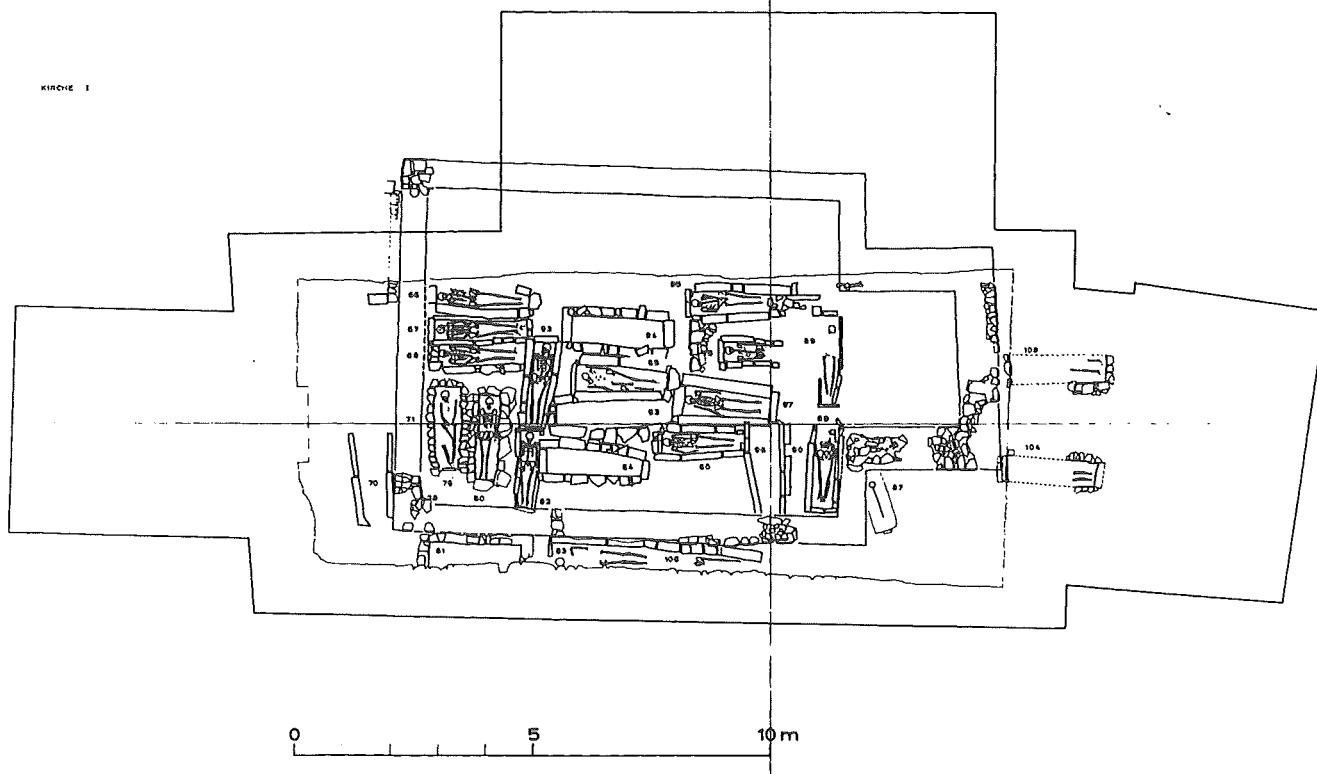


Abb. 6. - Biel-Mett, die frühmittelalterliche Bestattungskirche. M. 1:160.

nicht überall am Anfang der Entwicklung steht (Abb. 4, 1). Nachdem das rechteckige Altarhaus erneuert worden war, wurde die Holzkirche durch einen ebenfalls noch frühmittelalterlichen Steinbau kongruenten Grundrisses abgelöst (Abb. 4, 2). Auf diesen folgte die erste von zwei romanischen Kirchen, schliesslich eine spätgotische Anlage, die nach der Reformation in einen Predigtsaal umgewandelt wurde.

Auf den ersten Blick lässt die Anzahl von 26 Gräbern, die innerhalb der Holzkirche liegen, an die genannten Beispiele aus dem französischen Raum denken (Abb. 5). Es handelt sich jedoch ausschliesslich um Erdbestattungen ohne jegliche Beigaben. Der Grabtyp steht augenscheinlich nicht in der Tradition der römischen Sarkophaggräber, sondern findet in der französischen Schweiz seine Parallele in den Erdbestattungen des 8./9. Jahrhunderts, als die Grablage im Kirchenraum ihrem Ende entgegenging.

Römische Artefakte kommen in Oberwil nur als verschlepptes, an jüngeren Bauten wiederverwendetes Material vor, obschon die Gegend in römischer Zeit recht dicht besiedelt war. Die Übernahme entsprechender Bauwerke ist auf dem rechten Ufer der Aare weder für die Kirche von Oberwil noch der Mehrheit der anderen erforschten Orte festzustellen. Einzig die Anlagen von Aegerten, Meikirch und vielleicht Steffisburg, aber auch von Herzogenbuchsee

und Messen (nahe dem Kanton Bern im Kanton Solothurn gelegen), die früher erforscht worden sind, stehen auf römisch belegtem Grund; von einigen anderen wird dies vermutet. In Messen wurde eine ältere Grablege mit Beigaben des 7./8. Jahrhunderts in die Kirche einbezogen; in Meikirch wird hingegen nicht klar, ob derart ausgezeichnete Gräber vor oder nach dem Kirchenbau angelegt worden sind.

Neben der für Meikirch gegebenen Möglichkeit sind frühmittelalterliche Grablegen im eigentlichen Kirchenraum einzig noch in Kirchlindach und Grafenried vorhanden. Im ersteren enthielt die Holzpfeilerkirche sechs Grabstätten, im letzteren die gemauerte, zweimal umgebaute Gründungskirche 13 Gräber; in beiden fehlen Beigaben. In Kirchlindach sind Gräber mit losen Steinrahmen zu beobachten, wie hier auch einer der Verstorbenen auf ein Brett gebettet ist; gleichartiger Bestand ist in alamannischen Gräberfeldern zu beobachten. In der Mehrzahl der erforschten Kirchen fehlen hingegen frühmittelalterliche Innenbestattungen überhaupt, darunter auch in Holzkirchen. Mit Ausnahme zweier Gräber in Oberwil bestätigt die anthropologische Forschung überall einen germanischen Typus der Verstorbenen. Eine Variante der privilegierten Innenbestattung kommt in der Kirche von Rohrbach zum Ausdruck. Hier wurde eine Gruppe von mindestens sieben beigabelosen

Individuen nicht im Kircheninnern, sondern in einem Westvorbau beigesetzt (Abb. 7). In Lyss, St. Johann, ist ein Einzelgrab in einer der Seitenmauern des Schiffes eingebunden. Das Grab entstand nicht in der Kirche, sondern früher und wurde mit einem Arkosolbogen antiker Tradition in diese einbezogen.

Nordöstlich des Kantons Bern, zwischen dem Oberaargau und dem Rhein/Bodensee, zeigt sich teils ein gleiches, teils ein anderes Bild. Die direkte Übernahme römischer Bauwerke durch die gemauerten und hölzernen Gründungskirchen ist ebenfalls nur für eine Minderheit festzustellen und auch die Innenbestattung bleibt zurückhaltend. Im Innern der Kirche wurden in Bülach (Kanton Zürich) ein einzelnes Erdgrab, in Tuggen (Kanton St. Gallen) drei derartige Gräber und in Schöffland (Kanton Aargau) mehrere gemauerte oder mit Platten geformte Grabstätten gefunden. Sie unterscheiden sich jedoch durch Beigaben des 7./8. Jahrhunderts deutlich vom Berner Bestand, und auch die Grabformen übernehmen wie in Schöffland vermehrt die frühmittelalterliche Umsetzung des antiken Sarkophags. Beigaben und Steinkisten sind auch im Umfeld von Kirchen vorhanden: In Zofingen (Kanton Aargau) in Form von zwei zwar ausserhalb des Gebäudes liegenden, aber in dieses integrierten gemauerten Gräbern, in Hitzkirch und vielleicht auch in Altishofen (beide Kanton Luzern) in Form einer vorgängig der ersten Kirche – in Hitz-

kirch in römischem Bestand – eingerichteten gemauerten Grabstätte.

Erweitern wir unsere Betrachtungen auf die linksufrigen Gebiete der Aare, die heute im deutschsprachigen Gebiet des Kantons Bern liegen. Im Thunerseeraum sind in Leissigen in der ersten Kirche acht Erdbestattungen vorhanden; die Verstorbenen sind anthropologisch von heterogenem, d.h. teils nichtalamannischem Typus. Ein neben der Kirche liegendes Grab in Spiez, das durchaus älter als die Gründungskirche sein kann, enthielt Beigaben alamannischer Prägung des 7./8. Jahrhunderts (ältere Grabung). Auf antike Tradition dürfte das Grab mit gleich datierten Beigaben in der Kirche von Einigen zurückgehen, das wie dasjenige in Lyss in der Seitenmauer des Schiffes eingelassen war; es fehlen die Angaben, ob das Grab nicht wie dort älter und beim Bauen einbezogen worden ist (ältere Grabung). In Scherzlingen kamen ausserhalb der Kirche zwei gemauerte Gräber antiker Tradition zum Vorschein. Mit dem im Friedhof der Kirche von Köniz gefundenen Plattengrab wurde eine weitere Replik romanischer Bestattungssitte im Mittelland gefunden. Auch wenn der Bezug zu einem römischen Bauwerk (vorderhand?) für alle diese Fundorte fehlt, ist in der Berührungszone des oberen Aaretals ein diffuses, mit romanischen Einflüssen durchmisches Bild nicht zu übersehen.

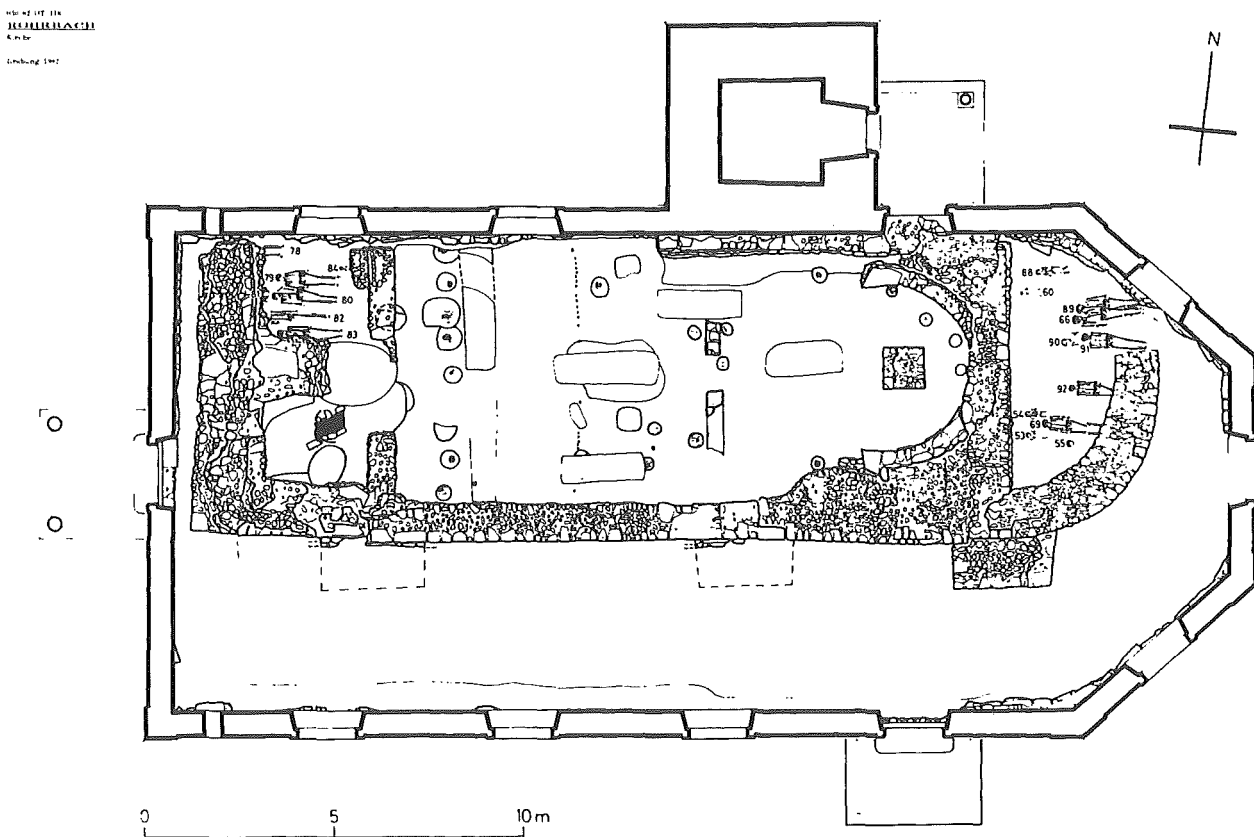


Abb. 7. - Rohrbach: Die erste Kirche mit den "Stiftergräbern". M. 1:200.

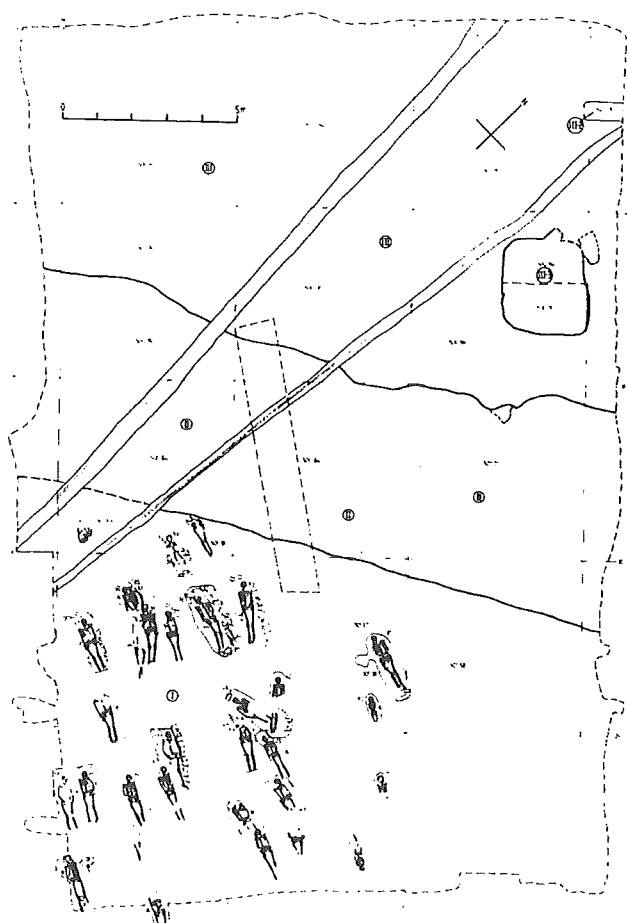


Abb. 8. - Ins, Gräberfeld (Auszug). M. 1:250.

In der Grenzzone entlang dem Jurafluss tritt hingegen die Abgrenzung und der Bezug zum galloromanisch-burgundischen Siedlungsgebiet deutlich hervor. Augenscheinlich trennte hier die Aare unterschiedliche Einflüsse, die den Kirchenbau regulierten. In dem auf dem linken Flussufer gelegenen Biel-Mett (Bienne-Mâche), dessen Kirche über einem römischen Mausoleum steht, war ein dichter frühmittelalterlicher Bestand von Platten- und Mauergräbern vorhanden, der das kleine Schiff vollständig ausfüllte und den Ort als Bestattungskirche qualifiziert (Abb. 6). Wenn hier die Verwandtschaft mit St-Prex eindeutig erscheint, ist sie für die Kirchen von La Neuveville (Blanche Eglise) und Oberbipp weniger ausgeprägt, wo ebenfalls römische Siedlungsstellen überbaut worden sind. Folgen wir dem Aarelauf nach Nordosten finden wir in den frühmittelalterlichen Anlagen von Solothurn (Salodurum), die mit dem Märtyrerkult der thebäischen Legion in St-Maurice verbundenen sind, weiteren antiken Einfluss. Auf dieselbe Quelle geht auch der erste Kirchenbau der Verena-kirche im zwar rechtsufrigen, aber aarenahen und in römischer Zeit besiedelten Zurzach (Tenedo; Kanton Aargau) zurück, wie sich hier auch in der im Kastell errichteten Kirche frühe christliche Tradition erkennen lässt. Auch im rechtsufrigen Windisch (Kanton

Aargau; Castrum Vindonissense) kamen Hinweise auf eine frühe Kirche zum Vorschein. In Kirchen der heute deutschsprachigen Region des solothurnischen und baslerischen Juras der nordwestlichen Schweiz ist an der Bestattungsintensität und den Grabtypen zwar ebenfalls galloromanischer Einfluss zu erkennen, doch ist dies – ausser an wenigen Stellen wie beispielsweise in Augst (Kanton Aargau/Kanton Basel-Land; Augusta Rauracum) – nicht auf die Kontinuität antiker Tradition vor Ort, sondern auf die Einwirkung des fränkischen Reiches zurückzuführen, welche die hier frühen Kirchengründungen der eingewanderten Alamannen prägte.

Schlussfolgerungen

Funktion der Kirchen und Datierung

Erinnern wir uns der Situation des frühmittelalterlichen Kirchenbaus in der französischen Schweiz: In der in der Nachfolge des römischen Reiches galloromanisch-burgundischen Schweiz südwestlich der Saane/Aare ging der Übergang sowohl des öffentlichen als auch religiösen Lebens weitgehend nahtlos in die Zeit des Frühmittelalters über. Archäologisch zeigt sich dies einerseits an den reich ausgestatteten frühmittelalterlichen Bischofssitzen, andererseits am Einrichten christlicher Kirchenbauten in römischen Bauwerken ab dem 4./5. Jahrhundert. Wenn dies für die zahlreichen in älteren Grab- und anderen Kultstätten eingerichteten Kirchenbauten gilt, ist bei der Übernahme von Gutshöfen ein Unterbruch nicht auszuschliessen. In den stark verbreiteten, dem Kult an den Verstorbenen dienenden Bestattungskirchen belegten zahlreiche Gräber das Innere der Gebäude. Verbunden mit der verbreiteten Verwendung von Steinsärgen antiker Sarkophagtradition ist bis ins 7./8. Jahrhundert oft die Beigabe von Gegenständen. Dieser Typus der kirchlichen Entwicklung beschränkt sich nicht auf den heutigen französischen Sprachraum, sondern reicht auf dem anschliessenden deutschsprachigen Gebiet entlang der Jurakette bis gegen den Rhein. Die Kirchenbauten setzten hier ebenfalls antike Tradition ins Frühmittelalter fort.

Im rechts der Aare gelegenen deutschsprachigen Teil des Kantons Bern sind hingegen Grablegen in den Gründungskirchen die Ausnahme, in den wenigen Anlagen, in denen sie vorkommen, jedoch zahlreich. Vielleicht wirkte sich in diesen nahe der Aare gelegenen Orten der Einfluss des galloromanischen Raumes aus. Es fehlen aber Grabtypen antiker Tradition ebenso wie Beigaben, wie auch die Übernahme von Plätzen römischer Belegung durch kirchliche Bauten zurückhaltend bleibt. In den Gründungskir-

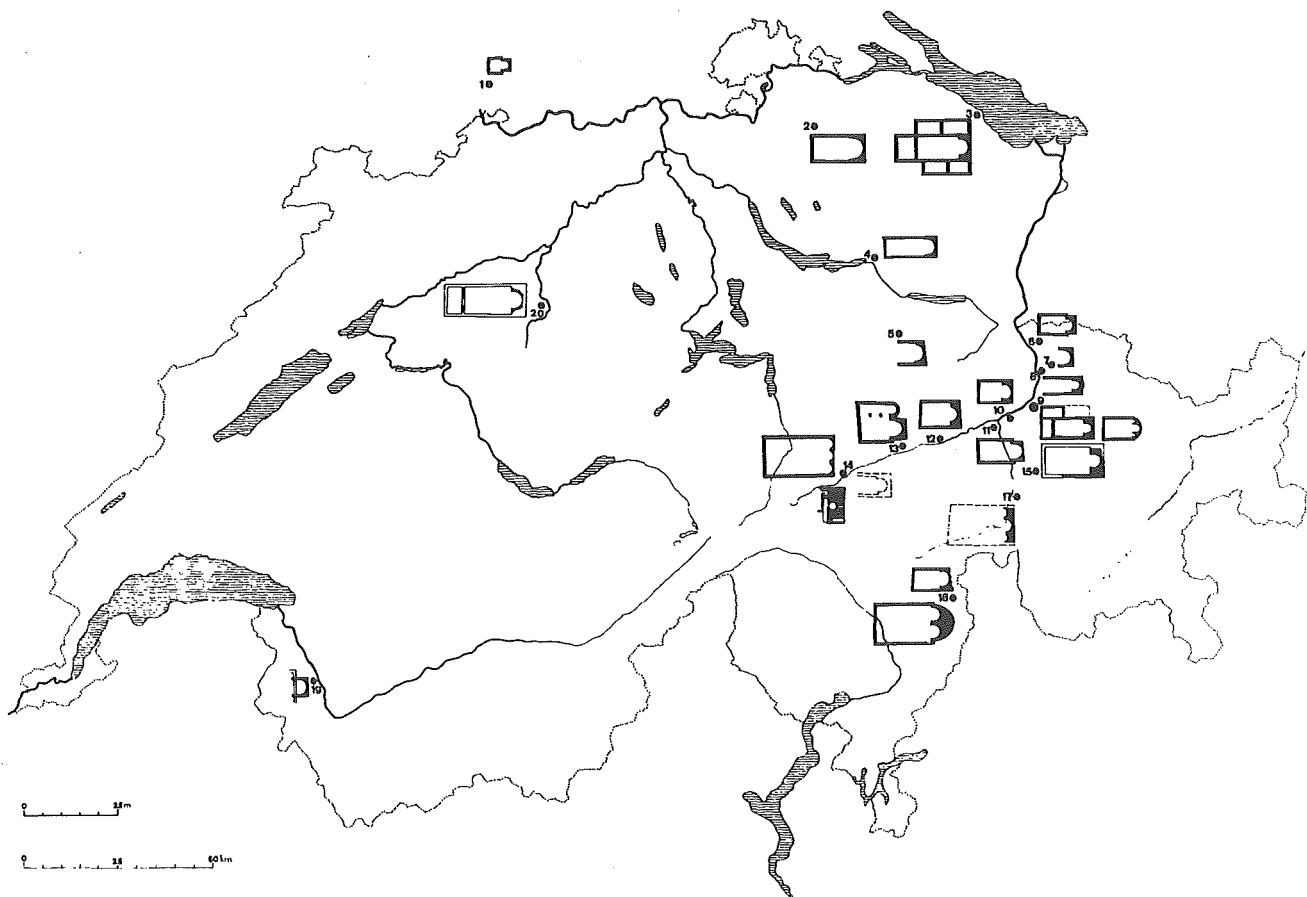


Abb. 9. - Karte mit den Kirchen des Typus der Gründungskirche von Rohrbach. M. 1:2'000/1:2'000'000.

chen zwischen Oberaargau und Rhein/Bodensee sind Innenbestattungen ebenfalls nicht häufig und zudem weniger zahlreich. Dagegen sind Grabbeigaben des 7./8. Jahrhunderts wie auch Steinsärge romanischer Faktur vorhanden. Für beide deutschschweizerischen Gebiete ist der Unterschied zu den Kirchenbauten des gallromanisch-burgundischen Raumes, der sich bezüglich der Kontinuität von Siedlung und Kult zeigt, deutlich. Ohne den Befund zu strapazieren, darf dies darauf zurückgeführt werden, dass die Kirchen im deutschsprachigen Gebiet nicht auf lückenlos fortgelebte römische Tradition, auf eine "Kultur-, Siedlungs- und Funktionskontinuität", sondern auf jüngere Gründungen zurückgehen: Eine chronologische Zäsur zeichnet sich ab.

Versuchen wir die Gründungskirchen der südwestlichen Peripherie der Deutschschweiz genauer zu datieren. Sie gehen gemäss der anthropologischen Zuordnung sowohl der Innenbestattungen als auch der ältesten Friedhofgräber ohne Zweifel auf die alamannische Bevölkerung zurück. Während sich den Grundrisstypen für unsere Betrachtung wenig entnehmen lässt, weisen die beigabenlosen Gräber auf eine Entstehung nach dem Aussterben der Sitte hin, den Verstorbenen Gegenstände mitzugeben. Den Zeitpunkt legt die Forschung auf das ausgehende 7./

beginnende 8. Jahrhundert fest, und wir haben keinen Grund, daran zu zweifeln. Steinkisten fehlen ebenfalls, deren Tradition im 8. Jahrhundert endet. Damit steht für die Kirchengründungen im oberen Aaretal und damit die Christianisierung der hier ansässigen alamannischen Bevölkerung der Terminus post quem fest. Das Vorkommen von Gräbern mit Beigaben des 7./8. Jahrhunderts in Spiez und Einigen beziehen wir bewusst nicht ein: Die archäologische Forschung bleibt hier den Nachweis schuldig, ob die Gräber wirklich zur Gründungskirche gehörten; es kann sich um ältere, noch heidnische Bestattungen handeln. Auch für die in einem römischen Gutshof errichtete Kirche von Meikirch fehlt für die Gräber mit Beigaben die eindeutige Zuordnung. Beigaben definieren nicht vorbehaltlos ein mit der Kirchengründung im Zusammenhang stehendes Grab. Im nordöstlichen Teil der deutschen Schweiz beweisen hingegen Grabbeigaben und Steinsärge, die mit weitgehend zweifelsfreien Innenbestattungen verbunden sind, dass Kirchengründungen schon erfolgten, als dieser Sitte im 7., spätestens im beginnenden 8. Jahrhundert noch verbreitet nachgelebt wurde. In der früh von den Franken kontrollierten Nordwestschweiz um Basel werden einige wenige Kirchenbauten in das ausgehende 6. und das 7. Jahrhundert datiert.

Die Gründe, dass im alamannischen Raum rechts der Aare die Kirchen nicht nur seltener als Grabraum Verwendung fanden, sondern pro Bestattungsort auch weniger Gräber aufweisen, können vielfältig sein. Zum ersten und unter Berücksichtigung, dass unter den Innenbestattungen mit wenigen Ausnahmen einzig Verstorbene des alamannischen Typus vorhanden sind, dürfte eine Auswahl dieses Privileg in Anspruch genommen haben, im Gegensatz zur französischen Schweiz, wo die Bestattung im Kirchenraum nicht auf eine bestimmte Gruppe beschränkt gewesen zu sein scheint. Die Forschung täuscht sich kaum, wenn sie darin den Kirchengründer und Mitglieder von dessen Familie oder Sippe erkennt, die sich in Form von "Stiftergräbern" einen bevorzugten Begräbnisplatz sicherten. Zum zweiten könnte eine viel kürzere dazu zur Verfügung stehende Zeitspanne die Zahl der Innenbestattungen gering gehalten haben. Deuten wie erwähnt im nordöstlichen Gebiet die Beigaben auf Gründungen noch vor dem 8. Jahrhundert hin, entstanden diese – unter Berücksichtigung der Absenz von Beigaben – im südwestlichen Grenzraum frühestens im 8. Jahrhundert, wobei es sich (vorderhand?) um die Minderheit handelt. Wenn wir anerkennen, das karolingische Verbot der Grablege im Kirchenraum habe zu den bestattungslosen alamannischen Gründungskirchen geführt, datiert die Mehrheit nicht vor dem ausgehenden 8./ beginnenden 9. Jahrhundert. Dieser Einfluss dürfte sich als eindruckliches Beispiel in der Kirche von Rohrbach zusammenfassen lassen, wo eine Gruppe von ausgewählten Individuen ohne Beigaben in einem westlichen Vorraum und nicht im eigentlichen Kirchenraum beigesetzt wurde. Wie hier beginnt die Erwähnung von Kirchen in schriftlichen Quellen in der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts; Spiez bildet unter den genannten Kirchen dazu ein weiteres Beispiel. Zum dritten darf ein weiterer Aspekt nicht vergessen werden, der die eben erwähnte Datierungshilfe in Frage stellen könnte: Die Innenbestattung war möglicherweise den Alamannen nicht derart wichtig wie den Romanen. In der religiösen Vorstellung der Alamannen, die sich bisher in Gräberfeldern – in Erdgruben oder unterirdischen Grabkammern – beerdigen liessen, fehlte vielleicht der spontane Bezug zum kirchlichen Bestattungsraum; die Kirchen dürften vorzüglich für die Versammlung der Gläubigen gedient haben. Die Grablege im Kirchenraum scheint überhaupt auf fremdes Vorbild, wahrscheinlich der christlichen Franken zurückzuführen sein, deckte sich aber in der Begrenzung auf "Stiftergräber" und damit auf die Oberschicht mit allgemeinem germanischem Gedankengut. Trotz dieser Einschränkung meinen wir, dass der Grossteil der alamannischen Kirchengründungen in der südwestli-

chen Deutschschweiz nicht vor dem ausgehenden 8./ beginnenden 9. Jahrhundert datiert.

Der für die Gründungsbauten eingebürgerte Begriff "frühmittelalterliche Eigenkirchen", zu dem die recht eigenständige Verwaltung der Kirche durch den alamannischen Gründer und dessen Nachfahren den Anstoss gab, ist insofern irreführend, als der Einfluss des Bischofs von Konstanz auf die Verwaltung der Kirchen und der daran gebundenen Güter zu jeder Zeit äusserst eingeschränkt war. Es besteht damit kein Grund, die Kirchen des frühen Mittelalters von denjenigen des späten begrifflich zu unterscheiden und diese damit betont ausserhalb die kirchliche Organisation zu stellen. Eine ebenso fragliche Vorstellung frühen Kirchenwesens wird mit dem Begriff "Urpfarrei" umschrieben: Wenige grosse Kirchenkreise sollen sich im Lauf der Zeit in kleinere Pfarreien aufgespalten haben. Unsere archäologischen Untersuchungen relativieren diese Annahme insofern, als unter allen derart einem grösseren Pfarrsprengel zugeschriebenen vorreformatorischen Filialen sich keine befand, deren erster Kirchenbau viel jünger als die Gründungsanlage der vermuteten Mutterkirche war und nicht die Kriterien eigenständiger Pfarrkirchen aufwies; ausgenommen werden müssen ausgedehnte Bergpfarreien, Gründungsstädte, Klöster/Stifte und die Inkorporation von Pfarrkirchen in deren Verwaltung. Der Umfang der übrigen Pfarrgemeinde scheint recht früh einigermassen festgestanden zu haben.

Politische Situation

Der für die Mehrheit der alamannischen Kirchengründungen im oberen Aaretal festzulegende Zeitpunkt des 8./9. Jahrhunderts deckt sich nicht mit der alamannischen Besiedlung, welche die Ortsnamenkunde in das 7./8. Jahrhundert datiert. Verbreitete archäologische Zeugen dafür sind die Gräber und Gräberfelder mit alamannischem Fundgut des 7./8. Jahrhunderts, das im Berner Gebiet des rechten Aareufers jedoch bisher selten blieb. Es stellt sich damit die Frage nach den Verhältnissen in den gut zwei Jahrhunderten, welche die Zeit der Auflösung der römischen Reichsgewalt von derjenigen der alamannischen Einwanderung trennt.

Diese Frage scheint uns die Forschung schlüssig beantwortet zu haben: Das Mittelland zwischen Rhein/Bodensee und Saane/Aare war seit der spät-römischen Zeit durch die verheerenden Beutezüge der Alamannen bedroht, die diese ab dem 3. Jahrhundert aus ihrem Siedlungsgebiet nördlich des Rheines bis tief in das Gebiet Helvetiens unternahmen. Diese latente Gefahr führte schliesslich zum Rückzug der

römischen Staatsgewalt und die Ansiedlung der Burgunder um den Genfersee, die das römische Gebiet vor den Einfällen schützen sollten. Obschon in das burgundische Reich einbezogen, entbehrte die Bevölkerung zwischen Saane/Aare und Rhein/Bodensee jedoch dieses Schutzes. Die stetige Unsicherheit beschleunigte ihre Abnahme und erschwerte das Fortführen der antiken Erbschaft, darunter des christlichen Glaubens. Kirchen der christlich verbliebenen Bevölkerungsteile können wohl wie in Zurzach (Kanton Aargau) in Kastellen oder an Bestattungsorten bestanden haben, doch ist in den Gebieten des rechten Aareufers der archäologische Nachweis von frühchristlichen Kultbauten vorderhand äusserst selten geblieben.

Im bernischen Grenzraum des durch die Burgunder, schliesslich durch die Franken geschützten Gebietes, sind archäologische Spuren der galloromanischen Bevölkerung denn auch nicht in den Kirchen, sondern in Gräberfeldern zu erkennen; das Fundgut zeigt diesen ethnische Bezug deutlich. Zum Beispiel in Ins und Kallnach sind neben Erdbestattungen Steinsärge – allerdings minderer Qualität –, verbunden mit Beigaben spätestens des 7./8. Jahrhunderts vorhanden (Abb. 8). Hier begegnen wir den Grabstrukturen und -beigaben, die in den frühen christlichen Kult- und Kirchenanlagen, aber auch in den gleichzeitig benutzten Gräberfeldern des französischen Gebietes vorkommen und die typologisch der galloromanisch-burgundischen Bevölkerung zugeschrieben werden können. Allerdings liegen beide Orte auf dem linken Ufer der Aare, wo auch an alamannischen Kirchengründungen galloromanischer Einfluss spürbar ist. Auf dem rechten Ufer wurde hingegen in grösserer Entfernung vom galloromanischen Raum noch kein bedeutendes Gräberfeld der romanischen Bevölkerung entdeckt. In diversen jüngeren Grabungen gewann man zwar zur Situation der romanischen Bevölkerung neue Erkenntnisse, doch bleibt unser diesbezügliches Wissen vorderhand zu undeutlich, um das Ausmass der "Kultur-, Siedlungs- und Funktionskontinuität" eingehend zu kennen; gemäss dem bisherigen Stand der Forschung muss diese eingeschränkt gewesen sein.

Die Abgrenzung des von den Alamannen vor der Einwanderung verunsicherten frühmittelalterlichen galloromanisch-burgundischen Gebietes bleibt im Saane/Aareraum archäologisch ebenfalls unklar definiert. Entlang dem Jurafluss hingegen zeigt sich an Kirchenbauten eine deutliche Übereinstimmung mit dem Bestand der französischen Schweiz. Der burgundische Schutz war hier augenscheinlich wirksam, beschränkte sich aber auf das linke Ufer der Aare, sicherlich um den wichtigen Verkehrsweg zu sichern. Hier entwickelten sich verbreitete Orte, vor

allem mit schützendem Kastell, zu frühmittelalterlichen Zentren, in denen christliche Gemeinden weiterbestanden.

Die ab dem 7. Jahrhundert in den Raum zwischen Rhein/Bodensee und Saane/Aare einwandernden bzw. auf fränkischen Druck "umsiedelnden" Alamannen dürften ausser der Attraktivität, die das einst bewirtschaftete Land römischer Gutshöfe wegen des schwächeren Neuwuchses für die Rodung bot, wenig Grund für eine "Kultur-, Siedlungs- und Funktionskontinuität" in den zerfallenen Bauwerken gehabt haben, um so mehr Holz ihr gewohnter Baustoff war. Römische Ruinen wurden jedoch da und dort wie vielleicht in Meikirch, sicher beispielsweise in Hitzkirch (Kanton Luzern) und Messen (Kanton Solothurn) als Begräbnisstätte gebraucht.

Christianisierung

Wir haben gesehen, dass zwischen Rhein/Bodensee und Oberrhein Kirchen in einer früheren Zeit entstanden als an der südwestlichen Peripherie des alamannischen Siedlungsraums. Die wenigen vorhandenen Beispiele von zugehörigen Grabstätten besitzen Beigaben des 7./8. Jahrhunderts, wie auch vermehrt Steinkistengräber romanischer Tradition vorkommen, die im Laufe des 8. Jahrhunderts verschwunden ist. Daraus darf gefolgert werden, dass die Christianisierung von Norden nach Südwesten, vom Rhein/Bodensee gegen den Saane/Aareraum fortschritt. Dies ist insofern nicht erstaunlich, als das im 7. Jahrhundert entstandene bischöfliche Zentrum in Konstanz und die einflussreichen Klöster der Reichenau und St. Gallen, verbunden mit der fränkischen Reichsmacht, auf die Christianisierung der Alamannen grundlegenden Einfluss ausübten. Vom viel früher christlichen französischen Teil der Schweiz scheinen dazu keine bedeutenden Impulse ausgegangen zu sein. Keinen Einfluss dürfte auch die heute deutschsprachige Nordwestschweiz um Basel genommen haben, wo es die schon vor der Einwanderung der Alamannen verstärkte Kontrolle dem fränkischen Reich erlaubte, auf deren frühe Christianisierung einzuwirken; dieses Gebiet sollte wie der gesamte deutschsprachige Jura schliesslich zum Bistum Basel gehören.

Dieser Vorgang wird an den Kirchenbauten des Kantons Bern nur an wenigen Stellen deutlich. In einer im ausgehenden 8. Jahrhundert ausgestellten Urkunde, welche die im hügeligen alamannischen Ausbaugebiet liegende Kirche von Rohrbach betrifft, findet der *custos* Adalgoz, damit der Verwalter und vielleicht Gründer der Kirche, Erwähnung. Er war Mitglied einer in Herzogenbuchsee, im Herzen des

bernischen Mittellandes ansässigen Familie, deren Angehörige nicht nur in den Rohrbacher Quellen, sondern auch in denjenigen der Klöster Reichenau und St. Gallen genannt werden. Der Kirchenbau war vor der Reformation dem hl. Martin geweiht. Der ergrabene Gründungsbau widerspiegelt den in der ehemaligen römischen Provinz Raetia und damit auch in der Nordostschweiz verbreiteten Kirchentypus der Saalkirche mit gerade hintermauerter Apsis (Abb. 7), der im Aareraum bisher einmalig vorkommt und augenscheinlich von der Gründerfamilie importiert worden ist (Abb. 9). Schliesslich schenkte diese das Patronatsrecht an der Kirche dem Kloster St. Gallen, dessen Güter im Oberaargau sonst spärlich waren. Im ausgehenden 8. Jahrhundert war damit im bernischen Oberaargau eine Familie von Grossgrundbesitzern sesshaft, deren Ursprung im nordostschweizerischen Bodenseeraum lag und die von ihrem neuen Wohnsitz aus die alten, auch kirchlichen Verbindungen intensiv pflegte. Eine weitere aus dem Rhein/Bodenseeraum stammende Familie von Gutsbesitzern soll sich im Gebiet der Emme niedergelassen haben.

Man kann sich aufgrund dieser raren Quellen und der von uns vertretenen Datierung kirchlicher Gründungsbauten zur Christianisierung der Alamannen folgendes Szenarium vorstellen: Die in den Gebieten um den Rhein und Bodensee sesshafte alamannische Ober- und Besitzerschicht, die nach langem Bemühen der Merowinger und Karolinger in das fränkische Reich eingebunden und christianisiert worden war, nahm Einfluss auf den dem neu geschaffenen Bistums Konstanz zugeteilten südwestlichen Siedlungsraum der Alamannen, der sich bisher der fränkischen Kontrolle weitgehend entzogen hatte. Gefördert durch die Franken wurde sie dort unter anderem Grundbesitzer und übte aktiven Einfluss nicht nur auf die Kolonialisierung des bis dahin nur schwach besiedelten Hügellandes am Fuss der Voralpen, sondern auch auf die Christianisierung und Kirchengründung aus. Diesem politischen Druck konnten die lokalen Potentaten auf die Länge nicht ausweichen und schlossen sich nach und nach dem christlichen Glauben an. Die Patrozinien fränkischen und burgundischen Ursprungs wie St. Martin, St. Stephan und St. Mauritius sind Zeugen des Einflusses der im Hintergrund verbleibenden Reichsmacht. In Anlehnung an fränkisches Vorbild, das sich auf antike Tradition abstützte, dürften – wie vielleicht im Fall der Familie des Adaloz in Herzogenbuchsee – gelegentlich bewusst kirchliche Anlagen in römischen Ruinen errichtet worden sein. Auch dort, wo in solchen Bauwerken heidnische Grabstätten eingerichtet worden waren, dürften bisweilen Kirchen zu stehen gekommen sein. Es han-

delte sich im Gegensatz zur französischen Schweiz nicht um eine "Kultur-, Siedlungs- und Funktionskontinuität", die nahtlos von der Antike ins Frühmittelalter überleitete, sondern die Benutzung römischer Ruinen erfolgte weitestgehend nach einem langen Belegungsunterbruch. Die Diskontinuität konnte zwar durch Grablege und/oder Kirchenbau in einer "Ruinenkontinuität" enden, doch ist der Grund dafür nicht im bewussten, ideellen Rückgriffen auf antike Tradition, sondern in pragmatischen Erwägungen und in fränkischen Vorbildern bezüglich der herrschaftlichen Geste zu suchen.

Es sind vor allem die vorgestellten Ergebnisse archäologischer Kirchengrabungen, welche die chronologische Abfolge präzisieren. Der fränkischen Reichsmacht, unter die das burgundische Gebiet schon im 6. Jahrhundert gekommen war, gelang es erst nach der Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts und damit erst unter den Karolingern, die – inzwischen eingewanderte – alamannische Bevölkerung der südwestlichen Grenzzone zu integrieren. Die damit verbundene Christianisierung war nicht das Ergebnis religiöser Mission, sondern geplanter politischer Einflussnahme, welche die Befriedung der bisher unkontrollierten Teile der alamannischen Bevölkerung und deren Eingliederung in das fränkische Reich zum Ziel hatte. Mittel dazu war die konvertierte alamannische Oberschicht der Nordostschweiz um Rhein und Bodensee. Wenn hier unter fränkischem Einfluss die Christianisierung und mit ihr die Kirchengründung im 7. Jahrhundert begonnen hatte, schritt sie im gleichen Jahrhundert bis in den Oberaargau vor, um das obere Aaretal nicht vor dem 8. Jahrhundert zu erreichen, wo sie sich bis ins 9. Jahrhundert hingezogen haben dürfte. Diffus bleiben die kirchlichen Verhältnisse für den Raum zwischen Aare und Saane, der schliesslich Teil des Bistums Lausanne wurde. Politisch blieb der gesamte alamannische Siedlungsraum nur kurze Zeit in der Hand einer einzigen politischen Macht vereinigt. Die Einheit löste sich schon im 9. Jahrhundert mit der Teilung des karolingischen Reiches auf, die schliesslich mit der Schaffung des (hoch)burgundischen Reiches für eine längere Dauer gefestigt wurde. Die neue Macht beherrschte den westlichen Bereich der heutigen Schweiz, darunter die Diözese Lausanne sowie einen Teil desjenigen alamannischen Gebietes des Bistums Konstanz, das südlich des Rheines lagen. 1033 kam (Hoch)burgund an das deutsche Reich, so dass alamannische und galloromanisch-burgundische Gebiete der heutigen Schweiz wieder unter der gleichen Macht zusammengeschlossen waren.

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Peter Eggenberger
Maria Hilfsgasse 9
6004 - Luzern
Schweiz

Maria Letizia Mancinelli

Un Modello dell'Organizzazione Ecclesiastica del Territorio nel Medioevo: Il Caso della Sabina (Lazio)

Premessa¹

Per la storia della diocesi di Sabina si dispone di una fonte scritta di eccezionale valore ed interesse: il *Registrum omnium ecclesiarum dioecesis sabinensis* del 1343. Tale documento delinea un quadro vivo e vario della diocesi sabinense, colta nel momento del suo massimo sviluppo, ed allo stesso tempo costituisce per l'assetto ecclesiastico di quella regione la testimonianza a noi nota più completa e cronologicamente più vicina alle età tardoantica ed altomedievale. Un testo, dunque, di singolare importanza, in quanto offre una visione d'insieme dello spazio diocesano in età medievale, permettendo di porre in relazione fra loro i diversi elementi che lo compongono, e particolarmente prezioso perchè fornisce, con l'ausilio di altre fonti, informazioni utili alla conoscenza della topografia ecclesiastica preesistente, per la quale i dati documentari coevi disponibili, pur ricchi rispetto ad altri ambiti territoriali, raramente contengono indizi sufficienti.

1 Il *Registrum Omnium Ecclesiarum Dioecesis Sabinensis* e la sua Utilità per la Conoscenza della Topografia Ecclesiastica della Sabina Medievale

Il documento ci è giunto tramite una trascrizione quattrocentesca² della quale esiste un'edizione dei primi del Novecento, a cura di Giuseppe Tomassetti

e Giuseppe Biasiotti³. Gli editori hanno arbitrariamente modificato la struttura della copia del XV secolo, riportando come titoli di paragrafi relativi ai diversi abitati presenti nella diocesi quelle che nel manoscritto del *Fondo Orsini* sono note apposte a lato del testo che riproduce il registro trecentesco, nelle quali è indicato il nome dell'abitato a cui il brano a fianco principalmente, ma non sempre unicamente, si riferisce. Conseguenza di ciò è stata una distorta prospettiva di interpretazione del documento e talvolta un'errata valutazione dei dati da parte di chi ha utilizzato l'edizione esistente⁴.

Pertanto, si è ritenuto opportuno, per un corretto utilizzo ed un'appropriata valutazione delle informazioni offerte dal *Registrum*, cercare innanzitutto di identificarne la struttura originale⁵. E' stato così possibile evidenziare che esso non era organizzato in base ad una divisione per abitati, ma secondo le diverse circoscrizioni arcipresbiterali, nelle quali erano compresi gli edifici ecclesiastici: per questo, ad esempio, chiese appartenenti al distretto giurisdizionale di uno stesso castello vengono citate in paragrafi diversi, in quanto dipendenti da differenti arcipresbiterati. Nella copia del Quattrocento i vari paragrafi vengono trascritti con l'aggiunta di note a lato, con riferimento ai *castra*: questi, infatti, avevano assunto un'importanza crescente come centri di organizzazione economica e di inquadramento civile e nel XV secolo costituivano ormai anche il principale riferimento per le strutture ecclesiastiche, come avverrà sempre in

¹ Con il presente contributo si intende illustrare come lo studio di una fonte scritta medievale possa offrire nuovi metodi di approccio e prospettive interessanti per ricerche di topografia ed archeologia. Il lavoro riprende e rielabora alcuni capitoli di M. L. MANCINELLI, *Contributo del "Registrum omnium ecclesiarum dioecesis sabinensis" (1343) alla conoscenza della topografia ecclesiastica della Sabina altomedievale*, tesi di Dottorato in Archeologia e Antichità post-classiche (III-XI sec.), V ciclo, Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza", A.A. 1992/93 (discussa nel 1994): a questo testo si rimanda per approfondimenti, esemplificazioni e più ampi riferimenti a fonti e bibliografia.

² Roma, Archivio Capitolino, Fondo Orsini, II A IV, n. 51.

³ G. TOMASSETTI & G. BIASIOTTI, *La diocesi di Sabina*, Roma, 1909, 63-95.

⁴ Solo negli anni '80 sono state avanzate osservazioni in proposito dal prof. Jean Coste, che ha sollecitato la rilettura critica del documento da parte di chi scrive, presupposto necessario per la ricerca svolta per la tesi di dottorato.

⁵ Una prima proposta per la riedizione del documento viene presentata in appendice a MANCINELLI, *op. cit.*, 178 e segg. (sulla base del testo edito in TOMASSETTI & BIASIOTTI, *op. cit.*, sostanzialmente fedele per quanto riguarda la trascrizione delle singole parole).

seguito, secondo quanto ci è testimoniato dalle Visite Pastorali post-tridentine conservate, fino ad epoca moderna⁶.

Nel documento risultano evidenti disomogeneità nell'articolazione del testo e nelle formule utilizzate, chiari indizi di interpolazioni, aggiunte, interventi di varia natura rispetto ad un materiale preesistente, riunito ed elaborato per costituire una sorta di raccolta di quanto riguardava i diritti del vescovo di Sabina su ogni chiesa. Da quanto si legge nelle prime righe (*"Hoc est registrum omnium ecclesiarum dioecesis sabinensis factum et compositum (...) sub anno Domini M.CCC.XLIII"*), si deduce che questo inventario delle pertinenze vescovili risale al 1343; esso trova confronti precisi nel *Registrum ecclesiarum* compilato dal vescovo Bernard Gui per la diocesi francese di Lodève nel 1331 e in vari elenchi di pievi e chiese redatti in Italia fra XIII e XV secolo (diocesi di Rieti, an. 1252; diocesi di Siena, an. 1318; diocesi di Torino, an. 1386; diocesi di Lucca, an. 1466, etc.): si tratta di "un modello che sembra diffondersi a partire dalla metà del Duecento per impulso della curia romana, finalizzato ad una conoscenza più diretta delle strutture religiose delle diocesi in un momento di profonda instabilità politica", per un controllo più efficace dei diritti vescovili⁷.

Non è possibile, al momento, individuare con precisione le fonti alle quali ha attinto il compilatore del nostro *Registrum*; tuttavia, il ricorrere dell'espressione *accesit et visitavit* presuppone, se non proprio una visita pastorale nel senso che si dà a questa definizione dopo il Concilio di Trento, che ne regolamentò cadenze, modalità e formulari⁸, almeno un'operazione di ispezione da parte dell'autorità vescovile⁹, con sopralluogo e registrazione di quanto era sottoposto al suo controllo.

Benchè nel documento trecentesco si dichiara che esso riguarda *omnium ecclesiarum dioecesis sabinensis*, è necessario specificare che tale espressione

va intesa nel senso di "tutte le chiese allora sottoposte alla giurisdizione dell'episcopato di Sabina" e quindi non necessariamente tutte quelle esistenti nel territorio della diocesi: infatti, in altri documenti datati ad anni prossimi al 1343, compaiono edifici ecclesiastici che non risultano nel *Registrum*, sui quali evidentemente il vescovo di Sabina non aveva diritti¹⁰.

I registri bassomedievali dei quali si è parlato (il nostro, l'esemplare francese e le varie liste di chiese di diocesi italiane) mostrano come preoccupazione prevalente quella di ricognere attentamente la "base concreta" sulla quale si fondava il potere dell'episcopato: la rete di chiese arcipresbiterali con le loro cappelle dipendenti e quanto ciascuna chiesa, in misura delle proprie rendite, versava in quote di decime, sinodatico, *mortuaria* e procurazione. Per tale motivo, con cautela deve essere formulata l'equazione "chiesa = popolazione di fedeli ad essa collegata", in quanto è bene considerare anche la possibilità che si verificasse allora quanto frequentemente riscontriamo nelle Visite Pastorali post-tridentine: chiese ormai distrutte e senza cura d'anime sopravvivono come soggetti di diritto e vengono puntualmente ispezionate perchè ad esse fa capo un complesso patrimoniale, talvolta anche cospicuo.

Dopo queste considerazioni di carattere generale, vediamo in che modo questa fonte scritta può contribuire ad arricchire le conoscenze riguardo alla topografia ecclesiastica della Sabina medievale.

Enzo Petrucci, nel suo studio sulle pievi e le parrocchie del Lazio nel Basso Medioevo, pur considerando il *Registrum* redatto secondo una divisione per castelli, sulla base dell'edizione esistente, sottolinea come l'organizzazione ecclesiastica in esso evidenziata sia chiaramente di tipo plebano, incentrata cioè sulla chiesa arcipresbiterale (in quattro casi

⁶ Spesso le note quattrocentesche si dimostrano particolarmente preziose dal punto di vista topografico ed archeologico, attestando l'avvenuta scomparsa di abitati (i cui nomi vengono accompagnati dall'aggettivo *dirutum*), che il brano trecentesco a fianco mostra ancora vitali.

⁷ T. LEGGIO, *Tarano nel Medioevo. Ascesa e declino di un castello sabino*, Tarano sabino, 1995, 89-92.

⁸ N. COULET, *Les visites pastorales*, Turnhout, 1977; ID., *mise à jour*, Turnhout 1985; U. MAZZONE & A. TURCHINI, *Le Visite Pastorali*, Bologna, 1985.

⁹ Il *Decretum Gratiani*, la grande collezione canonica del XII secolo, attesta l'esistenza di norme relative alle visite che periodicamente i vescovi devono svolgere nelle loro diocesi, enunciate e riconfermate in concili dei secoli VI, VII, VIII e IX (L. PRODOCIMI, *Gerarchia di norme, strutture ecclesiastiche territoriali e ordinamento delle chiese locali nel "Decretum Gratiani"*, in: *Le Istituzioni ecclesiastiche della "societas christiana" dei secc. XI-XII. Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie. Atti della VI*

Settimana internazionale di Studio (Milano 1-7 settembre 1974), Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medievali VIII, Milano 1977, 817-818.

¹⁰ LEGGIO, *op. cit.*, 87-89. Una conferma evidente di quanto detto viene dalla situazione relativa all'Abbazia di Farfa, che nel *Registrum* non risulta fra le chiese ispezionate dal vescovo, in quanto di recente riconfermata esente dalla sua giurisdizione, pur trovandosi fisicamente all'interno della diocesi, e soggetta direttamente solo alla Santa Sede (bolla di Innocenzo III, an. 1208, pubblicata in TOMASSETTI & BIASIOTTI, *op. cit.*, 99; successiva riconferma di Urbano IV nel 1262: J. GUIRAUD, *La Badia di Farfa alla fine del secolo decimo terzo*, *Archivio della Società Romana di storia patria* 15, 1892, 280-285). L'abbazia viene nominata solo in qualità di proprietaria di edifici di culto sui quali l'autorità vescovile esercitava dei diritti.

D'altra parte il *Registrum* ci dà notizia anche di chiese situate al di fuori del territorio della diocesi di Sabina, ma sottoposte alla giurisdizione del vescovo sabinense.

esplicitamente definita *plebs*), dotata di fonte battesimale, retta da un *archipresbyter* e generalmente posta in aperta campagna, dalla quale dipendono varie *aecclisiae* e *capellae*, talvolta qualificate come parrocchiali¹¹. Questa "persistenza diffusa in Sabina di un'organizzazione ecclesiastica che non può definirsi che di tipo plebano"¹², e di conseguenza la verosimile corrispondenza fra arcipresbiterali trecentesche e preesistenti chiese matrici, offre concrete possibilità di risalire alla topografia ecclesiastica di età altomedievale, tanto più se si considera che la struttura originaria del *Registrum* dimostra come nel pieno Medioevo gli arcipresbiterati fossero ancora fondamentali punti di riferimento nel territorio¹³. A tali considerazioni si aggiunga che la regione sabina non ha subito sostanziali trasformazioni nell'assetto topografico e toponomastico se non in epoche molto recenti (secc. XIX-XX) e ciò permette di rintracciare ancora nella documentazione di epoca moderna definizioni territoriali, toponimi ed altri elementi relativi a situazioni precedenti anche di molti secoli.

Pertanto, il documento del 1343 costituisce uno strumento validissimo nell'orientare le ricerche per l'ubicazione dei singoli edifici (fornisce, infatti, le prime essenziali coordinate geografiche: nell'ambito di questo o di quell'abitato), evitando molte confusioni e sovrapposizioni. Altrettanto importante è il contributo che offre sia nel registrare alcune situazioni particolari (come l'appartenenza di un edificio di culto ad una diocesi diversa da quella sabinense, oppure ad enti topograficamente molto distanti dalla sua ubicazione), sia nel rivelare fenomeni riferibili all'età altomedievale, che la sola consultazione dei documenti conservati per quell'epoca non permetterebbe di ricostruire.

2 Indicazioni Metodologiche

Per poter utilizzare nel modo più proficuo le informazioni offerte dal *Registrum* trecentesco, si è proceduto innanzitutto ad una schedatura sistematica

degli edifici ecclesiastici in esso citati, con l'ausilio di un elaboratore elettronico e di un programma per la gestione automatica dei dati. Per ogni chiesa sono stati presi in considerazione: l'intitolazione; l'arcipresbiterato a cui risulta appartenente nel 1343, l'abitato con il quale è posta in relazione; gli appellativi ed attributi ad essa riferiti (*aecclisia*, *capella*, *plebs*, *monasterium*, *-archipresbyteralis*, *parochialis*, *ruralis*). Dopo il censimento iniziale, per ciascun edificio si è aperta una scheda nella quale sono stati via via registrati i dati emersi dall'esame delle fonti e degli studi, ai quali sono stati aggiunti le personali osservazioni e quanto si è riscontrato nelle indagini archeologiche di superficie. Inoltre, per ogni scheda si è stabilito un modulo iniziale nel quale indicare, oltre agli elementi identificativi, presenza e qualifica dell'edificio in relazione a determinati capisaldi cronologici e documentari (come le principali visite pastorali), mediante sigle convenzionali, così da ottenere una sintetica storia del monumento che evidenziasse apparizioni, scomparse, mutamenti di ruolo; la possibilità di rapportare fra loro i singoli casi in tabulati generali, ha permesso di cogliere fasi di ascesa, di mantenimento e di caduta dei vari fenomeni, e quindi di valutarne la portata in relazione ai diversi momenti storici, nonché alle trasformazioni delle forme di popolamento.

L'impostazione della ricerca e l'approccio iniziale, volto alla ricostruzione e comprensione della struttura del documento trecentesco, sono stati determinati dalla scelta di applicare il metodo regressivo, inteso come procedura per la conoscenza di realtà del passato sulla base di quanto di quelle realtà è sopravvissuto ed ha lasciato traccia nel corso dei secoli, fino ai nostri giorni¹⁴. Un metodo che ha richiesto di abbracciare tempi lunghi, per poter ricostruire catene di testimonianze e poter meglio cogliere differenze e trasformazioni; così come è stata necessaria un'estesa operazione di spoglio delle fonti, per ottenere, con il costante e critico incrocio di informazioni di epoche e tipologie diverse, i migliori risultati per l'individuazione di ciascun edificio esaminato¹⁵.

¹¹ E. PETRUCCI, Pievi e parrocchie del Lazio nel basso Medioevo. Note e osservazioni, in: *Pievi e Parrocchie in Italia nel Basso Medioevo (secc. XIII-XV). Atti del VI Convegno della Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, Roma, 1984, 916 e 920-921.

¹² *Ibidem*, 921.

¹³ "Centro della vita religiosa ed, insieme, di quella civile" si rivela anche la pieve del Mezzogiorno medievale italiano all'attenta analisi del Ruggiero, che egualmente riscontra in seguito, con il precisarsi ed il differenziarsi delle funzioni civili rispetto a quelle ecclesiastiche, l'inquadramento di queste ultime nelle distrettuazioni castrensi (B. RUGGIERO, Per una storia della pieve rurale nel Mezzogiorno medievale, *Studi medievali* (III serie) XVI, 1975, 2, 583-626).

¹⁴ Sul metodo regressivo, i suoi principi e l'applicazione nel campo della Topografia Medievale vedere J. COSTE, Introduction, in: *Castrum 2. Structures de l'habitat et occupation du sol dans les pays méditerranéens: les méthodes et l'apport de l'archéologie extensive. Atti del convegno svoltosi a Parigi dal 12 al 15 novembre 1984*, a cura di G. NOYÈ, Rome-Madrid, 1988, 241-246; altri casi esemplificativi nello stesso volume, alle pp. 247-262.

¹⁵ Il non limitarsi ad un'unica categoria, cronologica o tipologica, di fonti di informazione, apporta un ulteriore vantaggio: variando le prospettive di osservazione, infatti, aumentano le possibilità di comprensione e diminuiscono i rischi di pregiudizi e distorsioni. Pertanto, nel corso della ricerca, sono stati raccolti

Si è quindi scelta un'area-campione, per saggiare possibilità e prospettive della metodologia adottata; nell'ambito di quest'area, la ricerca si è svolta attraverso due tappe fondamentali:

1. ricostruire la topografia ecclesiastica trecentesca;
2. sulla base della situazione bassomedievale, con un'ulteriore operazione a ritroso, cercare di ricomporre l'assetto ecclesiastico preesistente.

3 Considerazioni di carattere generale sulla base dei dati forniti dal *Registrum* del 1343

Dal censimento iniziale degli edifici di culto attestati dal *Registrum* risultano 582 unità, da rapportare alla superficie della diocesi di Sabina nel Basso Medioevo (circa 1100 kmq.).

Chiese, cappelle e monasteri sono dislocati in relazione a diverse condizioni geomorfologiche ed a differenti tipologie di insediamento ed organizzazione territoriale, come attestano le loro stesse denominazioni¹⁶. Dal primo esame del testo trecentesco effettuato per enucleare le informazioni essenziali relative ad ogni edificio citato, è emersa un'interessante varietà di situazioni, che pone molteplici interrogativi: quali erano le sfere di influenza dei diversi enti (vescovato, monasteri, arcipresbiterati, parrocchie); quali le loro origini ed i reciproci rapporti; cosa determinava l'importanza di un edificio di culto, se il numero di fedeli che ne usufruivano, l'ampiezza del territorio di sua pertinenza, la consistenza delle rendite o una qualifica di antica origine; quali elementi influivano sulla formazione dell'organico degli ecclesiastici.

Molto ricca anche la casistica dei formulari e dei termini utilizzati, la cui non omogeneità in relazione

a situazioni identiche è una delle ragioni che ci portano a supporre che il materiale raccolto nel *Registrum* provenga da fonti diverse come tipologia (ispezioni vescovili, liste fiscali, inventari di beni ecclesiastici, etc.) e forse anche come cronologia (ad esempio, raccolte di documenti per comprovare un possesso *ab antiquo*): ciò costituisce un motivo in più per il valore retrospettivo del testo trecentesco, che si potrà apprezzare appieno se sarà possibile approfondirne lo studio relativamente a tutto il territorio della diocesi di Sabina¹⁷.

Anche le intitolazioni degli edifici permettono qualche osservazione¹⁸: in assoluto, ricorre più frequentemente la dedica alla Vergine (65 attestazioni)¹⁹; seguono quelle a S. Giovanni (40 attestazioni)²⁰, a S. Michele Arcangelo (38), a S. Pietro (35; solo 7, invece, quelle riferite a S. Paolo) e quindi a S. Lorenzo (28), S. Nicola (24), S. Stefano (22), S. Andrea (21) e S. Lucia (20). Fra le 10 e le 17 attestazioni troviamo in successione decrescente S. Martino, S. Salvatore, S. Biagio, S. Silvestro, S. Vittore/S. Vittoria e S. Valentino; per altre si contano pochi casi, e numerosissime sono quelle che compaiono solo una o due volte²¹. Nel complesso, i santi titolari sono fra quelli oggetto di culto fin da epoche molto antiche e questo, ovviamente, è un importante elemento da tenere presente, anche se da valutarsi sempre con la dovuta cautela e mai come determinante cronologica: infatti, dediche come quelle alla Madonna e a S. Pietro, se da una parte hanno attestazioni che risalgono alla Tarda Antichità ed all'Alto Medioevo, dall'altra sono fra quelle preferite per sostituire precedenti intitolazioni al momento di ristrutturazioni o restauri, come spesso accade in epoca romanica o rinascimentale.

e confrontati dati provenienti dai cartulari dell'Abbazia di Farfa (secc. VIII-XIII), da registri pontifici, da inventari di beni ecclesiastici, da protocolli notarili, da archivi patrimoniali nobiliari, dalle relazioni delle Visite Pastorali post-tridentine, dai catasti ottocenteschi dello Stato Pontificio, dagli atti relativi alle controversie territoriali fra comunità, etc.

¹⁶ Alcuni esempi: *S. Iohannes de massa rurale*, *S. Angelus de zampillo*, *S. Lucia in capite aque*, *S. Iohannes subtus terram*, *S. Margarita de salina*, *S. Iulianus iuxta flumen*, *S. Angelus de cerqueto*, *S. Maria de plebe de castro Montis Nigri*, *S. Paulus de Podio de Mirtetis*, *S. Blasius de aqua viva*, *S. Margarita de castiglione*, *S. Maximus de villa*, etc.

¹⁷ Un interessante parallelo per il nostro *Registrum* è costituito dal *Pelosius*, analogo elenco redatto con scopi di censimento fiscale per la diocesi di Spoleto, sia per quanto riguarda l'epoca di composizione (il *Pelosius* è del 1393), che per le caratteristiche di compilazione e la valenza retrospettiva (A.A. SETTIA, Le pievi della diocesi di Spoleto: dati e problemi, in: *Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (Spoleto 27 settembre-2 ottobre 1982)*, Spoleto, 1983, I, 367-396).

¹⁸ Si avverte che le valutazioni che seguono sono da considerarsi indicative: in conseguenza di quanto si è detto riguardo alle modalità di composizione del documento trecentesco, sussiste infatti la possibilità che alcuni edifici vengano citati più di una volta (nel caso, ad esempio, che comparissero con variazioni dell'intitolazione nei documenti utilizzati per la redazione del *Registrum*).

¹⁹ Per quanto riguarda le intitolazioni, è stata conteggiata anche la chiesa di S. Maria di Farfa, nominata indirettamente (cfr. *supra*, nota 9).

²⁰ Nel testo del *Registrum* non viene mai indicato se si tratti di S. Giovanni Battista o Evangelista (tali specificazioni compaiono invece sia nella documentazione altomedievale che in quella posteriore al 1343).

²¹ Come S. Adiuterino, S. Alessandro, S. Balbina, S. Barbara, S. Brizio, S. Cataldo, S. Cristina, S. Deodato, S. Eugenia, S. Giordano, S. Marcello, S. Marco, S. Pastore, etc. Gli edifici di culto che hanno una dedica duplice sono stati considerati nel conteggio relativo a ciascuna intitolazione.

3.1 Le chiese arcipresbiterali

Fra i molti elementi esaminati nell'approccio iniziale con la topografia ecclesiastica della diocesi di Sabina nel XIV secolo, le chiese arcipresbiterali rivestono, come si è più volte sottolineato, un ruolo di particolare rilievo.

E' possibile, facendo riferimento agli abitati con i quali sono poste in relazione nel *Registrum*, collocarle su carte moderne per visualizzarne la distribuzione. La dislocazione si presenta non omogenea sul territorio diocesano: a zone ristrette nelle quali si concentrano più edifici arcipresbiterali, fanno riscontro presenze isolate ed aree "scoperte". Queste ultime che, sulla base del testo trecentesco, appaiono prive di una chiesa esplicitamente definita *archipresbyteralis*, sono quelle sottoposte al controllo di enti monastici²² in concorrenza con il governo diocesano per l'esercizio dei vari diritti (esazione delle decime e dei *mortuaria*, elezione dell'organico degli ecclesiastici, diritto di ispezione, etc.). A proposito dell'organizzazione pievana nella diocesi di Spoleto, il Settia osserva che "tra l'organizzazione diocesana e quella monastica non vi sono stati soltanto motivi di contrasto, bensì anche di imitazione. Sembra infatti che le abbazie, là dove la situazione si prestava, abbiano strutturato le loro dipendenze sul modello pievano"²³.

Si può pertanto avanzare l'ipotesi, sulla base della situazione attestata dal *Registrum*, che nella diocesi di Sabina, in talune aree, gli enti monastici abbiano svolto le funzioni di capisaldi ecclesiastici ed amministrativi che nel resto del territorio diocesano erano ricoperte dalle chiese arcipresbiterali.

In considerazione di quanto affermato dal Petrucci sulla persistenza di un'organizzazione di tipo pievano nel XIV secolo e di quanto si è detto sulla valenza dell'arcipresbiterale trecentesco quale "collegamento" con realtà più antiche, si è voluta valutare la sopravvivenza nel tempo di quegli edifici che nel *Registrum* hanno la qualifica di *archipresbyteralis*²⁴. I risultati appaiono particolarmente interessanti: in questa prima indagine, infatti, solo per nove delle cinquantuno chiese matrici attestate nel 1343 non si hanno al momento elementi sufficienti per la collocazione topografica; dieci, delle quali è nota l'ubicazione, sono scomparse. Le restanti trentadue sono tutte sopravvissute, anche se in modi diversi: molte presentano forme romaniche, come *S. Maria de Episcopio* (Vescovio), *S. Maria de Tarano* (Tarano), *S. Petrus in Muracentum* (Montebuono), *S. Maria de Fiaranello* (Fianello), *S. Maria de Ponticellis* (Ponticelli), *S. Maria de Morrellis* (Montasola), *S. Paulus de Podio Donadei* (Poggio i Nativo); altre appaiono totalmente trasformate da ristrutturazioni cinquecentesche, come *S. Valentinus de Luco* presso Poggio Mirteto, *S. Andreas Collis Veteris* (Collevecchio), *S. Antolinus de Fara* (Fara in Sabina); altre si trovano allo stato di rudere, come *S. Maria de Vico Novo* (presso località Osteria Nuova) e *S. Agapitus in territorio castri Nerule* (vicino Nerola).

Queste chiese si trovano quasi sempre in rapporto, nel corso dei secoli, con un'area sepolcrale, spesso perpetuatasi nell'odierno cimitero del vicino abitato²⁵; sono in genere situate in stretta relazione con presenze di epoca classica (frequentemente con viabilità di origine romana) e in alcuni casi conservano testimonianze riferibili all'Alto Medioevo (rari gli edifici fino ad ora noti con attestazioni per il periodo paleocristiano).

²² Si tratta dei monasteri di S. Maria di Farfa, S. Maria di Pozzaglia, S. Salvatore di Scandriglia e S. Giovanni in Argentella: il testo del *Registrum* evidenzia come ciascuno di essi fosse soggetto in modo diverso nello spirituale al potere diocesano (per Farfa cfr. *supra*, nota 9).

²³ SETTIA, *op. cit.*, 389-390: documentazione del XII secolo attesta che alle dipendenze di una abbazia vi erano chiese "*cum capellis*", come se esse fossero a capo di una circoscrizione simile a quella di una *plebs*, benché tale appellativo non compaia esplicitamente nelle fonti. Per quanto riguarda la diocesi di Sabina, il *Registrum* attesta una situazione simile solo per il monastero di Farfa, al quale erano soggette, oltre a semplici chiese, anche arcipresbiterali con le loro dipendenze; al contrario, per S. Salvatore di Scandriglia, S. Maria di Pozzaglia e S. Giovanni in Argentella il testo del 1343 enumera solo *ecclesiae* e *capellae*.

²⁴ Tale valutazione è stata effettuata essenzialmente sulla base delle relazioni delle Visite Pastorali post-tridentine.

²⁵ In ambiente rurale, erano legati alla pieve i due momenti

fondamentali della vita del cristiano: il battesimo e la morte, passaggio alla nuova esistenza ultraterrena. Il Settia, però, avverte che non si può parlare di un originario ed esclusivo diritto di sepoltura per le chiese pievane, in quanto, soprattutto agli inizi, molte chiese rurali, che non furono mai battesimali, ebbero una loro necropoli: solo in seguito (dal secolo IX ?) le chiese battesimali tenderanno "ad acquisire stabilmente il monopolio delle deposizioni funebri" (A.A. SETTIA, *Pievi e cappelle nella dinamica del popolamento rurale*, in: *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'Alto Medioevo. XXVIII Settimana di Studio sull'Alto Medioevo (Spoleto 10-16 aprile 1980)*, Spoleto, 1982, 456-458). Pertanto, l'esistenza di una necropoli presso una chiesa non può essere indizio sufficiente per provarne una funzione in antico quale pieve, ma nel caso delle arcipresbiterali attestate dal *Registrum* può costituire un ulteriore indizio del loro ruolo nell'organizzazione ecclesiastica del territorio (in proposito vedere anche *infra*, par. 4.4).

4 Studio dell'area-Campione

Il quadro, che già ad uno sguardo generale appariva molto vario e stimolante, si è ulteriormente arricchito nell'indagine volta ad approfondire lo studio nell'area-campione.

Questa, situata pressochè al centro della circoscrizione medievale della diocesi di Sabina, si presentava come ottimale per le finalità della ricerca: per la possibilità di disporre di vari contributi riguardo alle presenze di età classica (la cui conoscenza è fondamentale per la comprensione delle epoche immediatamente successive); perchè interessata da una precoce cristianizzazione, grazie alla vicinanza ed ai buoni collegamenti con Roma; per l'abbondanza dei dati topografici e toponomastici offerti per l'Alto Medioevo dai cartulari farfensi (fig. 1).

La raccolta dei dati riguardanti gli edifici ecclesiastici attestati dal *Registrum* del 1343 nell'area-campione si è svolta secondo le modalità descritte nel paragrafo dedicato alla metodologia²⁶. Sono state considerate e registrate anche le informazioni relative agli edifici di culto noti dalla documentazione successiva al 1343: spesso, infatti, anche se cronologicamente posteriori, essi hanno raccolto l'eredità materiale (inglobamento di strutture, accorpamento di redditi) e/o cultuale (memoria di un culto mantenuta in un altare) di chiese più antiche scomparse. Attraverso lo spoglio e l'esegesi di fonti scritte e cartografiche, edite ed inedite²⁷, e la consultazione di studi sia di carattere scientifico che erudito-antiquario, è stato possibile proporre una localizzazione²⁸ per 123 (il 76 %) dei 162 edifici che figurano nel documento trecentesco. A ciascuna chiesa qualificata come arcipresbiterale è stata assegnata una lettera alfabetica maiuscola (A, B, C, etc.), mentre gli altri edifici di culto sono stati distinti con la lettera attribuita all'arcipresbiterale dalla quale dipendevano nel

1343, seguita da un numero arabo progressivo, secondo l'ordine alfabetico delle intitolazioni (es. A1, A2, A3, etc.). Tale accorgimento, una volta indicate su carte topografiche²⁹ le localizzazioni dei vari edifici mediante le sigle suddette, ha permesso di individuare l'area di pertinenza delle chiese arcipresbiterali: si è potuto così osservare che esse hanno tutte edifici di culto dipendenti situati nel territorio a loro immediatamente circostante³⁰.

Le arcipresbiterali risultano distribuite in modo non omogeneo nell'area studiata; in due ampie zone, alle estremità nord-occidentale e sud-orientale, sono del tutto assenti: si tratta, come si è già avuto modo di spiegare, delle zone sottoposte al controllo di enti monastici (Farfa e S. Salvatore di Scandriglia).

Inoltre, è stato possibile porre in evidenza precisi rapporti fra ubicazione delle chiese matrici e luoghi di importanza strategica nel territorio esaminato, in stretta relazione con il sistema viario, ereditato in gran parte dall'antichità classica³¹.

4.1 Dati forniti dalle fonti anteriori al 1343.

La documentazione disponibile anteriore al 1343 è costituita per lo più dai cartulari farfensi, che coprono nel complesso un arco cronologico compreso fra l'VIII ed il XII secolo.

Negli atti consultati riferibili all'Alto Medioevo ritroviamo il 30 % circa degli edifici di culto citati nel *Registrum* del 1343; si raggiunge, però, il 50 % se si prende in considerazione l'area più vicina al monastero farfense, cioè quella alla quale riporta la maggior parte della documentazione altomedievale conservata: ciò fa riflettere sul peso che le fonti a disposizione e le loro caratteristiche (committenza, finalità) possono avere per la corretta valutazione del contesto in esame. Nei documenti farfensi non troviamo, infatti,

²⁶ Cfr. *supra*, par. 2.

²⁷ Per le tipologie di fonti consultate si veda *supra*, nota 14.

²⁸ Con *localizzazione* si intende in questa sede l'individuazione di un'area ristretta nella quale doveva trovarsi l'edificio di culto; nel caso in cui sia stato possibile identificarne il sito preciso, di questo si sono fornite le coordinate chilometriche, con riferimento alle tavolette in scala 1:25.000 dell'Istituto Geografico Militare Italiano (IGMI).

²⁹ Nel corso della ricerca è stata utilizzata come base di lavoro la cartografia prodotta dall'IGMI (fogli in scala 1:100.000 e tavolette in scala 1:25.000).





³⁰ Se fra le chiese che rivestono un ruolo dominante nell'assetto ecclesiastico si comprende anche S. Maria di Farfa, essa costituisce in proposito l'eccezione, in quanto nel 1343 ha chiese e proprietà anche in luoghi molto distanti dalla sede abbaziale.

³¹ Sul rapporto fra chiese matrici, viabilità e punti nodali del territorio vedere: A.A. SETTIA, *Strade romane e antiche Pievi fra Tanaro e Po*, *Bollettino Storico-bibliografico subalpino*, 1970,

15-16; A. VASINA, *Le Pievi dell'area ravennate prima e dopo il Mille*, in: *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della "societas christiana" dei secoli XI-XII. Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie. Atti della VI Settimana internazionale di Studio (Milano 1-7 settembre 1974)*, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medievali VIII, Milano, 1977, 612; G. ANDENNA, *Le pievi della diocesi di Novara*, in: *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della "societas christiana"* cit., 507-508; P. DELOGU, *Ricerche nella Regione sublacense*, *Quaderni del Centro di Studio per l'Archeologia Etrusco-Italica* 3 (Archeologia Laziale II), 1979, 271-272; C. VIOLANTE, *L'organizzazione ecclesiastica per la cura d'anime nell'Italia settentrionale e centrale*, in *Pievi e parrocchie in Europa dal Medio Evo all'Età contemporanea*, a cura di C.D. FONSECA & C.D. VIOLANTE, Galatina, 1990, 218; L. BRANCANI & M.L. MANCINELLI, *S. Maria de Viconovo: un esempio di continuità insediativa*, *Archivio della Società Romana di storia patria* 116, 1993, 13-15.



Fig. 1.

-  limiti dell'area-campione
-  chiese arcipresbiterali nel 1343, che verosimilmente corrispondono a chiese matrici altomedievali
-  edifici di culto con attestazioni per l'Alto Medioevo
-  edificio di culto con attestazioni soltanto per i secc. XII-XV

alcuna menzione di edifici di culto per i quali è nota con certezza una fase di vita databile ad età tardo-antica o altomedievale; non si registra, inoltre, nessuna citazione per ben nove delle quattordici chiese qualificate come arcipresbiterali nel 1343³².

D'altra parte, la documentazione anteriore al Trecento attesta l'esistenza, nell'area esaminata, di altre ventinove chiese che non figurano nel *Registrum*³³.

Nei cartulari farfensi si presenta molto frequente la correlazione tra forme di organizzazione territoriale tardo antiche – *massae, fundi, casales*³⁴ – ed *aecclesiae*³⁵. Queste ultime mostrano una connotazione patrimoniale particolarmente rilevante: numerose sono infatti le transazioni di varia natura che riguardano *partes* di *aecclesiae*, che verosimilmente corrispondono a porzioni dei *dotalicia* degli edifici stessi³⁶.

4.2 Le indagini archeologiche di superficie³⁷

Le ricognizioni nell'area indagata hanno fornito buoni risultati dal punto di vista topografico, confermando, precisando ed arricchendo quanto era stato possibile proporre sulla carta in base alle fonti consultate. Per quanto riguarda le attestazioni materiali, invece, si deve constatare come si siano conservate fino ad oggi poche testimonianze concrete delle numerose strutture ecclesiastiche che popolavano il territorio in età medievale.

Dei centoquaranta edifici di culto per i quali è stato possibile proporre una localizzazione³⁸, ne sono sopravvissuti soltanto una quarantina, dei quali nove allo stato di rudere; gli altri sono giunti fino a noi attraverso fasi di restauro e di ricostruzione, spesso (in tredici casi su trentuno) conservando consistenti strutture attribuibili al Medioevo.

Va notato che se si considerano le sole chiese arcipresbiterali, la sopravvivenza nel tempo sale a circa la metà delle presenze note per l'età medievale³⁹.

Sulla base delle testimonianze edilizie è stato possibile proporre una sequenza diacronica delle tipologie murarie individuate nell'area-campione, riferibili ad età tardoantica e medievale⁴⁰.

E' interessante osservare come si riscontrino attestazioni materiali più o meno consistenti riferibili ad epoca romana in molti dei luoghi proposti per la localizzazione delle chiese note dai documenti medievali: oltre ai casi in cui la chiesa stessa riutilizza materiali e/o strutture⁴¹, numerosi sono i siti dove non sopravvive sopraterra nulla di un antico edificio di culto (pur conservandosi tenacemente nei secoli il rispettivo agiotoponimo), ma dove sussistono, al contrario, testimonianze di epoca romana. Il binomio edificio di culto/preesistenze antiche si propone in modo particolarmente evidente in quelle zone dove meglio note sono le attestazioni per l'età classica⁴².

³² Tali assenze possono trovare una plausibile spiegazione nel fatto che gli edifici di culto in questione non rientrarono nel campo degli interessi farfensi e gravitarono probabilmente in tutt'altra sfera d'influenza: quella diocesana, per esempio, come confermerebbero i dati relativi ad alcune chiese qualificate come arcipresbiterali nel *Registrum*, per le quali si dispone eccezionalmente di fonti di informazione del XIII-XIV secolo (ante 1343), in cui risultano appunto essere "*sabinensis dioecesis*". Quanto detto sottolinea ulteriormente l'interesse e l'importanza del *Registrum* trecentesco per la conoscenza dell'organizzazione ecclesiastica del territorio della Sabina medievale, per la quale altrimenti si avrebbero lacune incolmabili.

³³ Per 17 di tali edifici è stato possibile proporre una localizzazione, oltre a 5 casi dubbi.

³⁴ Intendendo *casalis* derivato da *casa*, con il significato che quest'ultimo vocabolo ebbe nel Basso Impero, cioè di unit agricola minore (A. JOSEPHSON, *Casae Litterarum. Studien zum Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, Uppsala, 1950, 30-43).

³⁵ Si registra per il 70% circa degli edifici di culto per i quali si hanno notizie dalle fonti altomedievali: in numerosi casi si conserva per tutto l'Alto Medioevo il prediale romano abbinato alla denominazione della chiesa.

³⁶ Per quanto riguarda l'area-campione, si può dire che le proprietà erano di norma situate nelle immediate vicinanze dell'*aecclesia* alla quale appartenevano (un discorso a parte, ovviamente, richiede la situazione relativa all'abbazia di Farfa).

³⁷ Parallelamente al progredire delle ricerche "a tavolino", sono stati effettuati sopralluoghi nella regione sabina, per verificare le

localizzazioni proposte per gli edifici di culto, conoscere il contesto topografico in cui essi si trovavano ed esaminare le testimonianze materiali che, eventualmente, ancora sussistono. Le indagini archeologiche di superficie sono state mirate all'esame dei soli siti individuati e delle loro immediate vicinanze.

³⁸ Cfr. le presenze indicate nella fig. 1.

³⁹ Si consideri, inoltre, che alcuni di questi edifici sono scomparsi solo in epoca molto recente.

⁴⁰ In occasione di un seminario sulle tecniche edilizie tenutosi presso l'Università "G. D'Annunzio" di Chieti il 5 aprile 1995, chi scrive ha presentato l'intervento: *Tecniche edilizie negli edifici ecclesiastici della Sabina tiberina in età tardoantica e medievale: considerazioni preliminari*, di prossima pubblicazione nei Quaderni dell'Università.

⁴¹ Ciò si registra quasi sempre per le chiese che nel 1343 sono qualificate come arcipresbiterali: preesistenze di età classica di varia tipologia e consistenza si hanno per tredici su quindici chiese matrici (considerando anche l'Abbazia di Farfa). Va comunque specificato che in vari luoghi la presenza romana, se non è accertata né evidente, non è neppure da escludere.

⁴² Ciò risulta particolarmente significativo tenendo presente quanto emerso dall'esame delle fonti altomedievali sulla correlazione fra *aecclesiae* e forme di organizzazione territoriale tardoantica (cfr. *supra*, paragrafo 4.1).

In proposito vedere anche T. LEGGIO, *Forme di insediamento in Sabina e nel Reatino nel Medioevo*. Alcune considerazioni, *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 95, 1989, 178-181.

4.3 Chiese arcipresbiterali e castelli

Nel corso del Medioevo nascono vicino a ciascuna chiesa arcipresbiterale⁴³ uno o più nuclei castrensi; vicino, ma non nello stesso luogo: riscontro evidente del fatto che al momento della nascita dei castelli le chiese matrici si presentano già saldamente costituite ed hanno una propria specifica individualità nell'assetto territoriale. In seguito, con il progressivo svilupparsi e definirsi del castello come entità giuridico/amministrativa, anche il fulcro dell'organizzazione ecclesiastica viene "attratto" verso il centro abitato: nelle relazioni pastorali cinquecentesche si registra, infatti, l'avvenuto trasferimento⁴⁴ all'interno delle mura castrensi delle funzioni parrocchiali, generalmente ad un edificio già esistente, spesso restaurato ed ampliato per l'occasione⁴⁵.

In sette dei quattordici casi da noi esaminati, l'antica arcipresbiterale nel XVI secolo non è più in efficienza ed è ridotta allo stato di rudere, se non addirittura scomparsa⁴⁶; rimane tuttavia "in vita" come soggetto di diritto, in genere grazie all'istituzione del *beneficium simplex* ecclesiastico, che prevede l'amministrazione di beni senza obbligo di residenza e pertanto riguarda quegli edifici di culto che godono di rendite ma non hanno cura d'anime (come le chiese non più in efficienza ma con un patrimonio di antica costituzione da gestire)⁴⁷. Per quanto riguarda le altre sette antiche matrici, tre sopravvivono come chiese del cimitero del vicino abitato, una viene declassata a semplice chiesa rurale ed un'altra continua a vivere come sede di un convento agostiniano⁴⁸. Soltanto due mantengono inalterate le loro funzioni parrocchiali fino ad epoca moderna⁴⁹, e ciò costituisce, in un certo senso, una riprova del fenomeno: le due chiese, infatti, si vennero a trovare nell'area di espansione dell'abitato castrense e quindi sopravvissero proprio perché "incastellate".

4.4 Considerazioni sulla sopravvivenza degli edifici di culto nel tempo.

La consultazione delle prime visite pastorali post-tridentine permette una prima considerazione di carattere generale sulla vita degli edifici in esame dopo l'età medievale: dalla comparazione dei dati riguardanti le singole chiese, si riscontra un'improvvisa caduta delle presenze fra il 1343 e la fine del XVI secolo. Fra questi due capisaldi cronologici, i profondi cambiamenti demografici, politici ed economici della seconda metà del XIV secolo devono aver comportato ripercussioni anche sull'organizzazione ecclesiastica.

Utili indizi sulla sorte di molti edifici di culto ci vengono da alcune disposizioni generali stabilite in occasione di una Visita pastorale della diocesi di Sabina del 1580, in ottemperanza alle norme emanate dal Concilio di Trento: tutte le chiese rurali "dirute, aperte et silvestri, dotate et non dotate le quali non vi è speranza che si restorino" devono essere distrutte e "le lor cemente" utilizzate per la costruzione di un altare a loro memoria nella chiesa parrocchiale del luogo nel cui territorio sono situate", alla quale verranno accorpati gli eventuali redditi, "Non intendendo però questo quanto alle Chiese parrocchiali antiche quali sono di divotione et belle delle quali le Communità si servono per sepolire", che però debbono essere mantenute sempre in modo decoroso⁵⁰. Queste disposizioni possono spiegare da un lato la scomparsa di molti edifici di culto rurali già dalle relazioni delle Visite pastorali del XVI secolo e l'oggettiva difficoltà di individuare, oggi, loro sopravvivenze materiali; dall'altro, chiariscono anche la "conservazione" attraverso i secoli di un'alta percentuale delle strutture delle chiese arcipresbiterali, perché di antica devozione, spesso utilizzate per seppellire e dotate di un fondo patrimoniale che ne permetteva il mantenimento.

⁴³ Si ricorda, sulla base delle considerazioni esposte riguardo al contenuto ed alla struttura del *Registrum* del 1343, che le chiese che in esso compaiono con la qualifica di arcipresbiterali corrispondono verosimilmente a chiese matrici altomedievali (cfr. *supra*, capitolo 1).

⁴⁴ Le motivazioni espresse sono in genere *ob commoditatem populi, populo crescente, cum antiqua parochialis non est capax*: non si parla mai di spopolamento del territorio rurale, quanto piuttosto si sottolinea la comodità di avere nel nucleo abitato, ormai centro di ogni attività, anche la chiesa principale.

⁴⁵ Per il rapporto pieve/castello vedere: SETTIA, *Pievi e cappelle* cit., 470-481; SETTIA, *Le pievi della diocesi di Spoleto* cit., 382, 386-388, 392; B. TOSCANO, Per uno studio dell'ambiente diocesano, in: *Atti del IX Congresso internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* cit., I, 321; PETRUCCI, *Pievi e parrocchie del Lazio* cit., 907, 914, 916-920.

⁴⁶ Si tratta delle chiese di *S. Maria de Vico Novo* (fig. 1, A), *S. Severinus in pede Carpiniani* (C), *S. Agapitus in territorio castri Nerule* (D), *S. Petrus de Podio S. Petri* (E), *S. Anthonii sive Anthanii de castro seu villa S. Antanii* (G), *S. Maria cytra castrum Moiani* (I), *S. Laurentius in via Romana* (N).

⁴⁷ L'istituto del beneficio semplice è attestato per A, C, E, G, I (cfr. nota precedente).

⁴⁸ Si tratta rispettivamente di: *S. Maria de Ponticellis* (fig. 1, B), *S. Laurentius de Toffia* (H), *S. Maria de pertinentia Cerretimali* (J); *S. Martinus de reatinis* (L); *S. Paulus de Podio Donadei* (K).

⁴⁹ Sono le chiese di *S. Antolinus de castro Fare* (fig. 1, F) e *S. Maria in castro Montissorii* (M).

⁵⁰ Magliano Sabina (RI), Archivio Storico della Diocesi di Sabina, n. 170 (provvisorio), *Visitatio civitatis Manliani et eius territorii*. MDLXXX, cc. 62r-62v.

Si è constatato come nei cartulari dell'Abbazia di Farfa (secc.VIII-XII) vengano nominate soltanto cinque delle quattordici chiese comprese nell'area-campione qualificate come arcipresbiterali nel *Registrum* del 1343⁵¹: esse vengono sempre definite semplicemente *aecclesiae* e nessuna specifica espressione⁵² attribuisce loro una particolare funzione nell'organizzazione ecclesiastica locale.

Va inoltre osservato che, sia per quanto riguarda l'area indagata in modo più approfondito, che per quanto concerne l'intera diocesi di Sabina, non compare negli atti farfensi l'appellativo *plebs*: soltanto a partire dal secolo XI troviamo citazioni di *archipresbyteri*, che presuppongono chiese di rango corrispondente⁵³. A ciò si aggiunga che tutti gli edifici di culto dell'area-campione che nel *Registrum* risultano sottoposti alle arcipresbiterali, nelle suddette raccolte documentarie sono costantemente definiti *aecclesiae* e mai *capellae*: questo appellativo, tipico delle chiese dipendenti, compare nel formulario farfense solo dalla seconda metà del secolo XI.

E' dunque possibile che soltanto da allora in Sabina sia in atto il processo di formazione di un sistema per pievi, che si viene via via stabilizzando, fino al costituirsi delle circoscrizioni arcipresbiterali che ritroviamo poi nel *Registrum* del 1343: dunque, non un sistema per pievi scomparso precocemente in

conseguenza dell'incastellamento, come voleva il Toubert⁵⁴, ma un'organizzazione secondo arcipresbiterati costituitasi ufficialmente non prima del pieno secolo XI e che mantiene la propria validità e vitalità fino al Basso Medioevo⁵⁵.

Nel panorama della storia ecclesiastica medievale un momento di fondamentale importanza è costituito "dal complesso di fenomeni che caratterizzano la vita religiosa dell'Occidente europeo tra la metà del secolo XI e la metà del XII secolo", generalmente definito come "riforma gregoriana"⁵⁶. In tale clima di rinnovamento nasce ufficialmente lo Stato Pontificio: la Santa Sede, nello sforzo di affermare la *libertas aecclesiae*, presupposto necessario per la propria autonomia e capacità di azione, consolida innanzitutto il suo potere sul Patrimonio di S. Pietro e vi rivendica una sovranità assoluta. Ed è appunto intorno al 1060 che la Sabina viene costituita diocesi suburbicaria⁵⁷ e con tale occasione, probabilmente, riorganizzata attraverso un'azione di riconquista episcopale a danno soprattutto dei potenti enti monastici⁵⁸: appare dunque logico riportare proprio a tale contesto la creazione di circoscrizioni ecclesiastiche ufficiali, avvenuta forse attraverso un censimento delle pertinenze vescovili, nel quale si potrebbero riconoscere le radici della situazione attestata dal *Registrum* del 1343.

⁵¹ Cfr. *supra*, paragrafo 4.1.

⁵² Come *aecclesia baptismalis*, *plebs*, *aecclesia matrix*, *aecclesia archipresbyteralis*, etc.

⁵³ Per l'area-campione l'esistenza di arcipresbiterati è attestata con certezza dal XIII secolo.

⁵⁴ P. TOUBERT, *Monachisme et encadrement religieux des campagnes en Italie aux Xe-XIIe siècles*, in: *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della "societas christiana"* cit., 420-425.

⁵⁵ PETRUCCI, *Pievi e parrocchie del Lazio* cit., 920-923.

⁵⁶ G. BARONE, *La riforma gregoriana*, in: *Storia dell'Italia religiosa I. L'Antichità e il Medioevo*, a cura di G. DE ROSA, T. GREGORY & A. VAUCHEZ, Bari, 1993, 243-270.

⁵⁷ E. PASZTOR, *Riforma della chiesa nel secolo XI e l'origine del collegio dei cardinali*, in: *Studi sul Medioevo cristiano offerti a Raffaello Morgen*, Roma, 1974, II, 609-625.

⁵⁸ Significativamente, proprio in questo arco di tempo Farfa sente la necessità di raccogliere le attestazioni documentarie del proprio patrimonio: T. BACCHI, *Il "Chronicon Farfense" e la cultura di Gregorio di Catino*, in: *Offida: dal Monachesimo all'Età comunale. Atti del II Convegno del Centro di Studi Farfensi (Offida, 6-8 settembre 1991)*, a cura di V. LAUDADIO, Negrine di San Pietro in Cariano (VR), 1993, 77-81.

Maria Letizia Mancinelli
Università "La Sapienza" di Roma
Cattedra di Archeologia e Topografia Medievale
Piazzale Aldo Moro 5
00185 Roma
Italia

De Mezquitas a Iglesias: el Caso de Sevilla (España)

1 Las mezquitas en las fuentes árabes

El número de mezquitas de Sevilla que conocemos a través de las fuentes árabes, durante los cinco siglos y medio de su etapa andalusí, no rebasa el número de veinticinco. Estas pocas menciones proceden de las fuentes narrativas (principalmente biografías y crónicas) y de la epigrafía (sólo en tres casos y anteriores al siglo XII).

Como es habitual las referencias que encontramos en las fuentes corresponden en buena medida a una cronología posterior al siglo XII (es decir, etapas almorávide y almohade), no registrándose prácticamente noticias de siglos anteriores. Lo cierto es que en los textos no se explicita la fecha fundacional de los templos, por lo que pueden tener un origen muy anterior al que aparecen mencionados por primera, y muchas veces por única vez.

La mayor parte de los nombres de mezquita que conocemos corresponden a antropónimos, cuyo origen es:

- El nombre de un *imam*, p.e. Abu Imran, al-Ram-mak, al-Rutundali, al-Tabbanin, etc¹.
- La denominación de linajes asentados en la ciudad: b. Hayyay, al-Azdi, al-Bayi o al-Zubaydi².
- El caso de un *qadi*, en este caso bajo cuyo mandato se erigió la que fue mezquita *aljama* de la Sevilla pre-almohade: Ibn Adabbas³.

Otros nombres de mezquita corresponden a colectivos profesionales, caso de la mezquita de los Alfareros, localizada en el barrio de los alfareros y asociada a un cementerio⁴. En el mismo caso está la mezquita de los Estereros, de nuevo vinculada a un cementerio⁵.

Un último caso corresponde a aquellas mezquitas que aparecen vinculadas a puertas de la cerca urbana. La mezquita de Arafa está ligada a un cementerio afuera de la puerta de al-Bayyasin⁶. La primera mezquita que según las fuentes escritas se construyó en la ciudad después de la conquista del 711 ó 712, fue la de *Bab Anbar*⁷.

Estas referencias topográficas además de escasas, apenas se pueden identificar en la ciudad actual. Así

que, p.e. los nombres de las puertas de la cerca corresponden a la muralla pre-almohade hoy totalmente perdida y cuyo recorrido continúa en el campo de las hipótesis⁸.

Las únicas mezquitas que podemos situar sin ninguna duda en la ciudad actual son las dos *aljam*s. La primera, la de Ibn Adabbas, en el emplazamiento de la actual parroquia del Divino Salvador; la segunda, en el solar que hoy corresponde al templo catedralicio. Aparte de estos dos edificios, el único dato de carácter topográfico que nos atrevemos a localizar corresponde a la mezquita de los Alfareros, teniendo en cuenta las fuentes escritas y diversos datos arqueológicos que proceden o bien de hallazgos fortuitos o de la excavación arqueológica de urgencia. La mezquita de los Alfareros está asociada a un cementerio, infraestructura cuyo emplazamiento en las ciudades andalusíes es extramuros. A ello hay que añadir que en el tratado de *hisba* de Ibn Abdun existe una mención explícita acerca de la localización extramuros de los artesanados que generan polución⁹. En la ciudad actual y en un área inmediata al núcleo originario de la misma, que es la Plaza Nueva, se han identificado diversos elementos que nos permiten identificar este lugar como el probable emplazamiento de la mezquita, cementerio y barrio del que estamos hablando. Estos testimonios son los siguientes: un epígrafe funerario del año 1022¹⁰, el hallazgo de importantes paquetes de desechos de testar vertidos para cegar un antiguo brazo del río que debió ser anulado durante el siglo XII¹¹.

¹ R. Valencia 1986, 585-586 y 591-594.

² *Ibidem*, 569, 592 y 593.

³ M. Ocaña Jiménez 1947, XXII, 145-151.

⁴ Ibn Abdun n° 52.

⁵ R. Valencia 1986, 560.

⁶ *Ibidem*, 596.

⁷ *Ibidem*, 592.

⁸ M. Valor 1989, II, 327-340; M. Valor 1992, I, 49-64.

⁹ Ibn Abdun n° 52.

¹⁰ J.M. Carriazo 1964-65, 304.

¹¹ Materiales arqueológicos sin publicar, detectados a propósito de la apertura de una estación para el metropolitano de Sevilla en el año 1982.

Indudablemente existe una neta diferencia a nivel de testimonios escritos entre las mezquitas mayores (la pre-almohade o de Ibn Adabbas y la almohade) y las mezquitas de barrios o las *zawiyas*. Las dos *aljamas* que a lo largo de su etapa andalusí tuvo la ciudad de Sevilla están suficientemente documentadas a través de las crónicas, la epigrafía y el tratado de Ibn Abdun (sólo en el caso de Ibn Adabbas)¹². De manera que, especialmente en el caso de la mezquita mayor almohade incluso podemos reconstruir cada una de las etapas constructivas e incluso conocer el nombre de los arquitectos que en ella intervinieron¹³. Muy distinto es el nivel de información que tenemos sobre las demás mezquitas, en todos estos casos es raro encontrar una alusión a su condición de *masyid* (mezquitas de barrio), *zawiya* (lugar de reunión de una cofradía religiosa, erigida en torno a la tumba del fundador), *qubba* (estructura funeraria más simple). Así que, lo que conservamos de ellas son algunos nombres sin que podamos deducir nada acerca de su tipología o su localización en el plano de la ciudad actual.

2 Las mezquitas en las fuentes castellanas

Cuando se conquista Sevilla, a mitad del siglo XIII, y tras siglos de experiencia, el proceso de reconquista y restauración eclesiástica, en sus diferentes fases, estaba completamente definido, tanto desde el punto de vista jurídico, como práctico, por lo que fue aplicado, sin problemas en las distintas sedes andaluzas reconquistadas al Islam.

Contamos con algunos precedentes, como la toma de Córdoba por Alfonso VII el emperador, en mayo de 1146, así como el consiguiente primer intento de consagración de la Mezquita Mayor al culto cristiano, por parte del arzobispo de Toledo, don Raimundo, que acompañaba al monarca, quién celebró Santa Misa y rezó las horas canónicas en ella. Sin embargo, esta primera conquista de la antigua ciudad califal duró poco tiempo y habrá que esperar casi un siglo, el 19 de junio de 1236, para que Córdoba volviera a ser conquistada por Fernando III el Santo, que en palabras de la Primera Crónica General *Patricia de las otras çibdades, esto es padrona et enxienplo de las otras pueblas de Andalozia fue limpiada de las suciedades de Mahoma y entregada al rey Fernando*¹⁴.

Conquistadas Córdoba y Jaén y restablecidas las correspondientes sedes episcopales, sería la sede de Sevilla la última de las restauradas en el reinado del rey San Fernando. Tras un largo cerco, Sevilla capituló el 23 de noviembre de 1248, día de San Clemente, cuando los moros sevillanos rindieron pleitesía al rey castellano y le entregaron el alcázar. Inmediatamente, don Fernando mandó que la enseña cristiana fuese izada en la torre de la mezquita mayor, ceremonia que aparece descrita en la Primera Crónica General¹⁵. Posteriormente, la misma crónica nos describe la entrada de don Fernando en Sevilla, casi un mes después, el 22 de diciembre de 1248, *día que era de la traslaçion de sant Esidro de Leon, arçobispo que fue de Seuilla (...) quando ese noble et bienauenturado rey don Fernando (...) entro en esa dicha noble çibdat de Seuilla (...) fue reçevido con muy grant proçesion de obispos et de toda la clerezia et de todas las otras gentes, con muy grandes alegrias et con muy grandes bozes, loando et bendiziendo et dando graçias a Dios, et alabando los fechos del rey don Fernando dentro de la yglesia de Sancta Maria. Et esa proçesion fezo ese dia con toda la clerecia don Gutierre (...) Y canto y misa a ese noble rey don Fernando et a todo el otro pueblo de los cristianos que eran (...)*¹⁶.

Una vez conquistada la ciudad, todas las mezquitas que había en ella, según la legislación canónica y civil vigente en la época¹⁷, pasaron a disposición del conquistador de la ciudad, el rey castellano.

De esta forma fue como don Fernando ordenó que la gran mezquita *aljama* de los almohades fuera consagrada como catedral, bajo la advocación de Santa María de la Asunción; mientras que, la antigua mezquita mayor emiral, conocida como de Ibn Adabbas, se convirtiera en la segunda iglesia de Sevilla, con el título de Colegiata y dedicada al Divino Salvador.

Pero además de estas dos importantes mezquitas, había muchas más que Julio González denominó "mezquitas secundarias"¹⁸. Según los testimonios que nos han llegado, el número de mezquitas que encontraron los cristianos a su llegada era muy elevado, por lo que el proceso de establecimiento de su red parroquial, que, como es sabido, estaba unido a la división administrativa de la ciudad en *collaciones*, por otra parte ya perfectamente definido y de larga tradición en Castilla, no ofrecía ningún tipo de problemas a este respecto, lo que queda demostrado en el hecho de que muy tempranamente, en 1250 y aún antes de

¹² M. Valor 1993, 299-314.

¹³ A. Jiménez 1984, 83-131; 1995, 149-160.

¹⁴ *Primera Crónica General* (ed. 1955), 733-734.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, cap. 1123, 766-767.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, cap. 1125, 767.

¹⁷ M. González Jiménez & I. Montes Romero-Camacho 1990, 47-88.

¹⁸ J. González 1951, I, 530.

la dotación y provisión de la recién restaurada sede hispalense, la red parroquial sevillana estuviese perfectamente trazada.

Finalmente, en 1252, Alfonso X concedió a la Iglesia de Sevilla todas las mezquitas de la ciudad, a excepción de tres, situadas en la Judería, que fueron cedidas a los judíos sevillanos para que erigiesen sus sinagogas¹⁹. En ello, nuevamente se siguió el modelo toledano, como fue habitual en todo el proceso de reconquista, repoblación y restauración eclesiástica²⁰.

De la misma manera, aunque no hay prueba documental al respecto, también se ha dicho que otra mezquita fue entregada a los mudéjares sevillanos para atender al culto de la pequeña morería de la ciudad que, tradicionalmente, se cree que estaba situada en el *Adarvejo* de la collación de San Pedro²¹. Sin embargo, las investigaciones más recientes acerca de los mudéjares sevillanos, plantean serias objeciones a esta ubicación de la morería que no aparece documentada hasta fines del siglo XV²².

De lo que no hay dudas es de que, pocos años después de haber otorgado todas las mezquitas a la Iglesia de Sevilla, Alfonso X le pidió dos de ellas, o tal vez tres, para cometidos muy importantes. Siguiendo un orden cronológico, en 1254, don Alfonso concedió a Sevilla un Estudio General de Latín y Árabe, llamado a ser el embrión de una futura Universidad hispalense²³, que posiblemente se situó en una antigua mezquita próxima a la Catedral²⁴.

Años más tarde, y casi de forma contemporánea, el rey Sabio volvió a solicitar a la Iglesia de Sevilla otras dos mezquitas. De esta manera, en 1260, Alfonso X pedía al arzobispo y cabildo de la Catedral de Sevilla una de las mezquitas que les había concedido esta vez para *morada de los físicos que vinieron de allende, e para tenerlos mas cerca, e que en ellas fagan la su enseñanza (...)*²⁵.

Por último, en 1261, Alfonso X concedía a los genoveses de Sevilla la mezquita que fue de Domingo Balbastro, para hacer en ella *palazo en que se alleguen a librar sos pleytos*²⁶.

Sea como fuere, lo cierto es que a partir de 1252, la mayor parte de las mezquitas de Sevilla pertenecían a la Iglesia hispalense, quién las conservó hasta el final de la Edad Media.

3 La transformación de las mezquitas en iglesias

Este es un aspecto que prácticamente no se ha tratado en la bibliografía, pero sobre el que existen los suficientes indicios como para tratar de reconstruir el proceso, contando con las fuentes escritas y los vestigios materiales. Es evidente que desde que se produjo la conquista de Toledo en el año 1086 hasta mediados del siglo XIII, los reinos cristianos – y especialmente Castilla – incorporaron un número importante de ciudades. Ciudades musulmanas que sólo lentamente fueron transformadas en ciudades cristianas o ciudades mudéjares. El primer cambio y el más significativo de la nueva situación era la transformación de la mezquita en iglesia. A la vista de la información que tenemos en las fuentes escritas y los ejemplos que hoy en día se pueden observar, da la impresión que el proceso de este cambio obedece a unas reglas de juego siempre aplicadas en la misma manera, al menos desde el año 1086.

La conversión de una mezquita en iglesia responde a un proceso elaborado entre la corte papal (Gregorio VII y después Urbano II), el arzobispo y obispos de Narbona y el primado de las Españas y Arzobispo de Toledo. Este ritual de conversión promovido por la reina doña Constanza, esposa de Alfonso VI, se aplicó por primera vez a la mezquita aljama de Toledo poco después de la conquista en el año 1086. El cambio consistía en limpiar el templo *de la suciedad del falso Mahomat. E puso altares, e consagrola, e puso campanas en la torre*²⁷. Este procedimiento se aplicó a todas las mezquitas de las áreas conquistadas, siendo convocados los prelados a Toledo para ser ilustrados al respecto²⁸. En el caso de Sevilla, conquistada unos ciento sesenta años después que Toledo, nos encontramos con un proceso similar, definido en las crónicas de la época como *alimpiar*, tarea realizada por los arzobispos y obispos reunidos en la villa recién conquistada²⁹. La antigua mezquita mayor almohade recibió el nombre de *iglesia de Sancta Maria*, quedando consagrada como tal iglesia un mes después de la conquista e iniciándose en ella los rituales cristianos con una misa en la que estuvieron presentes el monarca conquistador con toda su corte, las autoridades religiosas y los nuevos

¹⁹ Archivo Catedral de Sevilla, caja 4, nº 36/1. A. Ballesteros Beretta 1913, doc. Nº 8; M. González Jiménez 1991, doc. nº 4; J. González 1951, I, 351, nota 60.

²⁰ Cartulario del XII de la catedral de Toledo, fols. 4 vº-6 vº. J. González 1951, I, 351, nota 60.

²¹ A. Ballesteros 1913, 103-104; J. González 1951, I, 531.

²² A. Collantes de Terán 1978, 143-162.

²³ A.C.S. caja 4, nº 10; A. Ballesteros 1913, doc. Nº 67; M. González Jiménez 1991, doc. 142; J. González 1951, II, 323.

²⁴ J. González 1951, I, 533, nota 259.

²⁵ D. Ortiz de Zúñiga (ed. 16), año 1260, cap. 4; M. González 1991, doc. 232; J. González 1951, I, 533, nota 259.

²⁶ A.S.G. cod. A, fol. 282, cod. C, fol. 448; M. González 1991, doc. 251; J. González 1951, II, 338.

²⁷ R. Jiménez de Rada (ed. 1893), 404.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, 406.

²⁹ R. Jiménez de Rada (ed. 1893), 7; Primera Crónica General (ed. 1955), 767.

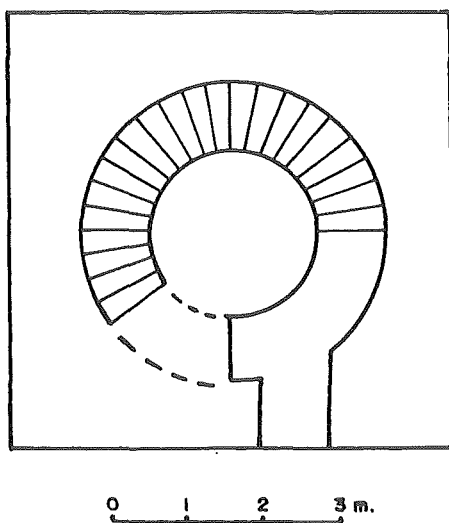
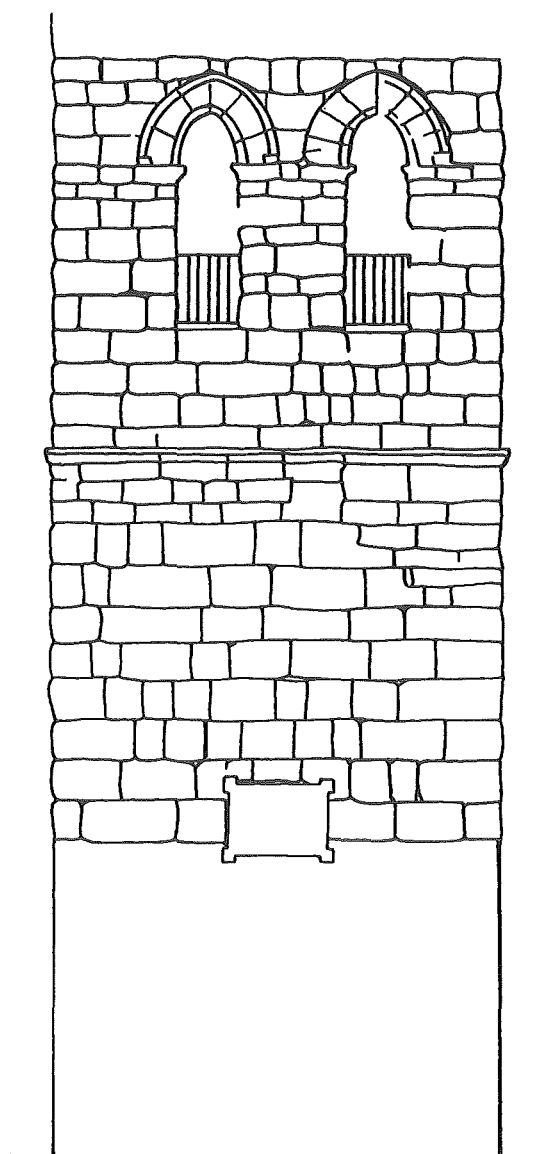


Fig. 1. - Alzado del campanario de la Colegiata del Divino Salvador sin el cuerpo superior barroco (L. TORRES BALBÁS 1945: *Los alminares de las mezquitas hispanas*, Al-Andalus X, 387).

pobladores cristianos venidos en los diferentes contingentes militares.

El proceso de transformación de las mezquitas en iglesias no es muy explícito a través de las fuentes escritas. Sin embargo, será la observación de algunos de estos ejemplos lo que nos permita interpretar el alcance de ese *alimpiar* que definen las crónicas castellanas. Los elementos de juicio con los que contamos son algunas iglesias restauradas, caso de la parroquia de Santa María de la Granada en Niebla, y otras que por conservar algún elemento de su pasado musulmán (comúnmente el alminar) se trata de mezquitas convertidas después de la conquista cristiana en iglesias, caso de la ermita de Cuatrohabitan en Bollullos de la Mitación – Sevilla³⁰, o de la ermita de la Concepción en Almonaster la Real – Huelva³¹. A estos ejemplos evidentes, se podrían añadir otros no publicados pero no menos ilustrativos, me refiero a la iglesia de San Pedro en Sanlúcar la Mayor – Sevilla, o a la ermita de Ntra. Sra. Del Aguila en Alcalá de Guadaira – Sevilla. En todos estos casos y en muchos más que no viene al caso citar nos encontramos con el siguiente proceso:

3.1 Eliminación de objetos muebles propios del culto musulmán

Esta es la intervención más inmediata ateniéndonos a lo narrado por Jiménez de Rada y, teniendo en cuenta la rapidez con la que las mezquitas podían ser usadas como iglesias. Este *alimpiar* consistía en eliminar elementos muebles de las mezquitas como la *maqsura* o el *mimbar*, sólo presentes en la mezquita mayor. Otros objetos son los coranes, tradicionalmente situados en estanterías próximas al *mihrab*, y seguramente también eran eliminadas esteras y alfombras que cubrían el pavimento de la sala de oración. A todo ello hay que añadir una complicada ceremonia de consagración, que más bien parece un exorcismo y que describe con todo detalle el código de Las Partidas³².

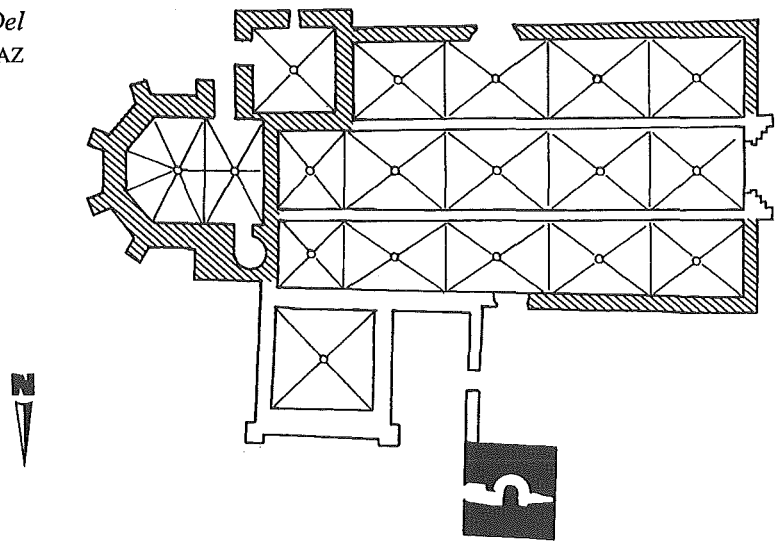
Añadido a este primer cambio, pero seguramente realizado durante un periodo de tiempo más dilatado, creemos que debieron ir produciéndose otros cambios que podemos deducir no sólo a través de algunas referencias en las fuentes escritas, sino sobre todo a través de ejemplos todavía hoy enhiestos e incluso en uso. Estos son:

³⁰ L. Torres Balbás 1941, VI, 204-216; M. Valor 1982, 127-139.

³¹ A. Jiménez 1975; M. Bendala Galán *et alii* 1991.

³² *Las Partidas* (ed. 1829). Primera Partida, Título X, ley XIV, 254-255.

Fig. 2. - *Planta de la ermita de Ntra. Sra. Del Aguila en Alcalá de Guadaira (J. HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ et alii 1939, I, 58).*



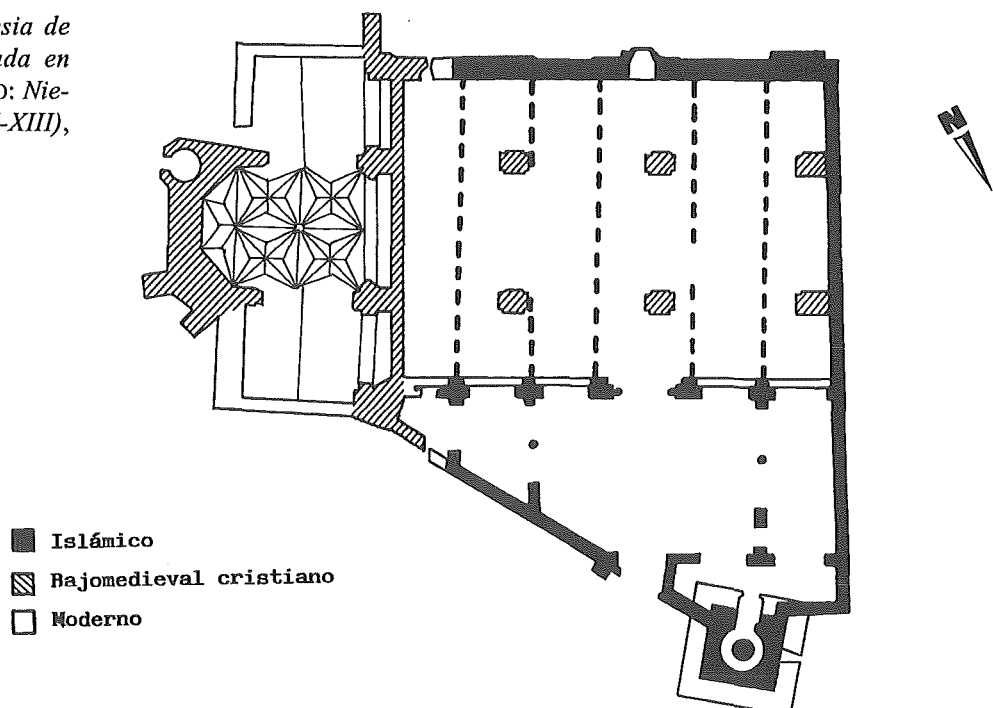
3.2 La erección de altares y la conversión del alminar en campanario

Esta intervención fue también inmediata, como la anterior. Precipitada y seguramente de calidad mediocre, apenas has quedado ejemplos de ella. Este fue el caso del *alminar* del templo mayor almohade en Sevilla, donde el cuerpo de campanas no quedó configurado hasta el año 1356, aunque el que hoy prevalece es del 1568. Distinto es el caso del Divino Salvador, donde ya bajo el reinado de Alfonso X se erigió un campanario que subsiste, aunque en desuso, ya que se usa como tal un cuerpo añadido en la drástica reforma del siglo XVII. Casos similares podrían ser los de la iglesia de San Pedro en Sanlúcar la Mayor – Sevilla, la iglesia de Santa María de la Granada en Niebla – Huelva, etc.

Es necesario advertir que teniendo en cuenta la pervivencia de las técnicas constructivas andalusíes durante la Baja Edad Media castellana, también podemos encontrar numerosos ejemplos de torres que conservan los elementos estructurales y decorativos que ya conocíamos en los precedentes musulmanes. Esta situación ha generado una confusión importante en la historiografía artística, que todavía hoy está por resolver.

El ejemplo más antiguo de *alminar* convertido en campanario en el caso de Sevilla corresponde a la Colegiata del Divino Salvador, antigua mezquita mayor pre-almohade. Se trata de un conjunto de dos arcos ojivales abocinados en cada uno de los cuatro diversa. El cambio más temprano debe corresponder a la construcción de un ábside, un presbiterio que añadido al flanco este del buque del templo se con-

Fig. 3. - *Planta de la iglesia de Santa María de la Granada en Niebla (F. ROLDÁN CASTRO: Niebla musulmana (s. VIII-XIII), Huelva, 1993, 396).*



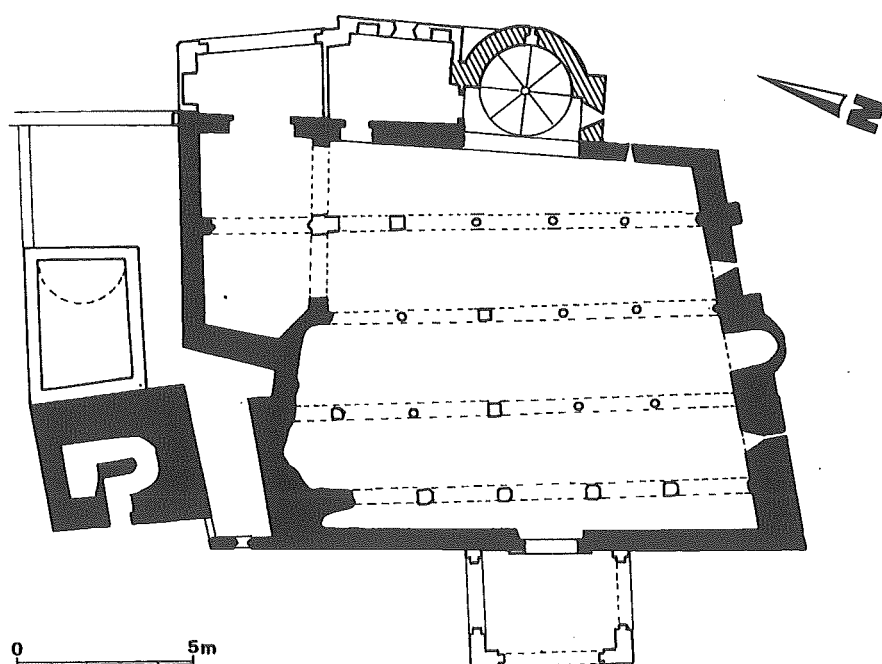


Fig. 4. - Planta de la ermita de la Concepción en Almonaster la Real (A. JIMÉNEZ MARTÍN, *Almonaster la Real*, Huelva, 1975, Fig. 3).

vierte en el nuevo eje de simetría del antiguo edificio. Hay varios casos de ábsides que podemos fechar en la segunda del siglo XIII, aunque este tipo de cuestiones relacionadas con la Historia del Arte todavía están por revisar. Ejemplos datables en estos primeros momentos después de la conquista podrían ser el ábside de la ermita de Ntra. Sra. Del Aguila de Alcalá de Guadaira (Fig. 2) o la iglesia de San Pedro en Sanlúcar la Mayor.

Una vez construido el ábside, el paso siguiente era transformar los apoyos de la nave central, que eran pilares o columnas y que en la mayor parte de los casos debían ser perpendiculares a la *qibla*. Ese sistema de sustentación es sustituido por otro que corre perpendicular al muro este, generándose la planta basilical habitual; esta intervención se observa sin ninguna duda en el caso de Niebla, donde en el muro sur todavía queda la huella de los apoyos de las

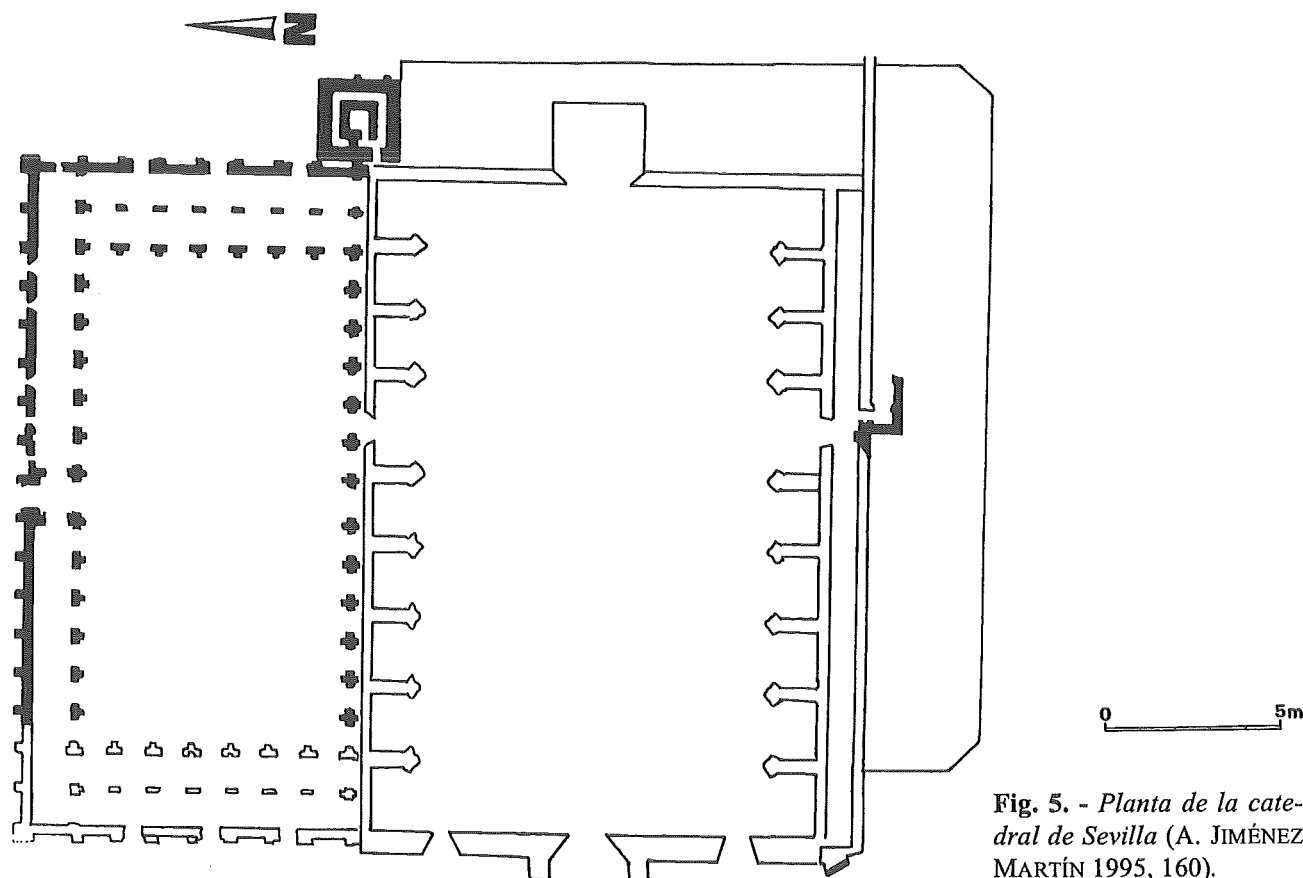


Fig. 5. - Planta de la catedral de Sevilla (A. JIMÉNEZ MARTÍN 1995, 160).

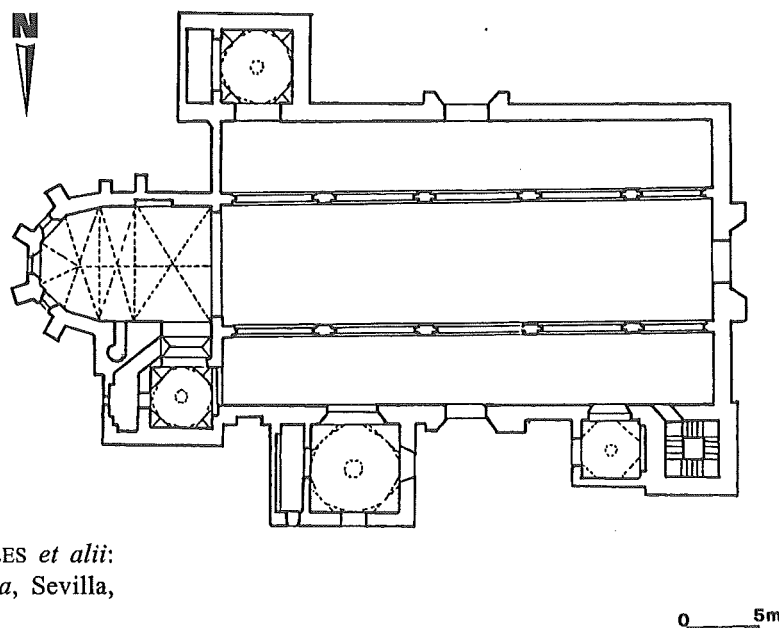


Fig. 6. - Iglesia de San Marcos (A. MORALES *et alii*: *Inventario artístico de Sevilla y su provincia*, Sevilla, 1982).

anteriores arquerías (Fig. 3). En otros casos persistió la orientación antigua, como en la ermita de la Concepción de Almonaster la Real (Fig. 4).

Hemos observado que en algunos casos debió aprovecharse esta operación de cambio de dirección en las arquerías del templo, para añadir sendas naves laterales. Como único ejemplo a aportar tenemos el de la ermita de Ntra. Sra. del Aguila en Alcalá de Guadaira.

4 El caso de Sevilla

Combinando los datos ofrecidos por las fuentes escritas, con la historiografía y la evidencia material podemos llegar a unas conclusiones que no dejan de ser provisionales, y que son:

Las dos *aljamas* sucesivas con que había contado la ciudad musulmana, pasaron a ser las dos iglesias principales de la nueva ciudad cristianizada. La mezquita mayor almohade fue convertida en el nuevo templo Catedral; la mezquita de Ibn Adabbas (*aljama* pre-almohade) pasó a ser Colegiata.

El único relato de la transformación de mezquita en iglesia corresponde a la nueva Catedral, que efectivamente sufrió durante algunos días el proceso de *alimpiar*. Después de una primera intervención en la que debieron ser eliminados los objetos muebles característicos de las mezquitas, que fueran erigidos altares y colocadas campanas en la torre mayor, el templo fue consagrado al nuevo culto cristiano. Más adelante, con una cronología que no debe exceder el

siglo XIII se produjeron aún más cambios, que en palabras de un cronista del siglo XVII fueron los siguientes: *su latitud fue convertida en longitud para reducirla a la forma cristiana de que el altar mayor mirase al occidente fue dividida en dos partes, algo menor la primera, más oriental para capilla real, separándola con rejas de balaustres de hierro (...) y el resto quedó para Iglesia (...)*³⁴. Además de ello se fueron creando capillas en ambos extremos y en torno al *sahn*, tal y como hoy en día todavía podemos observar en el patio de abluciones sevillano y en la sala de oración de la mezquita de Córdoba. A todo ello habría que añadir además las pinturas murales de las que se hace eco el Libro Blanco de 1411. Con todo ello, es evidente que la transformación del espacio interior fue considerable. El cambio de orientación, la división de ese gran rectángulo en dos espacios distintos de culto (la capilla real y la parroquia), y la pintura de muros y pilares, constituyen toda una serie de intervenciones que sin duda lograrían atenuar en gran medida el aspecto originario del edificio. Así continuó durante dos siglos más, hasta que a comienzos del siglo XV tomando como excusa el mal estado del templo se decidió construir una iglesia de nueva planta. Catedral gótica cuyo trazado parece deber mucho al antiguo buque de la mezquita³⁵. Nuevo templo en el que no obstante quedaron integrados el *sahn* y el *alminar* de l templo precedente (Fig. 5).

Algo similar debió ocurrir en la mezquita de Ibn Adabbas³⁶, templo emiral que logró subsistir hasta el

³³ J.M. Medianero 1983, 173-186.

³⁴ D. Ortiz de Zúñiga (ed. 1795), I, 55 y 56.

³⁵ A. Jiménez Martín 1984, 90.

³⁶ M. Valor 1993, IX, 304.

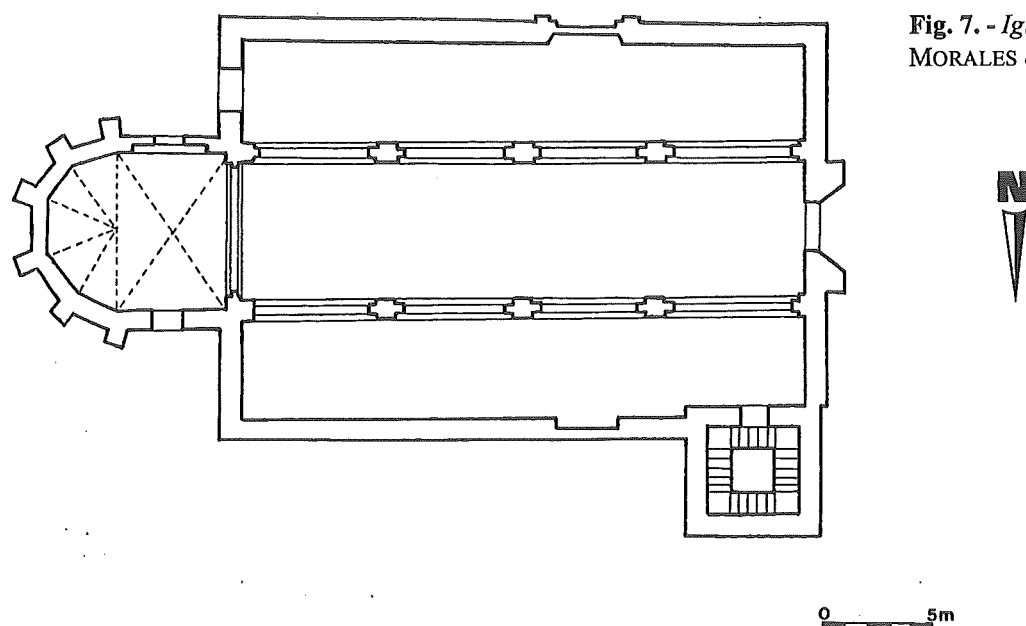


Fig. 7. - Iglesia de Santa Marina (A. MORALES *et alii* 1982).

año 1671 en que fue arrasado para la construcción del nuevo templo barroco³⁷. El único dato con que contamos es la existencia de numerosas capillas³⁸, aunque hay que suponer que debió aplicarse el mismo proceso de cristianización ya descrito.

El obispo de la ciudad recibió la práctica totalidad de las mezquitas de Sevilla, no es difícil interpretar que entre ellas debieron ser elegidas las más idóneas para los nuevos templos parroquiales³⁹ que dieron nombre a las *collaciones* que ya el Repartimiento recoge⁴⁰ y que constituyen un total de veintisiete. Veinticuatro tienen como topónimo nombres de iglesia, el resto de calles (p.e. cal de la Mar) o de comunidades de extranjeros (p.e. Genoveses).

La conversión de *masyid* o *de zawiya*s en templos cristianos ha suscitado el interés de numerosos investigadores. Las opiniones más autorizadas aceptan el proceso de cambio, pero teniendo en cuenta la carencia de vestigios emergentes en muchas de las iglesias actuales, habría que pensar en la paulatina destrucción de los templos andalusíes y la radical sustitución de éstos consumada desde mediados del siglo XIV en adelante⁴¹. Esta tesis esta tesis hoy por hoy corroborada, teniendo en cuenta las escasas investigaciones con las que contamos por el momento⁴², deberá ser contrastada en futuras intervenciones

arqueológicas. A pesar de todo ello, es cierto que en algunas torres-campanario subsisten vestigios de su anterior condición de alminar, en algunos casos tremendamente mutilados, este sería el caso de: San Gil, San Marcos [Fig. 6], Santa Catalina, Santa Lucía y Santa Marina (Fig. 7).

A estas mezquitas con cierta entidad arquitectónica habría que añadir una larga lista que conocemos gracias al Archivo Catedralicio y en el que se conservan dos documentos fundamentales que son:

- 1396, que se refiere a la división de los bienes entre el cabildo y el arzobispo⁴³.
- El Libro Blanco de 1411, que corresponde a un catastro de los bienes de la catedral⁴⁴.
- Manual de Pan y Cebada de 1416, donde se registra la administración de los bienes del cabildo⁴⁵.

Estos documentos recogen de forma sistemática todas las mezquitas que formaban parte de la catedral de Sevilla, dando en algunos casos detalles de carácter topográfico, sobre su uso, sobre el arrendatario y sobre las rentas.

Este apartado puede ser en sí mismo objeto de un estudio amplio. De forma sucinta nos parece interesante comentar dos cuestiones, que son:

- Contabilizando el número de mezquitas es evidente la enorme densidad que se registra en la antigua

³⁷ D. Ortiz de Zúñiga 1796, V, 296.

³⁸ *Ibidem* III, 252-253.

³⁹ J. González 1951, I, 531.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, II, 120 y 136.

⁴¹ F. Collantes de Terán Delorme 1957, 30-31; F. Hernández Jiménez 1975, 166.

⁴² Estudio de paramentos y excavaciones arqueológicas de apoyo a la restauración en los casos de San Bartolomé (director D. Diego Oliva Alonso) o de San Andrés (D. Antonio Pérez Paz),

llevadas a cabo estos últimos años y con resultados todavía inéditos.

⁴³ Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla, Legajo 115 n° 31, signatura antigua 37-4-82/1.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, Sección 2: Mesa Capitular, Serie: Patronatos. Dotaciones. Aniversarios. Heredades. N° 1477 (4).

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, Sección II: Mesa capitular, Serie: Manuales. N° 655 (1)A. Manuales de Pan y Cebada (1416).



Fig. 8. - Plano de Sevilla con las collaciones según la documentación del siglo XV (M.A. LADERO QUESADA (3ªed): *Historia de Sevilla. La ciudad medieval*, Sevilla, 1989).

- Collaciones I y II, más de siete mezquitas.
- III, VII, XVII, XXII y XIV, entre cuatro, cinco y seis mezquitas.
- El resto de 1 a 3 mezquitas.
- En blanco, las collaciones que no tenían el nombre de la iglesia parroquial.

I Catedral	XX Santa Lucía	A Puerta de Jerez
II El Salvador	XXI San Julián	B Puerta del Carbón
III San Isidoro	XXII Santa Marina	C Puerta del Aceite
IV San Nicolás	XXIII San Gil	D Puerta del Arsenal
V San Bartolomé Viejo	XXIV Omnium Santorum	E Puerta de Triana
VI San Esteban	XXV Barrio de Francos	F Puerta de Goles (Real)
VII San Ildefonso	XXVI Barrio de Génova	G Puerta del Ingenio (de San Juan)
VIII Santiago	XXVII Barrio de la Mar	H Puerta de Bib-Ragel (Barqueta, Almenilla)
IX Santa Catalina	XXVIII Barrio Nuevo (Judería hasta 1391)	I Puerta de Macarena
X San Pedro	XXIX Santa Cruz (Judería hasta 1391)	J Puerta de Córdoba
XI San Andrés	XXX Santa María la Blanca (Judería hasta 1391)	K Puerta del Sol (Bib Alfar)
XII San Miguel	XXXI San Bartolomé Nuevo (Judería hasta 1391)	L Puerta Osario
XIII Santa María Magdalena	XXXII Santa Ana (Triana)	M Puerta de Carmona
XIV San Vincente	XXXIII Arrabal de Cestería	N Puerta de Minjoar o Bib-Ahoar (De la Judería, De la Carne)
XV San Lorenzo	XXXIV Arrabal de Carretería	O Puente de vbarcas de Triana
XVI San Martín		
XVII San Juan		
XVIII San Marcos		
XIX San Román		

madina de la ciudad, ahora *collaciones* de Santa María y el Divino Salvador. El número de ellas disminuye una vez que nos apartamos de ella paulatinamente hasta las zonas más alejadas de este antiguo centro neurálgico de la ciudad andalusí (Fig. 8).

- Es interesante observar en la documentación castellana, el uso que se da a estos locales, que aparentemente debían obedecer a dimensiones variadas, aunque predominantemente reducidas. Así, habría que destacar el uso más frecuente como tiendas, también habitual el de casas y finalmente también como lagares, almacenes, bodegas, hornos e incluso carnicería. Estos edificios debieron ir siendo convertidos paulatinamente en solares y después contruidos de nueva planta como explícitamente consta en algunos casos, eso provoca que en la documentación catedralicia ya no aparezcan mencionadas como tales mezquitas en el siglo XVI.

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Dra. Magdalena Valor & Dra. Isabel Montes
Universidad de Sevilla - Facultad de Geografía e
Historia - Departamento de Historia Medieval
c/ María de Padilla s/n
41004 Sevilla
España

The Bishop's Landscape of Stone Churches in Finland 1260-1560

Along with Lithuania, Finland was among the last areas of Northern Europe to come under the blessing of the Catholic church. Mainly for this reason, its parochial system and its visible forms, *i.e.* churches, is also of late origin. This article discusses the emergence and formation of the landscape of stone churches that characterized Finland, *i.e.* the medieval Diocese of Turku (Åbo). My hypothesis is that this was largely the result of ecclesiastical policies laid down by the bishops of Turku and of the collective efforts of the parishes. In the archipelago of the south-western parts of the diocese the results were already visible by the close of the 13th century and in the following century, and during the first half of the 15th century on the Finnish mainland. The following section presents a few background phenomena of the early ecclesiastical history of Finland to elucidate the background of the building of churches in the period concerned.

The first scant indications of the adoption of certain Christian phenomena in Iron Age Finland appeared in the 6th century (artefacts decorated in so-called Salin I style).¹ The archaeological record and certain late, fragmentary written sources show that in the 11th and 12th centuries the religion of the inhabited areas of Finland was an unorganized worship of departed spirits and the various elements of nature, clearly differing from the Scandinavian and Germanic Asa faith.² Christian influences appear to have come from two directions. One direction, albeit difficult to establish in the source material, was from the south-east, the realm of Byzantine Christianity.³ This may have been more influential than experts have been willing to acknowledge.⁴ The other direction, from the west and south-west, involved the Roman Catholic church.

Regardless of the direction of influence, the archaeological record shows that the farmer communities of south-western Finland buried their dead in village or farm cemeteries until the close of the 12th century and even as late as the 13th century. This concerned the provinces of Finland Proper (Southwest Finland), Satakunta and Häme (Tavastia) (Fig. 1). In Savo and Karelia, the non-Christian burial custom survived until the beginning of the 14th century.⁵ On the other hand, the previously inhabited areas of southern Ostrobothnia and the Åland Islands appear to have been almost abandoned towards the end of the Iron Age. This took place in southern Ostrobothnia by the early 9th century and in Åland around the year 1000. Neither area was completely without inhabitants, but permanent settlement disappeared, until new farmer populations moved into the regions in the 12th-13th centuries.⁶

There is isolated information on actual missionary activity on the part of the Catholic church from the mid-12th century onwards. The first signs of the organization of the missionary church are from the late 12th century, as indicated by the legend of the martyred bishop and later saint Henry which was written down in the late 13th century, and by a list of the bishops of Finland surviving from the 15th century. The centre of the missionary diocese was originally at Nousiainen, from where it was moved after 1229 first by a distance of some 20 kilometres to the south to Koroinen on the river Aurajoki.⁷ Presumably in the 1260s, the missionary region of Finland became established as the Diocese of Turku, and secular chapter was founded in 1276.⁸ The actual cathedral was built in brick between *c.* 1280 and 1300 in the town of Turku 1.5 kilometres downstream from Koroinen and was consecrated on the 17th of June, 1300.⁹

¹ Erä-Esko 1965.

² Pirinen 1991.

³ Suvanto 1985.

⁴ Läntinen 1978.

⁵ Taavitsainen 1987; Taavitsainen 1991.

⁶ Orrman 1987; Orrman 1994; Hellberg 1987.

⁷ Gallén 1978.

⁸ Pirinen 1976.

⁹ Gallén 1978.

Fig. 1. - Northern Europe, the Diocese of Turku, and the historical provinces of Finland mentioned in the text. 1 = Finland Proper; 2 = Uusimaa; 3 = Häme; 4 = Ostrobothnia; 5 = Satakunta; 6 = Savo and Karelia; 7 = the Åland Islands. The southern part of the Swedish-Russian border of 1323 is marked with a dotted line. After Hiekkänen 1994, Fig. 1.



Along with the consolidation of the diocese a regional parochial system began to be established with an independent local congregation, or parish, as its basic unit - as is still the case today. Within the framework of the parish, divine services and the provision of the sacraments in connection to the church buildings themselves achieved established forms. The economy of the parish was based on a system of taxation, and broadly speaking the introduction of taxes dates the founding of the parishes. In the grain cultivation areas along the coast tithing agreements appear to have been drawn up from the

mid-13th century at the earliest, possibly slightly earlier in the Åland Islands. In those parts of the inland regions that were more strongly oriented towards obtaining furs and other forms of wilderness utilization, the taxation agreements were entered into in the late 13th century and around the year 1300. In the northern parts of Ostrobothnia, these were still being drawn up during the 14th century.¹⁰ In broader terms, the strategy of the church appears to have

¹⁰ Pirinen 1962.

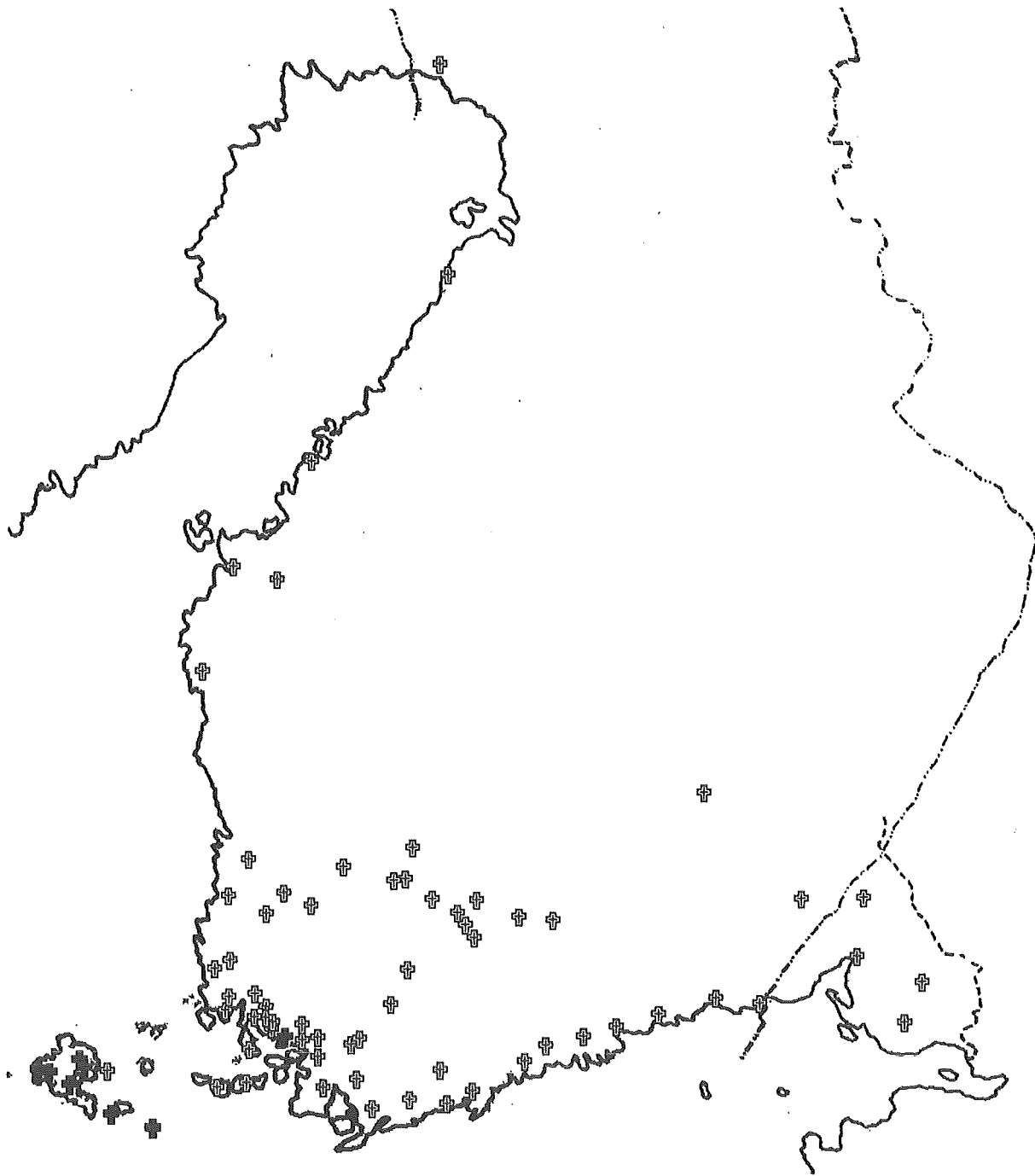


Fig. 2. - Church construction in the Diocese of Turku c.1350. Parishes with stone churches are marked with a filled cross. Parishes with wooden churches are marked with an open cross. Drawn according to the instructions of the author by Leena Laakso 1997.

relied on the parish system, which - with its basis in tithing - was explicitly being established during the 13th century also in Sweden, for example in the areas north of Upssala.¹¹

There is no evidence from any part of Finland for private church-building activity of the kind common in Central Europe from the 6th century onwards and

in southern Scandinavia from the 10th century.¹² Nor are there any indications of emphasizing the importance of royal authority by building early churches in various important locations.¹³ There is no information on early crown manors or episcopal estates where baptismal churches for common use were possibly founded.¹⁴ This situation may derive

¹¹ Broberg 1991.

¹² Nyborg 1986; Anglert 1995.

¹³ Bonnier 1987.

¹⁴ Wienberg 1987.

from the nature of Finnish society into which Christianity made strong inroads from the 12th century onwards. Judging from the limited information on Finland and the Baltic countries, from sources such as the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, society was not stratified to any marked degree; nor were local notables, which nevertheless existed, strong enough to establish ecclesiastical communities and to build churches. Nor do the inhabited areas of Finland appear to have been economically inviting in comparison to other regions attracting feudal lords from abroad, as for example in Estonia and Latvia. The crown, in turn, was able to demonstrate its own power through taxation and ultimately with the forts and castles that began to be built from the close of the 13th century onwards.¹⁵

The implementation of the tithing system was apparently a process carried out under the direction of the bishop. As mentioned above, this process took almost a century, broadly speaking from 1250 to 1350. This does not, however, mean that the whole Diocese of Turku of the period, *i.e.* the core areas of present-day Finland, would have been finally divided into parishes at the time. In fact, there were only some 70 parishes around the year 1350, and the number rose to around 130 by the end of the Middle Ages (Fig. 2). The situation in Finland was thus conclusively different from that in other Scandinavian countries. In Denmark, for example, almost all of the country's 2600 to 2700 congregations or parishes had been formed by the close of the 12th century. The same is true of East and West Götaland (*c.* 400 parishes) in Sweden, and part of Uppland (*c.* 60). Generally speaking, the difference indicates variation on the economic level. The clearing of Denmark and the southern regions of Sweden for cultivation was more or less complete by the end of the Iron Age and the change of religion around A.D. 800-1100, whereas in Finland this process was still under way at the close of the Middle Ages, continuing in fact well into the post-medieval period.

Similarly, we can assume that the bishop and the chapter also had a strategically guiding role in the building of churches. Unlike what happened in the southernmost parts of Scandinavia, the building of churches did not concentrate on stone building after a brief period of organization and a stage of wooden churches, except in the Åland Islands where farming was quite profitable. Nevertheless, even in the latter

region no stone churches were built before the 1260s, although researchers enthused by local patriotism have recently claimed otherwise.¹⁶ Fig. 2 presents the 'landscape of churches' of the bishops between 1260 and 1350. During this period, the main island of the Åland Islands with its new settlers witnessed, after a brief stage during which wooden churches were built (close of the 12th century - 1260/1300), the erection of four or five parish churches in stone. Their uniform character, pointing to a broader plan, is evident in their size, decoration and architectural details. Despite this, the same architect was obviously not involved in all cases. The overall design was the same as in the contemporary small hall churches of Sweden, although some details suggest contacts with Gotland.

At this time on the Finnish mainland a denser network of parishes existed only in Finland Proper, whereas the provinces of Satakunta, Häme and Uusimaa had only a few parishes each. All the parish churches were of timber, built of pine in block-work technique. We have hardly any architectural information on this corpus of buildings.¹⁷ The only masonry building was Turku Cathedral, which was made into a three-nave hall church of brick in the late 13th century and consecrated in the year 1300. It was probably by the end of the period that liturgical requirements led to the addition of a polygonal choir, narrower than the nave. The initiative here was probably taken by Bishop Hemming.¹⁸

The building of the Cathedral required the channelling of funds as parts of tithes from the whole area of the diocese. The local parishes, however, were neither able nor willing to build expensive stone churches until the next century, and sometimes not even then. The 14th century appears to have been the period when the parishes were still becoming organized, and there were no set forms for paying the tithes necessary for building churches. This was evident in taxation disputes for example in the provinces of Häme and Uusimaa.

It is not until the close of the 14th century and the beginning of the following century that we have indications of the consolidation and affluence of secular and ecclesiastical life. These are the founding of a few towns in a country where urban settlements were rare, the founding of a number of mendicant convents, a new administrative system on the intermediary level, and the further development of taxation.¹⁹ For the church the turn of the century marked the

¹⁵ Drake 1993; Wallerström 1995; Lovén 1996.

¹⁶ This particularly concerns Matts Dreijer (1950, 1963, 1976, 1983), who has adopted a number of outmoded, early twentieth-century concepts. With modifications, Lindberg (1975), Ringbom

(1992, 1994) and Hörfors (1994) concur with Dreijer.

¹⁷ Petterson 1986.

¹⁸ Hiekkanen 1994.

¹⁹ Hiekkanen 1993.

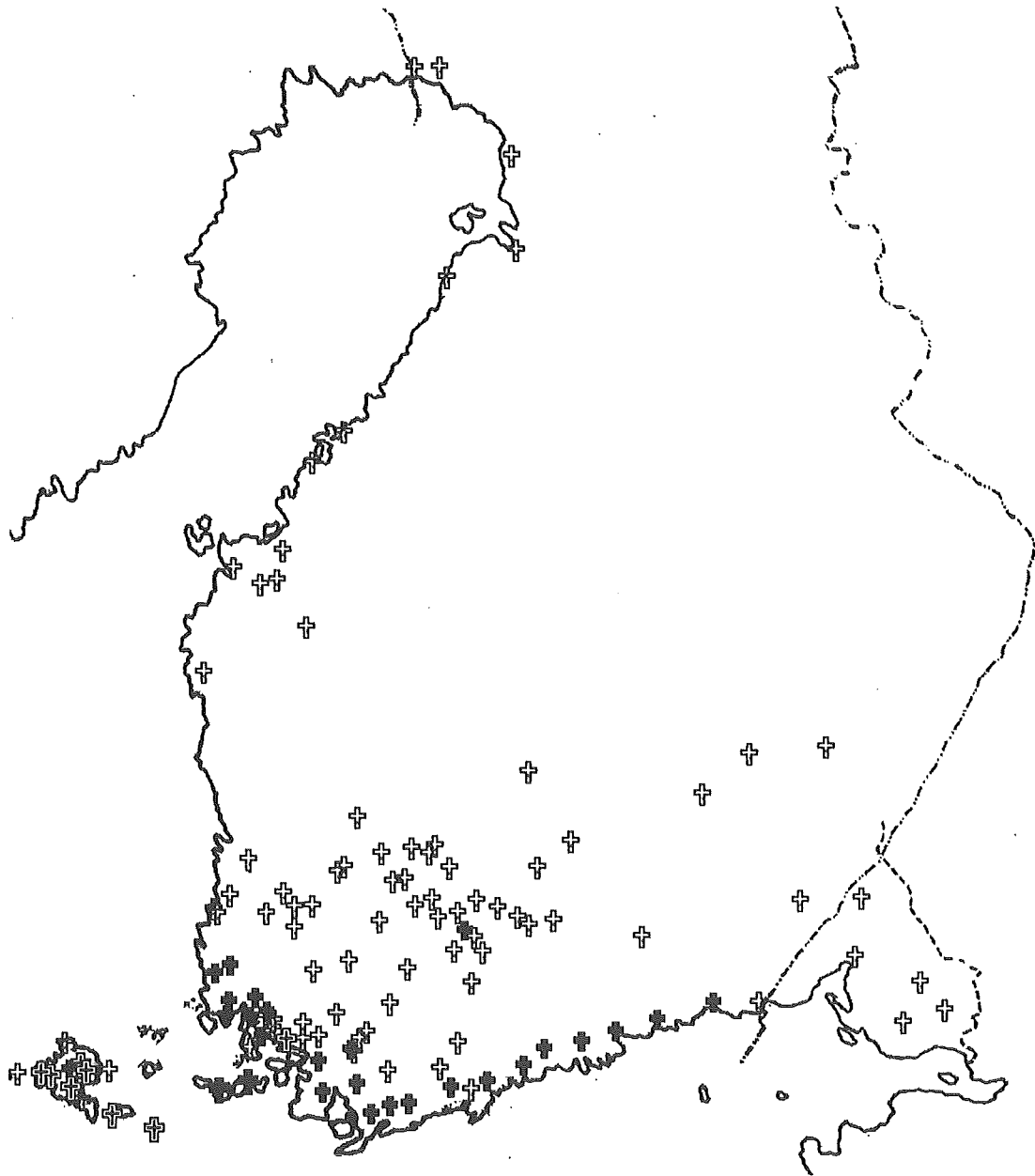


Fig. 3. - Church building in the Diocese of Turku c. 1480. The new stone churches built between 1430 and 1480 are marked with a filled cross. Earlier stone churches (see Fig. 2) are marked with semifilled cross. Parishes and some of the existing chapels from the close of the Middle Ages at the beginning of the 16th century are marked with open crosses in the background. Drawn according to the instructions of the author by Leena Laakso 1997.

consolidation of the situation and we may assume that the even climatic conditions of the period in Finland led to a surplus that permitted the beginning of the period of church building.

In my view, recent critical studies demonstrate with sufficient reliability that most of the stone churches along the coasts of Finland Proper and Uusimaa were built according to a uniform overall plan, each being erected within a brief period between the 1430s and the 1480s.²⁰ The uniform building techniques, appearance and functional similarities of the churches point to an integrated strategy in the background. In Finnish conditions, this could only have revolved

around a bishop as a central figure, and considering the dates given to the churches the person in question could be no other than bishop Magnus II Tavast (in office from 1412 to 1450). In their general appearance these southern Finnish churches differ from all other medieval stone churches in Northern Europe, which suggests that designers of buildings were invited to Turku, probably from the areas on the south coast of the Baltic. Accordingly, negotiations in Finland led to the design of a kind of normative

²⁰ Hiekkänen 1994.

church type for Finnish conditions. The system of deanery districts and the efforts of the local curates resulting in the above church type becoming the basis for church construction in the parishes during the period 1430-1480. This, however, does not imply that churches were built according to this model. On the contrary, the same architects transformed the church type according to their own ideas and the wishes and demands of influential persons in the parishes.

It is difficult to establish when the building boom began. It appears to have come under way at slightly different times in different areas, but the hiatus is only one of a few decades. The reasons for this may lie in the mental preparedness and economic opportunities of the parishes concerned. Just as the building of churches began in the areas of Swedish colonization in the fertile Åland Islands in the late 13th century, it now came under way in the zone of thick Litorina clays in Uusimaa now settled by colonists from Sweden.²¹ It appears that the first to be built were the churches of the eastern parts of Uusimaa: Porvoo in the 1410s (enlarged in the 1450s), Pernaja 1435-45, followed by other churches by the beginning of the 1460s.²² In Finland Proper the main stage appears to have been in the 1450s-1470s, but it is possible that one or other of the main churches was already erected in the 1420s, such as the burial church of St. Henry, Finland's main saint and martyred bishop, in Nousiainen (Fig. 3).²³

A total of some 30 churches of this stage (class A) were built. In practice, the following stage (class B) followed without any hiatus, or at least without any chronologically demonstrable differences. Here, too, policies laid down by the central diocesan authorities were largely followed, although there is also evidence of more influence than before on the parish level. This is suggested by an order issued by the bishop to the parishes in the 1480s, instructing the latter not to hire building labourers without the approval of the leadership of the diocese.

The churches of this later stage were built from the 1480s (and in individual cases from the 1460s or 1470s) until the early 16th century, when the royally implemented Reformation cut off all opportunities to build churches. Just as class A, class B is also characterized by a number of uniform details, such as the

twin or single nave character of the vaulting, the location of the attic stairway, etc. These churches were mostly built in areas to the north and north-east of the previous stone church parishes. Fig. 4 shows that the main areas where these churches were built were Satakunta, Häme and Ostrobothnia. Furthermore, three churches were built in Viipuri, the south-eastern border town of the Swedish realm. In these areas, the stone churches were built in regions where timber churches predominated completely or almost completely. In addition, they were also built in the areas of the previous classes in the Åland Islands, Finland Proper and Uusimaa. Uusimaa received the smallest number. Here, almost all parishes built stone churches during the period of class A, and the number of parishes grew hardly at all by the end of the Middle Ages. In relative terms, the largest number of churches was built in the Åland Islands, where the medieval churches (totalling 14 parish churches or chapels) consist of differently aged buildings of different type dating from a period ranging from the 1260s to the 1560s. This gives the Åland Islands a certain fascination as an insular area, but also prompts local patriotic interpretations according to which some of the stone churches are particularly old, as early as the 11th or 12th centuries.

As mentioned above, the churches of class B are not uniform in appearance or 'academic' in habitus in the same way as those of class A. This may have resulted from the fact that they were designed by a larger number of builders, who had learned their trade with the previous generation of church builders. From today's perspective, the quality of the work does not seem to be as high as previously, which may have prompted the Episcopal order (see above).

One feature clearly separates the churches of classes A and B. This does not concern architectural intentions but the role of an outside factor. The churches of class A were completed with all their designed features: the sacristy, nave, porch, and sometimes the tower and the vaulting of all these components. With only a couple of exceptions, the churches of class B (total c. 40) were in various ways unfinished projects. In many of these churches the sacristy was lacking, and in even more cases the vaulting was not completed; in a few cases the stone

²¹ On the role of soils in medieval farming in Uusimaa, see Orrman 1987.

²² Hiekkanen 1994.

²³ I have previously dated Nousiainen Church as a building project of a few years' duration conducted between 1440 and 1480. It is, however, possible that the church was built at a slightly earlier stage roughly at the same time as the cenotaph of Bishop Henry was fitted with a metal covering in the 1420-30s. These

projects would thus have been individual parts of a synchronized plan to celebrate the memory of the martyred bishop. It has recently been noted that the original and unrealized vault design of the church (so-called jumping vault and three-ray rib system), with visible traces in the walls, has its architectural background in Poland and Bohemia in the period after the middle of the 14th century. Alttola 1996. It is thus impossible for the church to have been built already in the 1280s as was assumed in earlier studies.

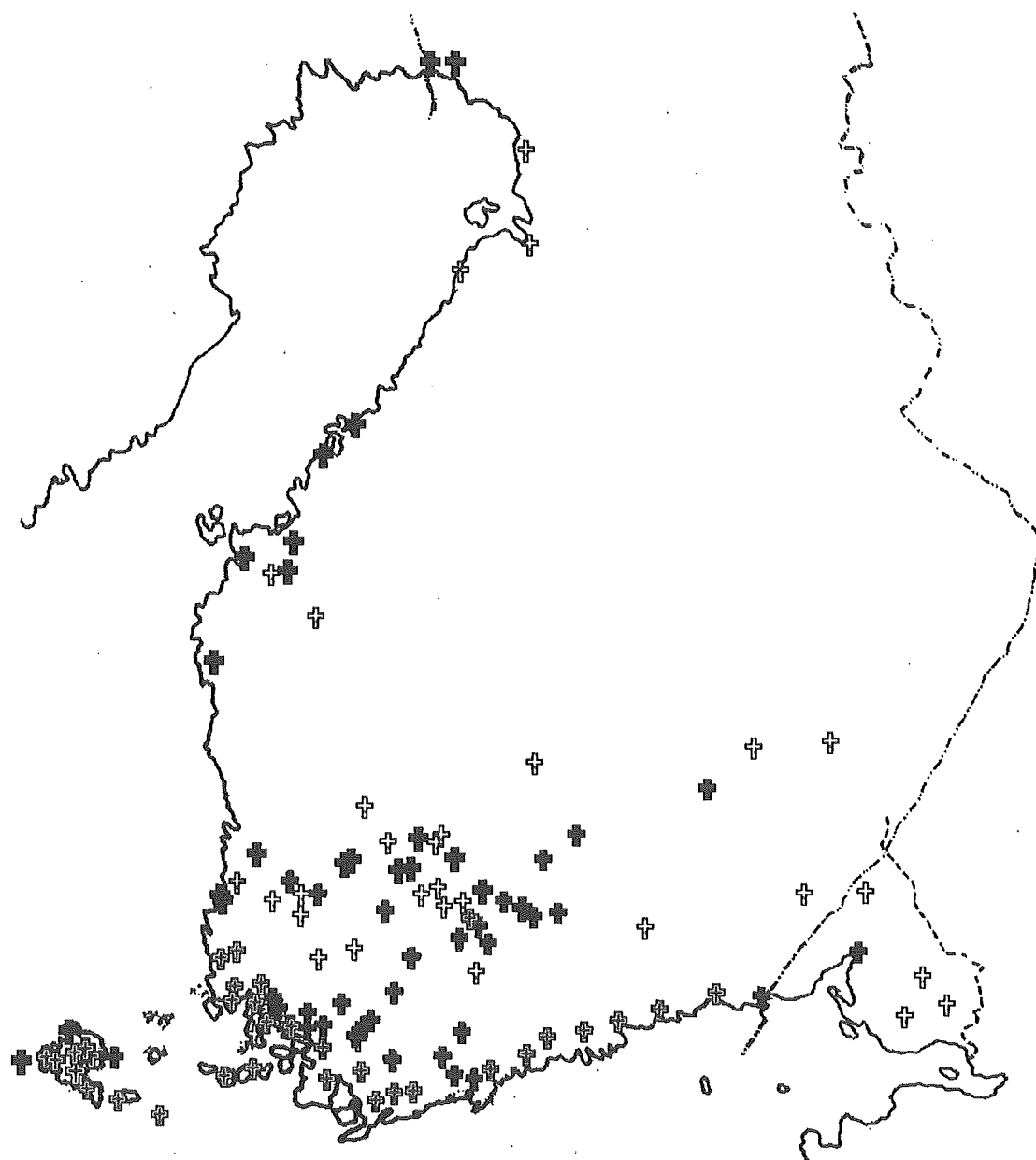


Fig. 4. - Church building in the Diocese of Turku c. 1550. The new stone churches built between 1480 and 1550 are marked with a filled cross. Earlier stone churches (see Fig. 2 and 3) are marked with semifilled cross. Parishes and some of the existing chapels with a wooden church from the close of the Middle Ages at the beginning of the 16th century are marked with open crosses in the background. Drawn according to the instructions of the author by Leena Laakso 1997.

porch necessary for certain baptismal and wedding functions remained unbuilt.

In previous studies, class B was not observed to exist, and was thus not dated. Accordingly, no explanations were sought as to why these churches were unfinished. Now that the overall chronology of this group is known, we may suggest with some degree of certainty why they remained unfinished. The Reformation, led by the king, had come under way in the latter half of the 1520s, and it was not always concerned with matters of doctrine alone. King Gustavus Vasa's choices were mostly dictated by considerations of economic policy. In particular, the war-debt to the city of Lübeck and the resulting

lack of an independent position in terms of trade policies were subjects of serious concern. Accordingly, the king not only confiscated church property collectively and individually from the parishes but also reorganized the system of taxation. This influenced the construction of churches insofar as the parish church had been one of the beneficiaries of the taxation system. The building or fabric fund (*fabrica*) provided the parish with a certain proportion of all annual taxes paid by the peasantry. By the 1550s this revenue had been taken over by the state, and except for an insignificant compensation (mainly for beeswax and wine for divine services) the church received nothing in return.

This was the main reason why the building of stone churches came to an end in the Diocese of Turku and also why the episcopal policy of major proportions ceased. The negative effects of the Reformation on culture and the arts in the Swedish realm have been discussed in various contexts, but the above cessation of building has not been recognized because of the previously existing research situation. The episcopal or high church landscape of churches in the area of class B gained new features through the Reformation. The landscape of unfinished churches now became the landscape of the king's new church policies.

In summary, we may note that church building in the Diocese of Turku falls into three chronological stages, beginning with construction in the Åland Islands between 1260 and 1400/1430 (class C), followed by a second stage (class A) from the 1420s and 1430s. This stage is followed in a partly overlapping fashion by a third stage (class B) from the 1470s-1480s to the early 16th century. The total number of churches that were begun and ultimately completed is 103, of which slightly over 40 were unfinished, all of these being from the close of the Middle Ages. In the Åland Islands, the building of stone churches mostly probably began under episcopal authority soon after colonization and the formation of the parishes, and the period of wooden churches possibly lasted only a century. The buildings can be clearly linked to the so-called *folkunga* period churches of Uppland and the Diocese of Växjö, but designers of churches from Gotland were also involved. In the less fertile agricultural context of the mainland, the economic conditions for the construction of stone churches were not as favourable as in the Åland Islands. Among other reasons, this was due to the lack of soils of high calcium content. The whole latter half of the 13th century, the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century were a time of stabilization, when the peasant-dominated parish system took shape. It was not until the first decades of the 15th century that economic, ideological and mental conditions were ripe for the leadership of the diocese to implement its policies for building stone churches, most probably under the direction of Bishop Magnus II Tavast.

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Markus Hiekkanen
National Board of Antiquities
P.B. 187
00171 Helsinki
Finland

Las estructuras occidentales en la Arquitectura altomedieval Asturiana

1 Consideraciones metodológicas

Buena parte de los edificios de culto altomedievales conservados en el territorio del actual Principado de Asturias dispusieron de una diversidad de soluciones arquitectónicas para configurar el sector occidental, soluciones que, en algunos ejemplos, han llegado a nuestros días con un apreciable grado de transformación, circunstancia que dificulta su estudio. No obstante, lo conservado, sumado a los datos que aportan las descripciones documentales y las excavaciones practicadas, con mayor o menor rigor, autoriza el examen individual de cada uno de los testimonios y la extracción de conclusiones ajustadas al estado actual de los conocimientos.

La investigación precedente apenas ha prestado atención a los aspectos tipológicos y funcionales de esta arquitectura altomedieval. Por mi parte, en *Arqueología cristiana de la Alta Edad Media en Asturias* (Oviedo, 1995), he procurado describir detalladamente los elementos arquitectónicos, estructurales y decorativos, en que se articulan estos edificios, por lo que prescindiré en estas páginas de repetir lo allí expuesto.

El primer obstáculo que ha de ser removido es el relativo a la terminología. La propia variedad tipológica y morfológica de la arquitectura altomedieval conocida, la diferente profundidad con que los monumentos han sido estudiados, por múltiples razones, y la falta de acuerdos internacionales para unificar el vocabulario y clarificar los conceptos postulan una imprescindible exposición previa de los términos empleados, y de los puntos de vista adoptados en el estudio.

Por *estructuras occidentales de la arquitectura cultural asturiana* entendemos los sectores de los templos altomedievales situados al oeste, opuestos a la parte oriental, donde se ubican las capillas. Estas estructuras pueden haber sido concebidas, bien como cuerpos diferenciados morfológica y espacialmente del cuerpo principal del edificio, o bien como sectores integrados volumétricamente en el cuerpo principal, pero dotados de clara independencia en la

configuración de su planta y alzado. La historiografía ha hecho referencia a ellas mediante conceptos que mezclan indiscriminadamente criterios de definición funcionales, morfológicos y de intención comunicativa, lo que, de hecho, se manifiesta en descripciones viciadas por interpretaciones implícitas en los propios conceptos empleados. Conscientes de este peligro, intentaremos describir con criterios estrictamente morfológicos objetivos las estructuras que han llegado a nuestros días, o de las que se dispone de información suficiente para elaborar una reconstrucción autorizada.

En la publicación aludida líneas arriba se aborda la descripción de estos componentes de los edificios bajo los conceptos de *pórtico* y de *antecuerpo occidental*. Con ellos se reúnen los dos únicos caracteres comunes: la situación respecto a los puntos cardinales, y la posición, precediendo al cuerpo principal – volumétricamente – del edificio. No se atiende con estos términos a las diferencias internas que se advierten en un análisis más detallado de sus manifestaciones. Tampoco se incorporan connotaciones funcionales o semánticas, que pudieran contribuir a oscurecer la intelección: la definición permanece en el ámbito de lo estrictamente morfológico.

Por el contrario, en los estudios disponibles es frecuente la alusión a estas estructuras bajo conceptos de sentido no definido, como *pórticos*, *tribunas* o *porches*, sin que falten textos en los que se definen como *narthex*. Suele ser frecuente la comparación con estructuras occidentales de la arquitectura cultural coetánea, a la que se alude con conceptos procedentes de los diversos dominios lingüísticos: *avant-nef*, *église-porche*, *westwerk*, *westbau*.

Para intentar superar las dificultades que surgen del empleo de conceptos con clara carga interpretativa en la simple descripción física de los objetos, el análisis subsiguiente delimita tres campos de estudio:

1. La forma arquitectónica, y la tradición en la que se inserta.
2. La función desempeñada, diferenciando, en principio, la originariamente prevista de las que pudieron ser desempeñadas con posterioridad.

3. El significado, o intención comunicativa, en el caso en el que la base documental autorice la emisión de alguna hipótesis, por débil que ésta sea.

2 Catálogo descriptivo

2.1 *Santa Cristina de Lena* (probablemente posterior a 848).

Fase I

Cuerpo articulado en dos pisos, de planta rectangular. El inferior presenta una puerta bajo arco en el muro Este, por la que se ingresa al interior del edificio, y un vano en arco de medio punto peraltado, adovelado en piedra, abierto al exterior, en el muro Oeste. Se cubre con bóveda de cañón, construida con piedra toba caliza. En los muros Norte y Sur se disponen sendos bancos de piedra. El superior alberga una cámara aislada, abovedada en cañón, con un arco fajón. Al exterior, esta cámara ofrece una ventana estrecha, a modo de aspillera, labrada en un único sillar.

Fase II

En el tramo occidental de la nave se levanta una tribuna sobre bóveda de cañón rebajado, cuya luz es menor que la anchura de la nave, por lo que reposa en los laterales Norte y Sur sobre sendos cubículos de 1,50 m de longitud y 0,65 m de anchura, con una altura de 1,90 m. Se accede a ellos mediante arcos de 0,87 m de altura. A la tribuna conducen dos escaleras, paralelas al eje del templo. Verosíblemente esta reforma vino acompañada de la apertura de un arco en el hastial Oeste de la nave, para permitir el paso a la cámara situada sobre el cuerpo de entrada, incorporando su espacio a la tribuna. No poseemos datos que aporten luz sobre la fecha de esta modificación, que quizás haya que relacionar con la introducción de modelos constructivos foráneos, al socaire de la peregrinación jacobea.

Dado este planteamiento en la historia constructiva del edificio, en esta exposición no tendremos en cuenta la fase II ni las modificaciones sufridas por esta tribuna, con ocasión de las reconstrucciones de los años 1892 y 1935, que no afectaron esencialmente al trazado de la estructura arquitectónica.

2.2 *Santa María de Bendones* (s. IX)

Dispone de una estructura tripartita, concebida como volumen independiente del cuerpo principal del edificio, y aislado de su interior. Se trata de un espacio central de planta cuadrangular, cubierto con carpintería de madera a dos aguas, con vano abierto

al exterior en el muro Oeste y puerta de acceso al interior en el Este. A ambos lados figuran sendas habitaciones cuadradas, cubiertas con madera a una vertiente, y accesibles desde el espacio central a través de puertas. Están iluminadas por dos ventanas en la fachada Oeste y saeteras en las laterales Norte y Sur.

2.3 *San Miguel de Lillo* (842-850)

El antecuerpo occidental es una compleja estructura que, por otro lado, comprende más de la mitad del volumen originario conservado. Se integra completamente en el perímetro exterior del cuerpo basilical, destacando solamente en el alzado. Excavaciones arqueológicas llevadas a cabo en los años 1989-1991¹ han comprobado la coetaneidad de todas las partes integrantes y la pertenencia de las mismas al primer proyecto constructivo. Consta de tres pisos y desarrollo igualmente tripartito en planta. El inferior, inicialmente cerrado al exterior mediante puerta de doble batiente, comprende un espacio central cuadrangular, abovedado con cañón corrido, con puerta de acceso a la nave central situada en el muro Este, y arco de ladrillo en el Oeste. A ambos lados Norte y Sur, y sin relación de paso con él, se encuentran dos estancias cuadradas, desde las que se accede a las cajas de escalera al piso superior, de eje perpendicular al principal del templo, y una anchura de 0,65 m. El piso superior incluye una tribuna abierta a la nave central, a eje con ella, y abovedada con cañón, y dos estrechas cámaras rectangulares, paralelas a las cajas de escalera, iluminadas mediante estrechas saeteras, y accesibles desde la tribuna central. Cajas de escalera y tribuna central poseen vanos relativamente amplios, rectangulares, cubiertos con espléndidas celosías de piedra caliza, y se cubren con bóvedas de cañón comunes, de eje paralelo al principal del edificio. Por último, sobre la tribuna, y notablemente retranqueada respecto al plano de la fachada Occidental, se eleva una cámara aislada, comunicada con el exterior mediante un vano circular dotado de celosía, y con el interior a través de una ventana rectangular rematada en arco de medio punto.

¹ HAUSCHILD Th., Informe sobre las excavaciones en S. Miguel de Lillo, *Excavaciones arqueológicas en Asturias 2 (1987-1990)*, Oviedo, 1991, 171-179. NOACK-HALEY S. & ARBEITER A., *Asturische Königsbauten des 9. Jahrhunderts*, Mainz a.Rh., 1994. GARCÍA DE CASTRO VALDÉS C., San Miguel de Lillo. Campaña de excavaciones arqueológicas 1991. I. Estratigrafía y estructuras, *Boletín del Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 145, 1995, 111-158.

2.4 *San Salvador de Valdediós* (consagrada en 893)

Estructura nuevamente tripartita en planta, y doble en el alzado, relativamente semejante a la de Lillo en su distribución. Como en éste último caso, el antecuerpo se integra perfectamente en el perímetro del cuerpo principal del edificio; a diferencia de él, no destaca en el alzado, por lo que Valdediós aparenta exteriormente disfrutar de una morfología claramente basilical. En el piso inferior, una estancia central abovedada, con puerta adintelada al interior en el muro Este, y arco adovelado en el Oeste. Desde ella se accede a dos cámaras laterales, mediante sendos arcos, cámaras abovedadas con cañón de eje paralelo al principal del edificio, y aisladas totalmente del interior del templo. Esta disposición se repite en el piso superior, al que se accede desde el interior del templo, a través de escalera adosada al muro lateral Sur. En el centro, destaca una tribuna, con pavimento realzado respecto al nivel de las dependencias adyacentes, abierta a la nave con un gran arco, conservándose las huellas de los quicios de las puertas que permitían el cierre. Las dos dependencias laterales están abovedadas con cañón, como la central. La septentrional posee una puerta que la aísla de la tribuna, en tanto que la meridional sitúa la puerta ante la escalera de subida, formando una unidad con ésta.

Se han apreciado numerosas irregularidades constructivas en esta disposición, que hacen sospechar una reforma de todo el interior del antecuerpo. Habría consistido ésta en la eliminación de los últimos dos tramos de un edificio basilical, para construir la estructura que acabamos de describir. En el proceso, se habría respetado el alzado exterior, incluyendo las ventanas de la fachada occidental.

2.5 *San Salvador de Priesca* (consagrada en 921)

Aunque ha sufrido importantes alteraciones, el antecuerpo occidental conserva los suficientes elementos estructurales como para autorizar su inclusión en este repertorio. Responde morfológicamente al modelo de Valdediós: doble alzado y planta tripartita. En el piso inferior se conservan tres espacios, cubiertos con carpintería de madera, y, en la actualidad, abiertos entre sí y a las naves del cuerpo basilical. El central alberga la puerta de acceso, en el muro Oeste, mediante arco adovelado en piedra. A diferencia de Valdediós o Lillo, no hubo puerta de separación ante la nave central. La dependencia septentrional acoge la pila bautismal. La meridional, la caja de escalera, en madera, para subir al piso superior. Dado que ambas dependencias laterales están

abiertas a las respectivas naves mediante arcos pertenecientes a la primera fase constructiva, es forzoso concluir que el acceso originario hubo de adoptar una solución muy semejante a la que hoy existe. Los umbrales y soportes situados entre los espacios conservan huellas de encastrado de canceles, de diseño desconocido, que contribuyeron, sin lugar a dudas, a la individualización de cada uno de ellos. El piso superior está habilitado como tribuna continua, con voladizo sobre la nave central. Es posible que un detallado análisis estratigráfico de los paramentos descubra las modificaciones padecidas desde la construcción.

2.6 *San Pedro de Nora* (s. IX)

Fase I

Recientes excavaciones arqueológicas² han puesto de manifiesto que el proyecto inicial careció de cualquier estructura occidental. Se trata de un edificio basilical, con ingresos en las fachadas Norte, Sur y Oeste.

Fase II

En fechas ya plenomedievales (siglos XI-XII), fue adherido a la fachada Oeste un pórtico cuadrangular, abierto al exterior mediante arco de ladrillo, cubierto con carpintería de madera a dos aguas. No obstante, en su aspecto actual, este elemento es el resultado de la reconstrucción llevada a cabo en el año 1958.

2.7 *Santiago de Gobiendes*

(probablemente construido en la segunda mitad del s. IX)

El antecuerpo occidental ha llegado muy desfigurado a nuestro conocimiento, debido a la destrucción del hastial occidental del edificio, con ocasión de la construcción de un amplio anexo occidental, que prolonga la nave, construcción que tuvo lugar, quizás, en el año 1877. Constaba de una disposición verosímilmente semejante a la de Priesca, con disposición tripartita en planta y doble en alzado. Conservamos los dos cubículos laterales del piso inferior, angostos, abiertos al espacio central, y cerrados a las respectivas naves laterales. Sobre este piso se elevaba una tribuna, de cuyo muro oriental se conservan

² MARTINEZ FAEDO L. & ADÁN ALVAREZ G., La iglesia prerománica de S. Pedro de Nora (Las Regueras), *Excavaciones arqueológicas en Asturias 3* (1991-1994), Oviedo, 1995, 286-292.

visibles los enjarjes en los paramentos interiores del antecuerpo. Desconocemos si la tribuna se organizaba unitariamente o de forma tripartita, así como la cubierta del primer piso: existen posibilidades para la bóveda y para la carpintería de madera. El cubículo meridional acoge una tumba antropomorfa, de bloques de piedra, claramente posterior a la construcción. El septentrional alberga la pila bautismal, sin que sepamos a ciencia cierta si éste fue su destino primitivo.

Dado que las paredes que cierran por el Este los departamentos laterales son originarias, la tribuna sólo pudo tener acceso por el exterior, es decir, por el Oeste, alojándose la caja en un pórtico turriforme. No obstante, es ésta una de las cuestiones que requiere examen arqueológico.

2.8 Santullano-San Julián de los Prados (791-842)

La situación actual es el producto de la restauración llevada a cabo en los años 1912-1915. Careció de antecuerpo occidental propiamente dicho, disponiendo solamente de un pórtico independiente en su volumen, de planta cuadrangular, cubierto con carpintería de madera a dos aguas. En el muro Oeste estuvo abierto, con vano rematado en arco de ladrillo. En el Este, comunica con la nave central mediante puerta adintelada, con arco de descarga igualmente en ladrillo.

2.9 Santo Adriano de Tuñón (consagrada en 891)

Como Gobiendes, ha padecido una notable desfiguración con motivo de la destrucción del remate occidental, al ser añadido un largo anexo que prolonga la nave central hacia el Oeste, fechable en los siglos XVII-XVIII. Se conservan los dos departamentos laterales del piso inferior, notablemente reformados, y la parte superior del hastial occidental, que permite contemplar una ventana rectangular con remate en arco, semejante a la que ilumina desde la nave la cámara supraabsidal, sita al Este, sobre la capilla central. Este dato postula un alzado diferente para este templo de los que consideramos en los casos anteriores. Quizás constase de una cámara superior aislada, sin adoptar el carácter abierto a la nave central que exhiben los restantes casos equiparables. Tampoco conocemos la situación de las escaleras de subida, en el caso de que hubiesen existido, pues es posible que la planta superior del antecuerpo configurase una cámara aislada, simétrica de la existente sobre la capilla central.

Nada hemos conservado de los grandes edificios urbanos altomedievales asturianos: la catedral de San Salvador de Oviedo, y la basílica de Santa María, inmediata a ella, ambas edificadas en el reinado de Alfonso II (791-842). De ésta última sabemos que, en un momento constructivo posterior a su decoración interior, pero incluido en el reinado de Alfonso II, acogió una construcción a occidente, dedicada a Panteón dinástico. Sobre su traza nada sabemos, salvo tardías descripciones de fines del siglo XVI, debidas a los cronistas Ambrosio de Morales y Luis Alfonso de Carvallo, de las que se extrae su pobre aspecto y escasa entidad arquitectónica. No cabe duda de que son abundantes las posibilidades de que tal estado fuese resultado de reformas acaecidas a lo largo del medievo. Como tantas otras cuestiones, la solución depende de la intervención arqueológica.

3 Análisis de conjunto

3.1 La forma arquitectónica

Un simple agrupamiento de los ejemplos descritos permite distinguir tres conjuntos:

- Edificios con elementos arquitectónicos no incluidos en el cuerpo principal del edificio. Adoptan normalmente el tipo de pórtico cuadrangular, abierto al exterior, y con puerta al interior situada en el hastial occidental del cuerpo de naves. Santullano, Nora, Bendones y Lena se incluyen en este grupo. Podemos efectuar una subdivisión al segregar los pórticos tripartitos, como el de Bendones, de los simples, como los de Santullano, Nora y Lena. Dentro de éste segundo grupo, Lena permanece como variante especial, al incorporar una cámara inicialmente aislada sobre el pórtico de ingreso.

- Edificios con antecuerpo occidental. Se trata de aquellos que cuentan con una estructura articulada integrada en el perímetro del cuerpo principal. Podemos distinguir dos subconjuntos:

1. Antecuerpo destacado en alzado: Lillo.
2. Antecuerpo integrado totalmente en el volumen principal del edificio: Valdediós, Priesca, Gobiendes, Tuñón. En esta enumeración habrá que salvar siempre la posibilidad de que los dos últimos casos ofrecieran un alzado diferenciado, lo que los adscribiría al subconjunto anterior.

Ahora bien, las diferencias en la organización espacial interna de este segundo grupo son manifiestas.

En primer lugar, el desarrollo en alzado: todos constan de dos ambientes superpuestos, salvo Lillo, donde se añadió una tercera cámara, de extraño

desarrollo, pues su sección longitudinal ofrece un primer tramo a Occidente, cuya altura interior es inferior a la mitad de la del tramo oriental.

En segundo lugar, la disposición de la o las escaleras de acceso al piso superior. Lillo es nuevamente la excepción, pues, en este templo, las escaleras se sitúan dividiendo en dos departamentos paralelos cada una de las cámaras laterales de los dos pisos del antecuerpo. Frente a esta solución, Valdediós y Priesca disponen de una única escalera en la nave lateral meridional, arrancando propiamente del exterior del antecuerpo. Esta solución permite evitar la estrechez y la pendiente de las cajas de Lillo, manifiestamente incómodas para un uso cotidiano. Sobre Gobiendes ya hemos destacado la necesidad de postular una escalera desde el exterior, quizás turrifome, aunque de ello no se derive necesariamente la presencia de una torre volumétricamente destacada del resto del templo. Finalmente, sobre Tuñón queda abierta la posibilidad de contar con una cámara aislada occidental, lo que haría innecesaria la existencia de escalera de acceso.

En tercer lugar, la accesibilidad o interpenetración entre los espacios del antecuerpo occidental y los del cuerpo basilical. Común a Lillo y Valdediós es la presencia de una puerta en el muro oriental del antecuerpo, en el mismo muro donde se abre el gran vano del espacio central de la tribuna. Esta disposición no figura en Priesca, donde necesariamente la nave central y el espacio central del antecuerpo estuvieron comunicados libremente. Los tres edificios, sin embargo, comparten la posibilidad de cierre del vano de ingreso por el Oeste, mediante batientes de madera encajados en quicios perforados en quicialeras visibles aún en Lillo y Valdediós, y desaparecidas en Priesca. Está claro que ninguno de los espacios centrales inferiores de estos edificios estuvo concebido para permanecer abierto continuamente. La presencia de las quicialeras así lo prueba. Para el caso de Priesca, la necesidad del cierre es evidente, si se tiene en cuenta la comunicación sin trabas arquitectónicas entre naves laterales y dependencias laterales del antecuerpo, situación que permitiría un acceso libre al interior del templo si el cierre exterior de éste se encontrase en el muro oriental del antecuerpo. Gobiendes y Tuñón comparten con Valdediós el cierre de los cubículos inferiores a las respectivas naves laterales; por desgracia, nada sabemos de la ubicación y disposición de la o las puertas.

En cuarto lugar, la autonomía y/o interrelación de cada uno de los espacios del antecuerpo occidental. Este es el aspecto en el que la variedad de posibilidades es mayor. En el piso inferior, en Valdediós, Priesca, Gobiendes y Tuñón las dependencias laterales se abren sin trabas al espacio central, frente a

Lillo, donde espacio central y cámaras laterales son independientes e inaccesibles relativamente. En el piso superior, las dos dependencias de Lillo poseen umbrales que indican apertura hacia el interior, circunstancia que parece indicar cierre desde dentro. En Priesca, la tribuna está unificada espacialmente. En Valdediós se aprecia la voluntad de aislar en su conjunto el piso superior, con puerta en el remate de la escalera, con cierre desde dentro, a la vez que existe otra puerta, con cierre igualmente desde dentro, ante el paso a la dependencia septentrional. Estas circunstancias indican la concepción unitaria de cámara central y dependencia Sur, y segregada respecto a ambas de la septentrional. Nada podemos decir al respecto de Tuñón y Gobiendes, aunque los indicios apuntan a la existencia de un piso superior dotado únicamente de espacio central. Común a todos los edificios, salvo Lillo, es la total ausencia de comunicación entre el piso inferior y el superior.

3.2 *Las posibilidades de explicación funcional*

Nuevamente se impone la distinción entre los dos conjuntos anteriormente definidos, pues de la simple integración o exclusión en el volumen principal del edificio ya se pueden extraer conclusiones sobre su destino inicial.

Los pórticos – espacialmente concebidos independientes – no pudieron ser escenario de ninguna actividad necesaria para el correcto desenvolvimiento de los usos del interior. Sus dimensiones oscilan entre los 4,00 m² de Lena y los 17,09 m² de Santullano, pasando por los 15,47 de Nora y los 12,76 de Bendones, a los que hay que añadir, en este último edificio, los 10,36 de cada departamento lateral, lo que arroja una superficie total para este último templo de 33,48 m². La simple contemplación de estos datos ha de hacer pensar que se trata de espacios no comparables entre sí.

En primer lugar, Lena. Sus reducidas dimensiones, y la presencia de bancos laterales sugieren que se trata de un espacio previsto para abrigo ante las precipitaciones, impresión que se refuerza por su condición de apertura permanente. No parece que haya sido concebido para acoger ninguna ceremonia litúrgica, lo que no excluye que haya podido ser escenario de alguna.

Los pórticos de Santullano y Nora ofrecen un tamaño similar. En Santullano contamos con otros dos, situados ante las puertas meridional y septentrional de transepto. Por su capacidad pudieron ser escenario de actos de recepción o acogida de individuos o grupos, cabecera o fin de procesiones, o sede de ritos de inicio o fin de ceremonias. Secundaria-

mente, en Nora puede admitirse un uso como abrigo temporal. La hipótesis es menos aplicable a Santullano, donde los pórticos estuvieron dotados de cancelos, que, al menos parcialmente, acotaron el espacio del interior.

Por último, Bendones. El espacio central es asimilable al de Nora. Ahora bien, la existencia de los dos departamentos laterales confiere a este edificio un carácter único. Los informes del descubridor³ y del restaurador⁴ no aportan datos sobre la existencia o ausencia de puertas entre los tres departamentos, por lo que no es posible dilucidar si se trataba de cámaras independientes o de sectores diferenciados de un mismo espacio. En cualquier caso, es de aplicación cuanto se apuntó líneas arriba sobre las posibilidades de uso.

En lo que se refiere a los antecuerpos occidentales, contamos con algunos elementos funcionales que ayudan a determinar los usos. Así, la colocación de la pila bautismal en la dependencia inferior septentrional de Priesca, o la adecuación para enterramiento del cubículo inferior meridional de Gobiendes. En todo caso, es necesario distinguir nuevamente entre los antecuerpos permeables a las naves y aquellos completamente independientes.

Entre los primeros se encuentra Priesca. La presencia en ellos de umbrales destacados del pavimento circundante, con alguna huella de cancelos, parece indicar que se trata de espacios no segregados del escenario del culto principal, lo que se refuerza por la ya citada ausencia de puerta intermedia entre cámara central del antecuerpo y nave correspondiente.

Entre los segundos, Valdediós, Tuñón y Gobiendes. El aislamiento del piso inferior del antecuerpo excluye toda relación funcional con la basílica. Su presencia parece estar en relación con la voluntad de elevar un piso superior, al Oeste, manteniendo la entrada axial. Ello obliga a adecuar un espacio de paso central, cuya cubierta soporte a su vez los espacios superpuestos. En Valdediós resulta patente esta intención, por la existencia de vigas de hierro sobre los arcos que permiten el ingreso a los cubículos laterales. Éstos no parecen tener otra misión que soportar el piso superior. La separación de todo el piso inferior respecto al espacio de culto se manifiesta por la situación de la inscripción conminatoria grabada en el dintel de la puerta del muro Este, que delimita con claridad el ámbito exterior e interior. La desaparición de los muros centrales de los antecuerpos de Tuñón y Gobiendes impide aplicarles estas

reflexiones, aun cuando la cercanía tipológica parece apoyar su inclusión en este grupo.

Por último, Lillo. Su organización difiere en la separación entre dependencias inferiores. Comparte con los templos anteriores el aislamiento del piso inferior, señalado por la colocación de una puerta en el muro Este del antecuerpo. Por esta razón, en este ejemplo se hace aún más patente la falta de conexión litúrgica entre antecuerpo inferior y basílica, concibiéndose el primero como mero lugar de tránsito.

La cuestión se complica en cuanto se aborda el destino de los pisos superiores del antecuerpo, aspecto sobre el que la mayoría de los estudiosos de esta arquitectura han incidido de una u otra manera. La presencia de tribunas elevadas y abiertas al cuerpo de naves ha despertado el interés por la comparación con elementos similares en las arquitecturas coetáneas, lo que ha conllevado la aparición de las más inverosímiles e indiscriminadas teorías interpretativas, con desconocimiento manifiesto de los propios términos de comparación aducidos, y, en alguna ocasión, de la realidad arquitectónica de los mismos objetos de estudio. Para evitar estos y otros errores, el análisis ha de centrarse en las posibilidades de uso particular de cada uno de los espacios conservados.

Las dimensiones son un factor clave para la consideración de la pertinencia o no de las comparaciones aducidas. En Lillo, la tribuna cubre 9,06 m², y las cámaras laterales, 2,76 y 2,64 m² respectivamente. En Valdediós, la situación es de 7,29 para la tribuna y de 4,60 y 4,68 m² para las cámaras laterales. La sola consideración de estas cifras impide efectuar referencias a las grandes estructuras occidentales de las abadías, colegiats y catedrales de la Europa carolingia y postcarolingia, referencia vedada además por razones diversas que explicitaremos más adelante.

La tribuna de Lillo ha sido objeto de alteración constructiva en fecha no precisada, que alcanzó verosímilmente a parte del actual piso. Quizás haya que poner esta refacción en relación con la apertura de un vano en el hastial oeste, situado inmediatamente bajo la celosía, y tapiado con sillería en la restauración de 1850-1851. El nivel y disposición del primitivo no pudo, sin embargo, diferir en lo esencial de la cota actual, a tenor de lo que indican los umbrales de las dependencias laterales y el remate de las escaleras. Si pudieron, sin embargo, desaparecer elementos funcionales, como bancos, antepechos u otras instalaciones conectadas estratigráficamente con el pavimento primitivo.

³ MANZANARES RODRÍGUEZ MIR J., *Santa María de Bendones. Identificación y estudio de sus ruinas*, Oviedo, 1957.

⁴ MENÉNDEZ PIDAL & ÁLVAREZ L., *Santa María de Bendones. Reconstrucción*, Oviedo, 1974.

La estrechez de las dependencias laterales hace difícil adscribirles alguna función litúrgica. Es probable que se cerrasen desde dentro, lo que viene a sugerir el uso por personas intencionalmente decididas a permanecer aisladas.

Se da la circunstancia de que Lillo no poseyó habitaciones laterales abiertas al tramo oriental de las naves laterales, como fue la norma en los templos asturianos posteriores, como Valdediós, Priesca, Gobiendes o Tuñón. Las funciones de estas habitaciones están aún por determinar. No obstante, cabe pensar que, ante su ausencia en Lillo, hayan sido transferidas a los espacios occidentales. Se explicaría así la angostura de las escaleras, contraria a toda consideración ceremonial de las mismas. Del mismo modo, pudieron destinarse los cubículos laterales a acoger reclusos o penitentes voluntarios, figura que aparece recogida en las fuentes literarias sobre la vida monástica de la época.

En Valdediós, las circunstancias son diferentes. Conservamos la disposición originaria de los espacios superiores, y sabemos por ello que la tribuna estuvo dotada de cierre mediante batientes de madera, a la vez que las puertas ya aludidas permitieron el cierre desde el interior de la misma. La existencia de habitaciones laterales, con huellas apreciables de cierre desde el interior, complica la aclaración de los destinos. La identificación con alguno de los espacios auxiliares del culto, a los que se refieren abundantemente las fuentes litúrgicas y literarias, en especial los denominados *praeparatorium* y *sacrarium*, es difícil, pues estos términos hacen referencia a realidades genéricas, que pudieron concretarse en muy diversas soluciones arquitectónicas. Nada seguro se puede afirmar sobre la segregación sexual de los espacios. Los escasos indicios disponibles orientan la respuesta hacia el cuerpo de naves y no hacia la disposición en alzado. Menor interés tienen las hipótesis que, de modo absolutamente gratuito, vincula la existencia de estas tribunas con una supuesta y nunca documentada presencia regia en el culto. Aun admitiendo una ocasional asistencia del soberano al culto llevado a cabo en estos templos, no existe la más mínima razón ni indicio para asignarle esta ubicación. En todo caso, esta hipótesis se muestra incoherente con el tan traído y llevado carácter sacramental de la realeza altomedieval, según el cual, bien convendría al soberano un lugar en la cercanía del clero celebrante, conforme a su jerarquía, y a la constante histórica de la posición privilegiada del poder laico dentro del espacio litúrgico cristiano.

De lo que no cabe duda es de que en estos antecuerpos occidentales nunca fueron instalados altares, lo que excluye radicalmente su consideración como santuarios paralelos y opuestos axialmente al santuario oriental. En las basílicas asturianas altomedievales el santuario es siempre triple y situado a oriente. Nada coherente se puede decir de la disposición de las grandes basílicas del núcleo episcopal ovetense, San Salvador, Santa María, San Juan Bautista o San Vicente, de las que consta que estuvieron dotadas de una pluralidad de altares.

Tampoco ha podido demostrarse nunca un uso funerario programado. El ejemplo de Gobiendes atestigua la conversión, bien *a posteriori*, de uno de los cubículos inferiores en sede de una tumba, pero no el destino primigenio de este espacio como tal panteón. Lo mismo puede aplicarse a los pórticos occidentales de Santullano, Lena, Bendones o Nora. Precisamente en este último caso, la construcción del pórtico destruyó una tumba de lajas, lo que indica que el terreno donde se construyó sí presentaba un uso funerario, desatendido por los constructores del pórtico. Por todo ello, consideramos sin fundamento y resultado de prejuicios interpretativos las teorías que asignan sentido funerario a las estructuras occidentales asturianas de la Alta Edad Media.⁵

Dentro de ese enfoque, cabe intentar una explicación para las cámaras elevadas aisladas occidentales, tales como se presentan en Lena y, posiblemente, en Tuñón. En el primero de estos casos, la intención del constructor parece haber sido de índole estética y compositiva. Por circunstancias que desconocemos, la cabecera oriental eleva su pavimento casi 1,50 m respecto al nivel del interior del edificio. Ello obligó a elevar proporcionalmente la cota máxima de la cubierta de la cabecera. Dado el trazado fuertemente simétrico que rige la composición exterior de este edificio, parece razonable suponer que el tracista dobló la altura del pórtico occidental, para equilibrarlo con el cuerpo de la cabecera. Esta decisión hubiera podido materializarse a través de dos soluciones: construcción de una única bóveda para el pórtico, a doble altura de la actual, o construcción de dos pisos superpuestos abovedados. Por razones que se me escapan, la opción realizada fue la segunda. Respecto a Tuñón, y siempre dentro del terreno de lo hipotético, la supuesta cámara aislada occidental constituiría una réplica de la existente a Oriente. La función de estas dependencias, presentes en la mayoría de los templos altomedievales asturianos, no ha sido,

⁵ BANGO TORVISO L.G., Los reyes y el arte durante la Alta Edad Media: Leovigildo y Alfonso II y el arte oficial, in: *Ephialte. Lecturas de Historia del Arte*, Vitoria, 1992, 29. ID.,

El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados en la arquitectura medieval española, *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte (U.A.M.)* IV, 1992, 98-102.

ni probablemente será, convincentemente aclarada. Su inutilidad práctica es patente. En mi opinión, quizás deban su existencia al deseo de compensar volumétricamente la cota máxima de la cubierta de la cabecera, salvando armónicamente el desnivel que las separa del remate de la cubierta de las naves. Este desnivel habría podido salvarse con la elevación al doble de su altura de las bóvedas de las capillas, solución técnicamente accesible a los talleres de la época. De hecho, sin embargo, no fue éste el medio utilizado, quizás porque mediaron en la decisión factores exteriores a la estricta lógica arquitectónica. Sin que sepamos a ciencia cierta cuáles pudieron ser éstos, cabe pensar en disposiciones de orden litúrgico-arquitectónico. Algún precepto debió determinar la construcción de santuarios de escasa altura, como se observa en la generalidad de la arquitectura altomedieval hispánica y europea de escala semejante a la asturiana, ya desde el siglo VII. Esta imposición forzosamente empujó a los constructores a adoptar esta solución de la cámara supraabsidal, si querían mantener la apariencia deseada de los exteriores. Por tanto, una solución similar pudo ser la empleada en Tuñón en los alzados de las fachadas oriental y occidental. Cualquier otra explicación, atendiendo a razones de tipo simbólico, no podrá pasar nunca del estado de sugerencia, por la absoluta falta de referencias documentales.

3.3 La intención comunicativa

Buena parte de las explicaciones emitidas sobre los antecuerpos occidentales reposan sobre la confusión metodológica entre forma, función y significado. Los pórticos no ofrecen esta posibilidad, debido a su sencillez arquitectónica, y al hecho de haber sido reedificados o reconstruidos total o parcialmente en fechas recientes. Por el contrario, los antecuerpos de Lillo y Valdediós, y la fase II de Lena, han sido objeto de teorías más o menos elaboradas, con la pretensión de extraer intenciones simbólicas, en un des-

mañado y apresurado ensayo de improvisada "iconología".

El proceso intelectual de estas elaboraciones puede explicitarse, en la medida en que pueda extraerse de lo publicado, pues a menudo no es posible seguir un razonamiento coherente y fundamentado, de la manera siguiente.

1. La arquitectura altomedieval es una arquitectura principesca.
2. La arquitectura religiosa altomedieval de fundación principesca está al servicio de los entornos cortesanos.
3. Los edificios destinados al servicio de la corte han de poseer elementos específicos definidores del mismo.
4. El ámbito mediterráneo y europeo occidental de la Alta Edad Media se integra en una "koiné" principesca, de usos comunes.
5. A espacios caracterizados por usos principescos corresponden "lenguajes" iconográficos principescos.
6. La arquitectura del Reino de Asturias es ejemplo privilegiado de arquitectura cortesana.

De estos "principios", en los que no es difícil descubrir versiones manualizadas de Grabar, Baldwin Smith y algo del peor Krautheimer⁶, la historiografía de referencia⁷ deduce escolásticamente una interpretación funcional y significativa de los antecuerpos occidentales asturianos, normalmente definidos como "tribunas". En síntesis, correspondería a estos espacios ser sede del monarca en su "epifanía" litúrgica. Nos hallaríamos así ante una manifestación arquitectónica del poder, ante un *Herrschaftszeichen*, por aplicar la terminología de Schramm⁸, autor al cual, desde luego, excluyo de la corriente interpretativa que comentamos.

Fácil es comprender que de tales premisas poco cabe esperar en la profundidad y rigor del análisis. Ello no sólo por la mayor o menor competencia de los autores, sino, sobre todo, por la propia instalación en una "metodología" de corte generalista, que hace superfluo todo análisis, pues las claves de la inter-

⁶ GRABAR A., *El primer arte cristiano*. ID., *El siglo de oro de Justiniano*. (Ambas obras, dentro de la serie *L'Univers des formes*, han gozado de una innecesaria difusión en medios universitarios. Véanse sobre ellas las recensiones de F.W. DEICHMANN, *Rom, Ravenna, Konstantinopel, Naher Osten. Gesammelte Schriften*, Wiesbaden, 1982). GRABAR A. & O., *L'essor des arts inspirés par les cours princières à la fin du premier millénaire: princes musulmans et princes chrétiens*, *Settimane di Studio sull'Alto Medioevo* XII-2, Spoleto, 1965. BALDWIN SMITH E., *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1956. KRAUTHEIMER R., Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 5, 1942, 1-33.

⁷ Bonet CORREA A., *Arte prerrománico asturiano*, Barce-

lona, 1967. AZCÁRATE J.M. DE, Einige Aspekte zum germanisch-deutschen Einfluss auf die Kunst des Hochmittelalters in Spanien, *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft - Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 30, 1982, 1-17. NIETO ALCAIDE V., *Arte prerrománico asturiano*, Salinas (Asturias), 1989. GIL LÓPEZ J.M. & MARÍN F., *Santa María de Naranco y San Miguel de Lillo*, Oviedo, 1988. GIL LÓPEZ J.M., Arte de la monarquía asturiana, in: *Historia de Asturias - La Nueva España*, Oviedo, 1990-1991, 326-344. ID., Arquitectura prerrománica, in: *El arte en Asturias a través de sus obras*, Oviedo, 1996-1997, 53-100. NÚÑEZ RODRÍGUEZ M., *San Salvador de Valdediós*, Oviedo, 1991.

⁸ SCHRAMM P.E., *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, Stuttgart, 1954-1956.

pretación ya se poseen desde el principio. Los documentos, en este caso los edificios, no precisan una dilucidación analítica previa a la extracción de conclusiones, sino que son arbitrariamente colocados al servicio de cualquier generalidad sin visos de refutación ni contraste. Resulta claro que una actitud semejante contraviene las más elementales reglas del método científico, y que no conduce más que a la banalización de la concreta riqueza histórica de los monumentos a los que se aplica.

Más grave resulta, en mi opinión, el desconocimiento que se manifiesta, tanto de los propios edificios objeto de estudio, como de los términos de comparación aducidos. Así, los elementos que aquí hemos analizado son indiscriminadamente objeto de las mismas interpretaciones, prescindiendo de toda distinción morfológica o funcional, y haciendo caso omiso de los datos que aporta la observación estratigráfica. En un esfuerzo por aportar claridad a este confuso panorama, pasaremos revista a las tesis sostenidas.

1. La arquitectura cultural asturiana como arquitectura "princesca" o regia. De los tres edificios que nos conciernen -Lillo, Lena y Valdediós-, sólo consta la fundación real en el caso de Lillo (*Chronica Albeldensia*, XV, 10)⁹. Para Lena carecemos de toda referencia documental o cronística, y Valdediós está perfectamente fechado en su consagración por una inscripción, en la que figuran siete obispos y ningún monarca. Ahora bien, en modo alguno son realidades equivalentes un templo de fundación real, es decir, debido a la munificencia regia, y un templo destinado al servicio cortesano. Sobre este último destino carecemos de toda prueba. Los indicios disponibles y el propio conocimiento histórico apuntan más bien hacia lo contrario, a saber, la inexistencia de capillas palatinas en la monarquía asturiana, tanto en la acepción institucional, como en la arquitectónica del término. Por otro lado, nada obliga a que un templo utilizado habitual o esporádicamente por el monarca, sea éste o no el fundador, haya de desarrollar estructuras

arquitectónicas específicas para su acogida. Un repaso a la bibliografía europea al respecto puede resultar esclarecedor: hasta la catedral de Aachen ha perdido el trono carolingio, que se suponía instalado en el piso superior de su *Westwerk*.¹⁰

2. La tribuna asturiana como reflejo de los *Westwerke* carolingios y postcarolingios. Desde estas líneas en modo alguno se puede intervenir en la discusión científica sobre morfología, función y significado de los *Westwerke* o *églises-porche*. No obstante, cierta seguridad al respecto puede extraerse de los innumerables estudios a ellos dedicados.¹¹ Dejando a un lado los problemas de escala, de dimensión, entre los antecuerpos asturianos y los correspondientes centro-europeos, por *Westwerk* se entiende un santuario occidental, dotado siempre de uno o varios altares, dentro de un edificio que no se concibe litúrgicamente unificado, pues está caracterizado por la pluralidad de los lugares de culto, dependiendo de ceremonias cargadas de procesiones y de estaciones espacialmente distanciadas. Nada de esto puede rastrearse en la arquitectura asturiana conservada, al servicio de comunidades de culto incomparablemente más reducidas que las catedrales, abadías y colegiadas de los Imperios carolingio y germánico. Por otro lado, se ha revelado como ilusoria la interpretación del *Westwerk* como materialización del polo laico, frente al polo eclesiástico del *Ostwerk* o santuario oriental, dentro de una general interpretación del edificio religioso como expresión de la tensión entre los "dos poderes". Tal tesis, excrecencia intelectual de una cierta historiografía de lengua alemana obsesionada por las luchas entre el Papado y el Imperio, no pasa de ser una ilusión mental, sin el más mínimo apoyo en las fuentes coetáneas a la construcción de estas estructuras. Con menos fortuna aún puede aplicarse a la arquitectura asturiana. Y lo que es aún más decisivo, en ningún *Westwerk*, conservado o susceptible de reconstrucción con garantías de fiabilidad, ha podido documentarse arqueológica o históricamente la presencia del trono real o imperial. Los más tena-

⁹ GIL J., MORALEJO J.L. & RUIZ DE LA PEÑA J.I., *Crónicas asturianas*, Oviedo, 1985.

¹⁰ UNTERMANN M., *Der Zentralbau im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt, 1993, 94.

¹¹ FUCHS A., Zum Problem der Westwerke, in: *Karolingische und ottonische Kunst*, Wiesbaden, 1957, 109-117. ID., Entstehung und Zweckbestimmung des Westwerkes, *Westfälische Zeitschrift* 100, 1950, 227-291. SCHMIDT A., Westwerke und Doppeltchöre. Höfische und liturgische Einflüsse auf die Kirchenbauten des frühen Mittelalters, *Westfälische Zeitschrift* 106, 1956, 347-438. MANN A., Doppeltchor und Stiftermemorie, *Westfälische Zeitschrift* 111, 1961, 149-262. GALL E., Zur Frage des Westwerkes, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen*

Zentralmuseums Mainz 1, 1954, 245-252. HEITZ C., *Recherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à l'époque carolingienne*, Paris, 1963. (Vid. a este respecto las recensiones de H. HOFFMANN, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 1964, 184-186; de E. LEHMANN, *Kunstchronik*, 1964, 160-169; de P.A. FÉVRIER, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1964, 267-273). No me ha sido accesible MÖBIUS F., *Westwerkstudien*, Jena, 1968. Sobre las iglesias de doble ábside: DUVAL N., *Les églises africaines à deux absides. Recherches archéologiques sur la liturgie chrétienne en Afrique du nord*, Paris, 1971-1973. ULBERT Th., *Frühchristliche Basiliken mit Doppeltapsiden auf der hispanischen Halbinsel*, Berlín, 1978.

ces defensores de la interpretación imperial del *Westwerk*, reconocen que, entre otras funciones, pudo albergar la liturgia palatina de los emperadores itinerantes, aclarando que se trataba de la liturgia privada de la *capella palatina*, mientras que, en los momentos de asistencia al culto general monástico o comunitario, el emperador asistiría desde una posición de privilegio en las cercanías del altar correspondiente.¹²

3. Las tribunas asturianas como reflejo de las tribunas bizantinas. Es un intento de explicación más reciente en la fecha de su aparición. Se propone en ella la aclaración de las tribunas asturianas a partir de ciertos elementos arquitectónicos elevados presentes en edificios bizantinos, que, por norma general, no se citan, ni se describen, ni se documentan con la necesaria seguridad. Ante una tal deficiencia de la presentación, apenas es posible efectuar la crítica. No obstante, es preciso destacar las irregularidades de este procedimiento. En primer lugar, la sistemática ignorancia del peligro de anacronismo. Bizancio es una realidad política de más de un milenio de duración, comprensiva de una pluralidad de tradiciones culturales de muy dispar origen, que a lo largo de su trayectoria histórica experimentaron las evoluciones que es de sentido común admitir. Cualquier intento de extraer “constantes” o “tipos ideales” se revela como puramente ilusorio. En segundo lugar, la aplicación de unos supuestos y no suficientemente explicitados datos arquitectónicos procedentes de “Bizancio” a la Asturias del siglo IX, distantes una infinitud en los términos espaciotemporales de la Alta Edad Media. En tercer lugar, la suposición, gratuita, de una identidad de necesidades y de funciones entre los promotores de la arquitectura asturiana y los de la indefinida arquitectura bizantina, sin que se explicita en cada momento de qué edificio en particular se habla. La situación es tanto más grave cuanto que se construyen programas iconográficos con su correspondiente “lectura iconológica”, sin un solo aporte textual ni documental, ni en la lengua original ni en traducción. Por otro lado, la bibliografía aportada no incorpora monografías de primera mano sobre los edificios aducidos como fuente de comparación. En conclusión, este discurso presenta sobrado parentesco con la literatura de creación, y ninguno con la prosa científica.

4. La atribución de significados unívocos regios a los motivos iconográficos, sin aporte de elementos de apoyo. En todos los antecuerpos asturianos hemos perdido la decoración pictórica que los ornaba, salvo escasos fragmentos en Valdediós. Conservamos, sin embargo, muestras importantes de escultura decorativa en Lillo. En el piso inferior, las jambas de la

puerta del muro Oeste reproducen la iconografía de una conocida serie de dípticos consulares paleobizantinos, con representación del cónsul flanqueado por dos acompañantes y escenas circenses. La elaboración formal de este repertorio iconográfico postula una muy profunda transformación estilística y de los modos de representación, lo que inclina la opinión a presuponer una larga y continuada reelaboración del motivo, hasta concluir en el dibujo del que las jambas de Lillo son copia escultórica. En modo alguno se puede sostener, por lo tanto, la probabilidad de que un ejemplar similar a los hoy conservados, fechados en la primera mitad del siglo VI, haya estado a la disposición del escultor de Lillo, ni, menos aún, que uno de estos dípticos haya servido precisamente de modelo.¹³

Estas piezas son habitualmente esgrimidas como argumento en favor de una “lectura” regia de la tribuna de Lillo, aludiéndose al carácter áulico e imperial que encierran. Propiamente hablando, los dípticos consulares no emanan de la casa imperial: son encargos de los supremos magistrados, miembros destacados de la corte, pero no del propio soberano o familia del mismo. Son, por lo tanto, *Herrschaftszeichen*, pero no *Königszeichen*. Problema añadido es el de su colocación en el piso inferior, cuando cabría esperar, si la tribuna fuese el verdadero escenario del monarca, que ornasen este espacio elevado. La realidad es que la tribuna dispone de una excelente decoración escultórica, que recubre el arco de apertura a la nave central, los cuatro dinteles de los vanos de acceso a las dependencias laterales y a las cajas de escalera, y las enjutas situadas entre ellos. Los motivos que la configuran proceden todos del repertorio vegetal tradicional -roleos de vid con rosetas hexapétalas y ruedas de radios curvos- más o menos geometrizado. Los de las enjutas reproducen los medallones esculpidos en los capiteles bizantinizantes de las arquerías divisorias. Nada, en suma, que pueda ser calificado de “regio”, ni mucho menos de “imperial”. Por otro lado, este hipotético repertorio regio habría de encontrarse en templos de los que con plena seguridad consta su fundación real, como Tuñón. Los valiosos, aunque escasos restos de pintura mural conservados en este templo, situados en el ábside –

¹² FUCHS A., *Entstehung...*, 253. Los restantes autores se inclinan por desechar la presencia específica del Emperador en las tribunas: HOFFMANN, *ob. cit.*, 184. LEHMANN, *ob. cit.*, 167. MANN, *ob. cit.*, 194. SCHMIDT, *ob. cit.*, 434. En su lugar, se propone una asistencia al culto del mismo en un lugar destacado del coro, entre los canónigos, pues, por razón del cargo, formaba parte de una porción considerable de cabildos catedralicios y de colegiatas. Cf. MANN, *ob. cit.*, 200-201.

¹³ BONET CORREA, *ob. cit.*, 152.

representaciones del sol y de la luna, unos frisos de almenas escalonadas y flores, y unas cruces —, en modo alguno pueden ser considerados regios en cuanto a su inequívoco significado. En cuanto al piso superior del antecuerpo occidental de Valdediós, templo que, según nuestra hipótesis, pudo ser escogido por Alfonso III (866-910) para albergar su panteón, su decoración pictórica, muy fragmentaria, se compone de motivos florales, unas muy incompletas representaciones de figuras humanas y arquitecturas, y, coronando el muro occidental por el interior, una representación simbólica del Calvario, con tres cruces, iconografía que se repite en el interior de la capilla central, sobre el dintel de la ventana. En el estado actual de los conocimientos, tampoco es posible rastrear motivos específicamente regios en este repertorio.

En conclusión, no se advierten razones específicas en favor de una iconografía regia en los antecuerpos occidentales, que puedan vincularse con el supuesto uso de estos lugares por parte del monarca. Los motivos de las jambas de Lillo más bien responden al carácter de cita aislada y descontextualizada, presente en el repertorio del taller o talleres que trabajaron en el edificio, sin que haya necesidad de recurrir a otras explicaciones.

4 Conclusiones

Un análisis objetivo de las estructuras occidentales de la arquitectura altomedieval asturiana, como el que hemos realizado, revela la inanidad de algunas de las interpretaciones propuestas, sus deficiencias metodológicas, y la necesidad de recurrir en todo momento a la observación directa, huyendo de las referencias de segunda, tercera o cuarta mano. Lejos de ser escenarios de ceremonias determinantes, estos espacios se manifiestan secundarios en el planteamiento funcional global del edificio del que forman parte.

La plena definición morfológica del antecuerpo occidental se logra en la segunda mitad del siglo IX. El primer ejemplo, con notables particularidades respecto a los posteriores, aparece en Lillo (842-850).

Valdediós (consagración 893) y Priesca (consagración 921) desarrollan tipos parecidos, que comparten con Tuñón (consagración 891) y Gobiendes en la traza de la planta inferior, sin que podamos asegurar nada sobre los alzados. Por el contrario, los edificios de la primera mitad del siglo IX, como Santullano (791-842) y las noticias que poseemos sobre Santa María de Oviedo (791-842) poseyeron exclusivamente pórticos, o bien desarrollaron una estructura occidental *con posterioridad* al remate de la primera fase constructiva. Lena se aproxima a estos edificios iniciales.

Este resultado podría contribuir a fechar con mayor aproximación y elementos más sólidos edificios de data incierta, como Nora o Bendones. De acuerdo con el desarrollo aquí expuesto, estarían emparentados más con Santullano y Santa María que con el grupo de fines del IX. Semejanza ésta que refuerzan otros indicios espaciales y morfológicos. No obstante, se ha de tener siempre presente la precaución ante la posibilidad de coexistencia de diversas líneas de planteamiento arquitectónico, sin caer en la tentación organicista del evolucionismo lineal, máxime cuando contamos con una muestra tan reducida y tan diversificada como la que nos ocupa.

La ponderación de tradición e innovación es siempre dificultosa, por la escasez y dispersión de los documentos. Ahora bien, existen precedentes hispánicos para el proyecto tripartito de los espacios occidentales: Quintanilla de las Viñas (principios del siglo VIII),¹⁴ así como para la existencia de espacios diferenciados al Oeste, por oscura que permanezca su definición. Así, se postulan tribunas en los templos de Es Cap des Port-Fornells, Son Peretó y São Gião de Nazaré,¹⁵ contracoros rectangulares occidentales en Santa Margarida del Priorat de Sant Genís de Rocafort-Martorell y en El Bovalar,¹⁶ y contracoros absidales al Oeste en Casa Herrera y Torre de Palma.¹⁷ La función que se les asigna no está aclarada, ni probablemente podrá serlo, en el estado actual de la investigación.¹⁸ Para nuestro objetivo basta, sin embargo, con admitir que la arquitectura paleocristiana hispánica desarrolló tipos de estructuras occidentales en los que, legítimamente, pueden rastrearse los antecedentes de los asturianos, en lo que respecta a la

¹⁴ ARBEITER A., Die westgotenzeitliche Kirche von Quintanilla de las Viñas. Kommentar zur architektonischen Gestalt, *Madrider Mitteilungen* 31, 1990, 393-427, abb. 5.

¹⁵ GODOY FERNÁNDEZ C., *Arqueología y liturgia. Iglesias hispánicas (Siglos IV al VIII)*, Barcelona, 1995, 159-160; 172-174; 311.

¹⁶ ID., 223; 227.

¹⁷ ID., 290; 302.

¹⁸ La hipótesis de Godoy Fernández, *ob. cit.*, 68-87, según la

cual el contracoro sería el escenario de la lectura de pasiones martiriales es absolutamente gratuita e infundada. No aporta un solo testimonio en su apoyo, ni litúrgico, ni literario, ni conciliar. El texto epigráfico aducido como base del argumento, procedente del iglesia de *Candidus* en Haïdra (p. 86), leído sin ideas preconcebidas, no se refiere a la lectura de relatos martiriales, sino que es interpretable con toda naturalidad como exhortación a todo posible visitante que se acerque a la tumba y lea la inscripción.

morfología. Naturalmente, no consideramos aquí la posibilidad de que los contraábsides occidentales, que perviven en algunos templos leoneses del siglo X, como Santiago de Peñalba y San Cebrián de Mazote, en ambos casos planificados desde el primer proyecto constructivo, puedan ser considerados como estructuras comparables, aun cuando pudiéramos llegar a deducir una identidad de funciones. Lo mismo hemos de decir del templo catalán de San Pedro de Burgal, fechado en el siglo XI.¹⁹

En el terreno de la aclaración funcional, los pórticos se revelan como estructuras ajenas al culto. Los antecuerpos, como elementos secundarios, dentro de unos edificios claramente organizados axialmente, en favor de los altares, inequívocamente situados al Este. Es verosímil, que, en los espacios permeables a la nave, el piso inferior haya acogido el baptisterio. Sobre las tribunas, las posibilidades de aislamiento que se aprecian inclinan el juicio a desvincularlas del escenario del culto principal, pudiendo ser sede de ceremonias o ritos no eucarísticos, rezos privados o colectivos o meditaciones no sometidas a la regulación canónica.

¹⁹ Sobre Peñalba, vid. PUENTE R., *Los monasterios de Santiago de Peñalba y San Pedro de Montes*, León, 1992. Sobre Mazote: ID., *La iglesia mozárabe de San Cebrián de Mazote*, León, 1995. NOACK-HALEY S., *Typologische Untersuchungen zu den mozarabischen Kapitellen von San Cebrián de Mazote* (prov. Valladolid), *Madriider Mitteilungen* 26, 1985, 314-345. Sobre San Pedro de Burgal: JUNYENT E., *Catalunya romànica. I. L'arquitectura del segle XI*, Montserrat, 1975, 190-191. Estimo infundada y errónea, a la luz de un análisis directo de los paramentos de Peñalba, la interpretación de Bango Torviso, según la cual, el contraábside occidental habría sido una modificación acaecida con motivo del deseo de enterrar en él al fundador, San Genadio. Cf. *El espacio funerario...*, 100-102. Basta un recorrido por los puntos de encuentro de los volúmenes en el exterior del edificio para apreciar que todos sus componentes están enlazados constructivamente, atestiguando su pertenencia a la misma fase. No cabe, pues, hablar de añadido del contraábside. En todo caso, corresponde a quienes lo postulan demostrarlo estratigráficamente.

Las Ciudades Episcopales del Reino de Galicia: Los restos del Claustro Medieval de Santiago de Compostela *

Entre los años 900 y 1040, la topografía eclesiástica de Compostela intramuros se componía por tres comunidades religiosas diferentes: la catedral de Santiago con el baptisterio de San Juan Evangelista, el monasterio de San Salvador de Antealtares y el monasterio de San Esteban, con su iglesia de Santa María de Corticela¹.

Hasta el siglo XI (1056), el clero compostelano no era más que un grupo de clérigos viviendo junto al obispo², como probablemente ocurrió en las sedes episcopales de la Hispania visigoda. Tras la reestructuración urbana llevada a cabo por el obispo Cresconio, en el siglo XII, el primer Arzobispo de Santiago de Compostela don Diego Gelmírez (1090-1140) reorganizó el cabildo catedralicio, aumentando a setenta y dos el número de canónigos³ y potenciando la Escuela episcopal⁴. También favoreció la renovación de conjunto arquitectónico catedralicio y de su mobiliario litúrgico, con un definido programa de exaltación de la Sede Apostólica de Compostela⁵. En 1102 Gelmírez consagró ocho capillas en la cabecera de la nueva catedral románica (Santiago IV)⁶, tradicionalmente considerada el epítome de las denominadas ‘Iglesias de Peregrinación’⁷. Asimismo, el arzobispo Gelmírez reconstruyó el palacio episcopal en el lado norte de la catedral y proyectó un claustro en el lado sur. Tras su arzobispado, el conjunto episcopal de Compostela se componía por la

inconclusa catedral románica, el dormitorio de canónigos, su refectorio, el palacio del arzobispo y el lugar para el claustro catedralicio, localizado junto a la nave sur de la catedral y proyectado *sicut ultra portuenses ecclesiae*⁸.

Las primeras noticias referentes al claustro compostelano comienzan en el siglo XII. La *Historia Compostelana* narra cómo los peregrinos preguntaban por el claustro y oficinas, mientras rodeaban la catedral en su busca⁹. Inmediatamente (1124), Gelmírez donó una importante cantidad para construir el claustro, pero parece que sólo fue el comienzo del proyecto, recién concluidas las naves de la catedral. Algunos años tras la citada donación gelmiriana, el arzobispo destinó otra suma para la construcción del claustro¹⁰ y, en 1137, el rey Alfonso VII prometía a Gelmírez doscientos áureos anuales para la edificación del claustro¹¹. En 1160, el herrero Diego hizo donación con destino a la fábrica del claustro¹² y, en 1199, doña Urraca Fernández legó cien morabetinos al deán y chantre de la catedral para la obra del claustro¹³. Otro texto del siglo XII, el *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, incluye una descripción de la catedral. En ésta no se menciona el claustro, pero cita dos puertas en la zona meridional de la iglesia catedralicia, denominadas puertas de la *Petraria*¹⁴. López Ferreiro supuso que el nombre *Petraria* aludía al taller de cantería de la catedral, también constatado en otras cate-

* Este estudio es parte de mi tesis doctoral *Las construcciones de los cabildos catedralicios en el Antiguo Reino de León durante la Edad Media*, dirigida por el profesor Dr. D. Isidro G. Bango Torviso en la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Quiero mostrar mi agradecimiento al Cabildo de la S.A.M.I. Catedral de Santiago de Compostela y especialmente al M. I. Sr. D. Alejandro Barral Iglesias por su ayuda durante mi trabajo en la Catedral.

¹ López Alsina 1988, 246-247.

² López Alsina 1988, 252-253.

³ *Historia Compostelana*, 1994, 554-556; López Alsina 1988 (2).

⁴ Díaz y Díaz 1971.

⁵ Sobre el arzobispo Gelmírez y su patronazgo artístico, vid. Filgueira Valverde 1970; Moralejo Álvarez 1980 and Moralejo Álvarez 1987.

⁶ La construcción de la nueva catedral románica fue comen-

zada por el obispo Diego Peláez en 1075. Sobre su proceso cronconstructivo, vid. Conant 1983 y Moralejo 1983 (1); Bango Torviso 1987, 99-105.

⁷ Actualmente, esta terminología ha sido revisada en pos de un nuevo concepto de ‘cadena experimental de edificios’, que resolvieran los dilemas de una iglesia apropiada para necesidades sociológicas y litúrgicas específicas. Sobre esta problemática, vid. Bango Torviso 1994.

⁸ *Historia Compostelana* 1994, 493-495.

⁹ *Historia Compostelana* 1994, 493-495.

¹⁰ *Historia Compostelana* 1994, 556.

¹¹ *Historia Compostelana* 1994, 591.

¹² López Ferreiro vol. IV, 1901, 285, n. 3

¹³ López Ferreiro vol. V, 1902, 190, n. 1.

¹⁴ *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, 1992, 557.

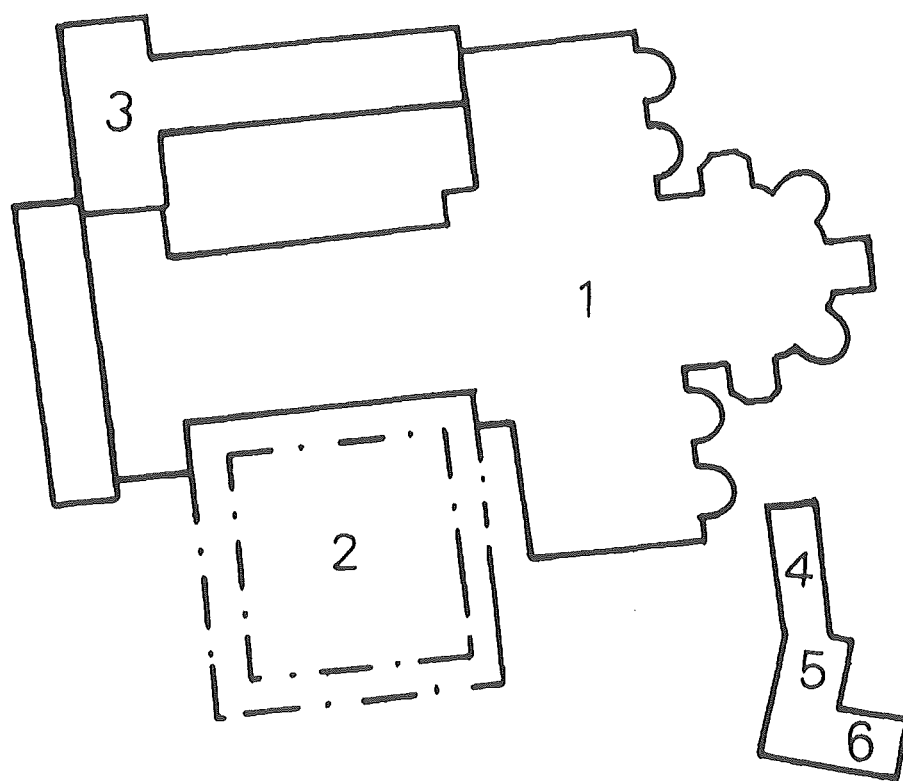


Fig. 1. - *Conjunto episcopal de Santiago de Compostela, ca. 1250.*

- 1: *Catedral;*
 2: *Reconstrucción hipotética del terreno ocupado por las pandas del claustro;*
 3: *Palacio arzobispal;*
 4: *Dormitorio de la canónica;*
 5: *Refeitorio de la canónica;*
 6: *Apotheca de la canónica.*

drales peninsulares, que estaba trabajando en el claustro en este momento¹⁵. A estas pruebas documentales de la construcción hay que añadir las que evidencian que el claustro no fue finalizado hasta mediados del siglo XIII¹⁶. El Arzobispo don Juan Arias (1239-1266) mandó construir la primera capilla documentada en el claustro el 9 de septiembre de 1250, luego gran parte de la fábrica claustral debía estar finalizada en el momento (fig. 1). Como veremos más adelante, se trató de la capilla del tesoro nuevo, destinada a realizar el Oficio de difuntos en memoria del clero catedralicio y de los bienhechores de su institución¹⁷. A partir de este momento, las noticias ya hablan de la existencia de un espacio claustral definido y construido. En 1292 el arcediano de Trastámara Miguel Sánchez fundó su capilla funeraria en el claustro con una abundante dotación económica¹⁸, así como Juan Míguez Gorrión¹⁹ y Juan Elías, siendo luego trasladada la memoria de ésta última a la capilla de San

Felipe²⁰. También el arzobispo don Suero Gómez de Toledo fue enterrado en el claustro en 1366, tras ser asesinado por los hombres del rey Pedro²¹.

Las referencias a fundaciones funerarias se repiten durante el siglo XIV. En 1338 el arzobispo don Juan Fernández fue enterrado en el claustro bajo una inscripción²². Hacia 1365, el cabildo hizo entrega al arcediano de Trastámara, don Alonso Sánchez de Gres, de dos arcos junto a la entrada del claustro, para que en ellos fuera sepultados él y su madre doña Sancha²³. En 1392, se otorgó al chantre Tomás González un espacio para su enterramiento, entre el arcosolio del arzobispo don Suero Gómez de Toledo y el del arcediano de Cornado don Gonzalo Eans²⁴. El entonces arcediano de Cornado y luego arzobispo, don Álvaro Núñez de Isorna, obtuvo licencia de enterramiento en el claustro en 1394²⁵. Su sepultura se dispuso en la sala capitular vieja, entre el sepulcro destinado a su pariente el arcediano de Reina Nuño Gon-

¹⁵ López Ferreiro vol. III, 1900, 124-125.

¹⁶ Otero Tüñez 1965, 979, señaló tres etapas fundamentales: la gelmiriana, la de Maestro Mateo y la de don Juan Arias con la finalización del claustro.

¹⁷ López Ferreiro vol. V, 1902, 194, Ap. Docum. n.º XXVI. El mismo López Ferreiro identificó esta capilla como el origen de la Capilla de las Ánimas, destinada a enterramientos (López Ferreiro vol. V, 1902, p. 194, n. 2).

¹⁸ Hoyo, 117.

¹⁹ Hoyo, 118.

²⁰ Hoyo, 122-123.

²¹ López Ferreiro vol. VI, 1903, 175.

²² NOBILITAS MORES PERIERVNT MORTE IOHANNIS PLEBS CLERVS MEMORES LVGEBVNT PLVRIBVS ANNIS OBIIT IIII NONAS MAII ERA M... (López Ferreiro vol. VI, 1903, 102).

²³ López Ferreiro vol. VI, 1903, 275.

²⁴ López Ferreiro vol. VI, 1903, 175 y 280. Sobre el arco sepulcral del chantre aparecía la inscripción: + HIC IACET FAMVLVS DEI THOMAS GVNDISALVI CANTOR COMPOSTELLANVS QVI OBIIT SVB ANNO MCCCCII (López Ferreiro vol. VI, 1903, 281).

²⁵ López Ferreiro vol. VI, 1903, 281-282.

zález de Bendaña y el del arcediano de Nendos, Juan Rodríguez de Medín, según se especificaba en su testamento de 1448, realizado ya como arzobispo²⁶. Efectivamente, el arcediano y chantre Nuño González de Bendaña fue enterrado en el sepulcro citado, a comienzos del siglo XV²⁷. Este afán de las personalidades del cabildo por enterrarse en el claustro y sus inmediaciones, debió decrecer en el siglo XV, con la aparición de las fundaciones religiosas privadas y familiares y de las grandes capillas funerarias en el entorno de la catedral. Como ejemplo, citar las noticias sobre la capilla del arzobispo don Lópe de Mendoza, situada en el mismo lugar de la actual capilla de la Comunión, y planteada según los patrones de las grandes capillas funerarias castellanas del momento²⁸.

Tras la edificación de nuevas capillas y otras obras, durante los siglos XIII, XIV y XV²⁹, y su reparación en el siglo XV, tras los enfrentamientos de la mitra compostelana con el condado de Trastámara³⁰, el claustro medieval fue derribado a partir de 1521. En el mismo lugar, algunos de los célebres arquitectos del momento construyeron uno de los más suntuosos y complejos claustros del Renacimiento español, con varios pisos y diversas funciones. Su edificación se dilató a lo largo de todo el siglo XVI, no sin los problemas que una obra de tal envergadura suscitó y que, como veremos a continuación, favorecieron en gran parte la conservación de elementos pertenecientes a la construcción medieval³¹.

Los restos del claustro medieval³²

La cota más alta del claustro del siglo XVI, en relación con su precedente, causó que parte del

claustro medieval se conservara en el subsuelo del nuevo edificio (fig. 3). El solado del claustro medieval se hallaba a más de dos metros por debajo del nivel de suelo de la catedral. El deseo de uniformar los niveles entre catedral y claustro condujo a la construcción de unas galerías bajo las pandas del claustro renacentista, cuya superficie es actualmente parte del Museo Catedralicio compostelano³³. Bajo la panda este, se ha preservado la bancada claustral de la obra medieval, mientras bajo la panda norte queda el basamento de una construcción monumental. Estos restos arquitectónicos fueron descubiertos por M. Chamoso Lamas y F. Pons Sorolla durante sus trabajos de restauración del claustro catedralicio entre 1963 y 1964³⁴. En 1984 se excavó la capilla de San Fernando, donde aparecieron parte de la bancada claustral, junto a otros elementos murarios de difícil identificación. El claustro moderno ha sido objeto recientemente de otras intervenciones arqueológicas, ahora en proceso de investigación³⁵.

En primer lugar, debemos hacer una reflexión sobre los restos escultóricos hallados por Chamoso y Pons. Durante sus excavaciones en el claustro del siglo XVI, se recobraron algunas piezas de factura románica cuyo origen no está claro. Sabemos que parte de este conjunto escultórico procede de la fachada occidental de la catedral, desmontada a la vez que se proyectaba el nuevo claustro, y de la sillaría de coro románica. Estos restos fueron utilizados para nivelar el suelo del nuevo claustro³⁶. Otro grupo de piezas fueron parte del claustro medieval, pero debemos reconocer que es difícil afirmar a ciencia cierta si todos ellos lo fueron y qué función desempeñaron en una topografía claustral que nos es en su mayor parte desconocida³⁷.

²⁶ López Ferreiro vol. VII, 1904, 184

²⁷ López Ferreiro vol. VI, 1903, 283.

²⁸ López Ferreiro vol. VII, 1904, 112-116. Sobre las capillas funerarias perimetrales del gótico final, vid. Bango Torviso 1993, 128-132.

²⁹ Vid. Yzquierdo Perrín 1989, 16-17.

³⁰ López Ferreiro vol. VII, 1904, 319 y 384.

³¹ Vid. López Ferreiro vol. VIII, 1905, 59-70 y 165-180; Vila Jato 1993.

³² Un catálogo de los restos arquitectónicos y escultóricos del claustro medieval compostelano en Yzquierdo Perrín 1989, 17-25; Barral Iglesias 1993, 486-487; Yzquierdo Perrín y Sicart Giménez 1993, 246-264 e Yzquierdo Perrín 1996, 185-188.

³³ Una de estas salas es la llamada Buchería, en la cual fueron hallados los restos de una calzada medieval y de otras construcciones (Meijide y Rey 1988). Vid. la sección de la panda oeste incluida en López Ferreiro vol. VIII, 1905, 60.

³⁴ Chamoso Lamas 1964, 233-237.

³⁵ La última fue realizada en el patio del claustro a comienzos de la presente década. Aquí se hallaron restos esculpidos supuestamente procedentes del claustro y de construcciones anejas a éste, que sirvieron de relleno a la obra del siglo XVI (Cf. Suárez Otero 1993). Quiero agradecer a D. J. Suárez Otero su amabilidad al permitirme consultar la memoria de su intervención arqueológica.

³⁶ Vid. Chamoso Lamas 1964; *Idem* 1973 y Valle Pérez 1984, 310-313. Al contrario que los restos pétreos, las tejas y maderas procedentes de los derribos del antiguo claustro fueron vendidas, según mandato del cabildo en 1521, y el dinero conseguido empleado en la nueva obra (López Ferreiro vol. VIII, 1905, 61, n. 1).

³⁷ Por ejemplo, J. C. Valle identificó claramente las piezas de una cornisa sobre arquillos decorada con ángeles, con restos de la fachada occidental de la catedral (Valle Pérez 1984, 310-312). Por otra parte, las mismas piezas aparecieron como vestigios del claustro medieval en el catálogo de la exposición *O Portico da Gloria e o seu tempo* (1988, 128).

Como citaba, los vestigios hallados en la panda este son parte de la bancada claustral, fragmentos de sus soportes y parte del muro perimetral de la panda. La bancada está dividida por la entrada al vergel del claustro y tiene 19,50 metros de largo³⁸, 1,20 metros de ancho y unos 1,15 metros de altura. Los cuatro pilares que se situaban sobre la bancada han desaparecido por completo, conociendo su ubicación por los restos de contrafuertes adosados a la bancada. El pilar ubicado en el extremo norte se conserva parcialmente, gracias a su reconstrucción realizada por M. Chamoso Lamas a partir de piezas halladas durante su intervención arqueológica en el claustro³⁹. Se trata de un pilar de sección cruciforme, con columnas en sus ángulos para sostener los nervios de la bóveda en el interior y la arcada del claustro hacia el exterior de la panda, llegando a 1,40 metros de altura en su lado mejor conservado. Sus laterales norte y sur tienen pares de columnas adosadas, destinadas a la arquería claustral. El lateral este presenta un haz de tres columnas para recibir el arco perpiaño del abovedamiento de la panda, y el lateral oeste tiene con un contrafuerte adosado (figs. 2 y 3). La distancia entre los vestigios de pilares nos proporciona la apertura de los arcos, que era de 3,30 metros. Usando la longitud de la nave lateral de la catedral como referencia aproximativa, el claustro medieval compostelano debió tener alrededor de los 30 metros de longitud en cada panda.

El muro perimetral del claustro, conservado sólo parcialmente, combina grandes sillares de cantería con otros materiales y muestra una puerta apuntada en su zona septentrional. En la jamba derecha de esta puerta se encuentra un sillar decorado. Éste parece un pequeño sepulcro (0,58 metros de ancho por 0,75 metros de largo) y está decorado con tres arcos trilobulados y dos veneras entre éstos. También hay un sepulcro adosado en el límite norte del muro. Tiene 0,65 metros de ancho, por 2,20 metros de largo y está decorado con arcos ciegos en mitra que albergan otros trilobulados y escudos, dentro de la estética funeraria catedralicia.

Existe una importante cantidad de elementos arquitectónicos del claustro conservados en el Museo

de la Catedral, en el depósito de las excavaciones y en el Museo das Peregrinacións⁴⁰. Estos elementos son cinco claves de bóveda, un gran conjunto de fragmentos de arcos y nervios y varios capiteles. Las relaciones entre estos vestigios y los restos del pilar claustral nos pueden dar las claves para la reconstrucción de la panda. R. Yzquierdo ha diferenciado cinco modelos distintos de piezas de arcos, en función de su decoración escultórica⁴¹. Podemos sintetizar esta clasificación en tres tipos de dovelas, dependiendo de su función en las bóvedas del claustro. En primer lugar, hay un grupo con el intradós moldurado con tres bocelos, en algunos casos separados por decoración vegetal y en otros lisos. Sus elementos decorativos están conectados con la influencia de la órbita mateana y guardan grandes similitudes con otras fábricas compostelanas como los arcos de la panda norte del claustro de Santa María de Sar⁴² y con los perpiaños del tramo de crucero de la iglesia dominica de Santo Domingo de Bonaval. Tienen unos 0,40 metros de ancho. Existe un arco casi completo reconstruido en el Museo das Peregrinacións, alcanzando una luz de 2'34 metros⁴³. López Ferreiro identificó también como parte del claustro el arco triunfal de la iglesia del santuario de Agualada (San Vicente de Marantes), por sus características formales. Según el erudito canónigo compostelano, las piezas del arco se trasladaron a esta iglesia hacia 1530, fecha en la que se desmontó el claustro medieval de Santiago⁴⁴. Lo cierto es que, proyectando el arco a partir de los fragmentos conservados en la excavación, la luz de un arco compuesto por las dovelas decoradas alcanza los 1'40 metros.

El segundo tipo tiene una gran moldura central. Las claves conservadas presentan la misma sección en su zona de unión con los nervios, luego este segundo ejemplo son los fragmentos de los nervios de las bóvedas de crucería del claustro. Finalmente, los fragmentos que conforman el tercer grupo tienen restos de haber estado unidas a un muro, pudiendo estar decoradas con hojas de acanto o simplemente con tres bocelos. Esta cuestión pone de manifiesto que fueron parte de un lucillo sepulcral o de la dobladura exterior de las arquerías claustrales.

³⁸ Incluyendo la entrada al jardín claustral.

³⁹ La reconstrucción es demostrable al encontrarse el interior del pilar hueco y los restos del cemento utilizado en su reparación son aún visibles.

⁴⁰ Quiero agradecer la amabilidad de la directora y personal del Museo das Peregrinacións durante mi trabajo en el museo.

⁴¹ Yzquierdo Perrín 1989, 23-24.

⁴² Aunque K. J. Conant pensó que el claustro no debió estar cubierto con bóvedas, lo supuso similar al de la colegiata de Santa María del Sar (Santiago de Compostela) por las carac-

terísticas mateanas de éste (Conant 1983, 53).

⁴³ El arco fue reconstruido por M. Chamoso Lamas con piezas halladas en las excavaciones arqueológicas. Debemos considerar que el loable intento de recuperación del arco por Chamoso nos ofrece unas medidas simplemente aproximativas, dada la similitud entre las dovelas halladas y la dificultad de su acoplamiento.

⁴⁴ López Ferreiro vol. V, 1902, 190-194. En el caso del arco de Agualada, su acoplamiento al espacio del arco triunfal de la iglesia, hace que desestimemos por completo sus medidas como representativas de las dimensiones claustrales.

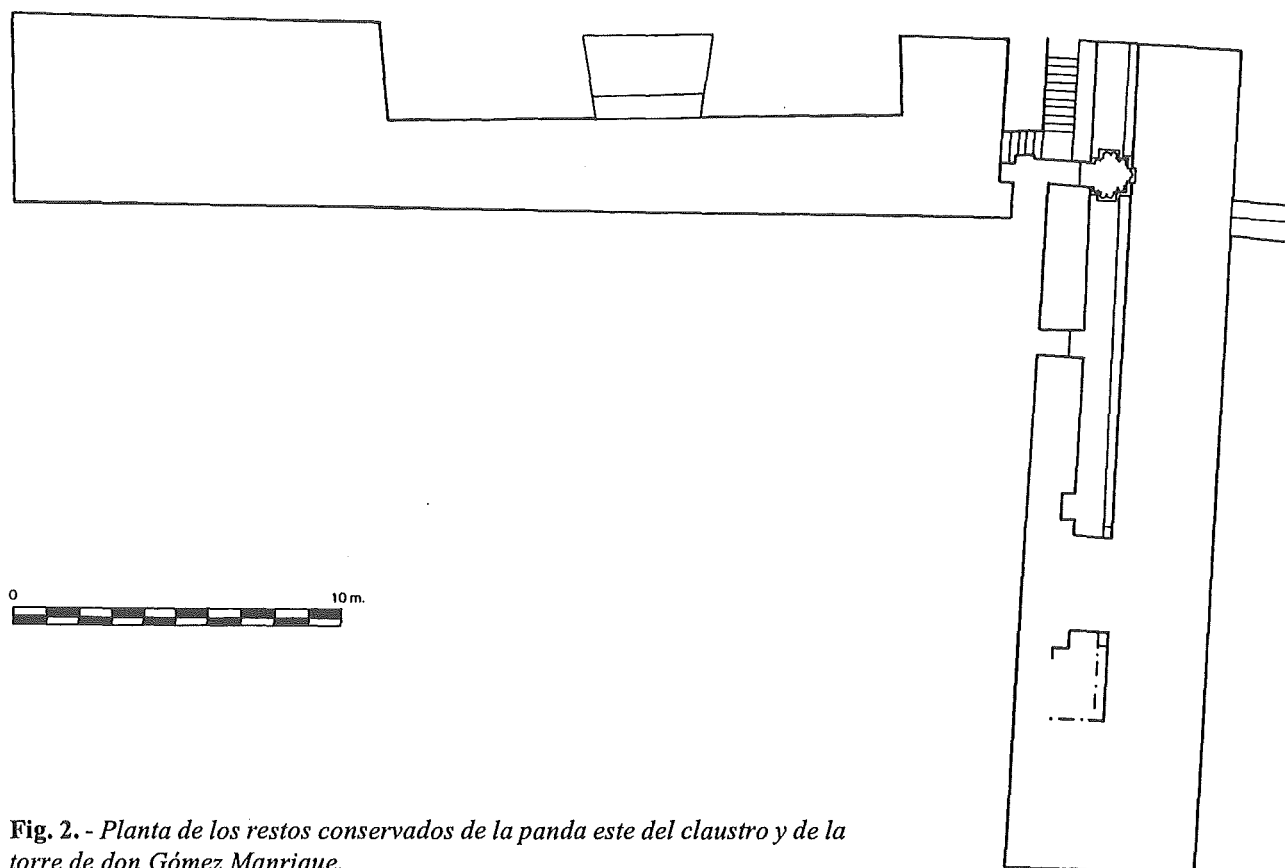


Fig. 2. - *Planta de los restos conservados de la panda este del claustro y de la torre de don Gómez Manrique.*

R. Yzquierdo ha propuesto un modelo de arquerías claustrales compuestas por un gran arco apuntado que albergara dos arcos menores de medio punto, basándose en las conexiones estilísticas entre los restos compostelanos y el claustro de la catedral de Tui⁴⁵. Ésta propuesta de arquería se ve avalada, además, por la configuración del soporte reconstruido por Chamoso Lamas. Como se ha descrito, la vertiente del pilar que daba al vergel claustral presenta una columna destinada a sustentar un gran arco en cada uno de sus ángulos. Dicho arco tendría en su interior otros dos arcos con una luz de 1'40 metros cada uno, según las medidas aportadas por el desarrollo de las dovelas conservadas. Estos arcos apeaban sobre capiteles y columnas dobles, cuyos restos se conservan en la catedral y Museo das Peregrinacións, y. Los capiteles son de decoración floral, dentro de los cánones del primer gótico. Otras cuestiones hacen evidente la relación entre el claustro tudense y los vestigios de Santiago. En el primero se repite prácticamente idéntico el tipo de bancada y soporte que hallamos en Compostela, a excepción de la columna exterior que soportaría los grandes arcos del claustro,

y que en Tui se realiza con una simple dobladura del muro⁴⁶. Este tipo de claustro fue obra característica de la arquitectura de la primera mitad del siglo XIII⁴⁷, existiendo ejemplos con la misma estructura de arquerías en varias fábricas cistercienses de la época, en el monasterio premonstratense de Aguilar de Campoo (Palencia), en el citado de Tui y en el de la Sé Velha de Coimbra (Portugal), concluido también hacia mediados del siglo XIII.

Los soportes de las bóvedas de la panda que descansaban en los pilares, albergaron capiteles con decoración figurada, según revela el capitel conservado en el Museo das Peregrinacións. Sus laterales están decorados con arpas entre vegetación, mientras en su frente se sitúan dos personajes portando un libro y una cartela, respectivamente. Considerado como perteneciente a una capilla del claustro, su basa para un soporte de triple columna y sus dimensiones ponen de manifiesto su función como receptor de los arcos perpiaños del claustro y su conexión con la sala superior del Palacio Arzobispal, también construida durante el mandato de don Juan Arias⁴⁸. Desconocemos el tipo de soporte que recibía el perpiaño de la

⁴⁵ Yzquierdo Perrín 1989, 20.

⁴⁶ Sobre el claustro de la catedral de Tui y su historiografía, vid. Cendón Fernández 1995, 89-100.

⁴⁷ Torres Balbás 1952, 134.

⁴⁸ López Ferreiro vol. V, 1902, 196-203; Lampérez y Romea V., 1913 y Bango Torviso 1985, 500.

bóveda y sus nervios en el muro del claustro. La total ausencia de soportes en el muro perimetral conservado en la panda este, hace suponer que descansaban sobre ménsulas que se situaban a un nivel más alto del paño murario actualmente preservado. Por otro lado, los nervios cruceros de la bóveda descansaban sobre capiteles vegetales, estilísticamente similares a los ejemplos de capitel doble de las arquerías, y de los que restan algunos ejemplos en los fondos de la excavación.

En cuanto al proceso constructivo de la arquería claustral, el soporte reconstruido, parece mostrar dos etapas a pesar de las dudas sobre la veracidad de su estructura. La superficie de la bancada prevista para la ubicación del pilar era de menores proporciones que el soporte luego construido. Esto supuso la necesidad de tallar las basas del soporte del peripiaño y del arco exterior del claustro con una sección volada, evitando de esta manera sobrepasar los límites de la bancada. Es posible que la peculiaridad de estas basas de perfil volado viniera determinada por un primer proyecto de claustro, destinado a ser cubierto con bóveda de cañón, y que después, al optar por la bóveda de crucería, fuera necesario readaptar la estructura columnaria del pilar añadiendo nuevas columnas para los nervios, sobrepasando los límites destinados a tal efecto sobre la bancada.

Un hecho especialmente significativo en el desarrollo de la panda este del claustro, es su articulación respecto a la torre ubicada en el ángulo suroeste del transepto de la catedral, cronológicamente previa al recinto claustral. Teniendo en cuenta la disposición de la bancada y muro perimetral conservados con referencia al transepto, la panda está significativamente desplazada hacia el oeste con el fin de salvar el cubo de la torre, de aproximadamente cuatro metros de lado. De este modo, el muro exterior del claustro debía hacer ángulo con el extremo suroccidental de la torre. Este incidente provocó la existencia de un espacio cercano a los tres metros de ancho entre el transepto y el muro interno de la panda este y que serviría para la ubicación de alguna capilla o de unas escaleras, con el fin de salvar el desnivel entre la catedral y el claustro⁴⁹. A estas dependencias daría acceso la citada puerta frente a la bancada, hoy cegada mediante material de relleno.

La torre

Bajo el subsuelo de la panda norte del claustro actual se encuentra el basamento de una gran construcción. Tiene acceso desde el extremo norte de los restos de la bancada este, mediante unas escaleras obra del siglo XVI. Uno de sus muros discurre

paralelo a la nave de la catedral, alcanzando los 15 metros de longitud, mientras los dos paños perpendiculares tienen 2,40 metros y 3 metros respectivamente⁵⁰. Hoy se encuentra excavada 70 cm. por debajo del nivel original de la panda, permitiendo ver el basamento escalonado. Su ubicación y las medidas referenciadas revelan que esta gran edificación se encontraba inserta en la panda norte del claustro medieval. M. Chamoso supuso que se trataba de los restos de las escaleras que descendían desde el nivel de la catedral hasta el claustro⁵¹. Por su parte, R. Yzquierdo la ha identificado con la torre que el arzobispo don Gómez Manrique construyó en el entorno claustral en el siglo XIV⁵² y que López Ferreiro había ubicado en el ángulo suroeste del claustro⁵³. En altura también quedan restos de la torre. Aún puede verse una de sus ventanas en el muro occidental de la sacristía. Igualmente, entre el trasdós de las bóvedas de la capilla de las Reliquias y del pasaje a la capilla de San Fernando, se conserva parte del coronamiento de la torre, formado por un muro articulado mediante dos arcos ciegos que apoyan en una ménsula, representando la cabeza de un ser fantástico. Estos vestigios revelan el reaprovechamiento de la estructura de la torre en las construcciones del siglo XVI, dado que la superficie de ésta queda circunscrita en el perímetro de las actuales capilla de San Fernando o Tesoro y el pasaje o antiguo penitenciario.

En 1984, se realizaron unas excavaciones de urgencia en la capilla de San Fernando que pusieron de manifiesto la continuación de la bancada claustral por la panda norte⁵⁴. Asimismo descubrieron restos decorativos del interior de la torre, representando cuadrados en colores rojo y negro, relacionables con otras pinturas halladas bajo la panda norte y descritas más adelante.

La torre claustral se construyó con intención de albergar una sala capitular, ya que anteriormente el cabildo se congregaba en la sala del Tesoro, en las

⁴⁹ Aunque con razones muy distintas, hallamos un ejemplo similar en el claustro de Santo Domingo de Silos. Allí, la construcción de un transepto a mayor altura y con distinta dirección a la ya edificada panda del capítulo, provocó la reforma del espacio antes ocupado por la panda este del claustro y el dormitorio de los monjes. De este modo, se originó un retranqueamiento en el interior de la galería, que fue utilizado para la ubicación de la escalera entre iglesia y claustro (Bango Torviso 1990, 355-359).

⁵⁰ Vid. la reconstrucción hipotética de la torre realizada por A. Barral en Yzquierdo Perrín 1989, 41.

⁵¹ Chamoso Lamas 1964, 236.

⁵² Yzquierdo Perrín 1989, 19.

⁵³ López Ferreiro vol. VI, 1903, 156.

⁵⁴ Debo el conocimiento de esta intervención arqueológica al testimonio de D. Alejandro Barral y a las minuciosas medidas tomadas por D. Carlos Suárez, sacristán de la catedral, que me proporcionó sus anotaciones realizadas durante la excavación.

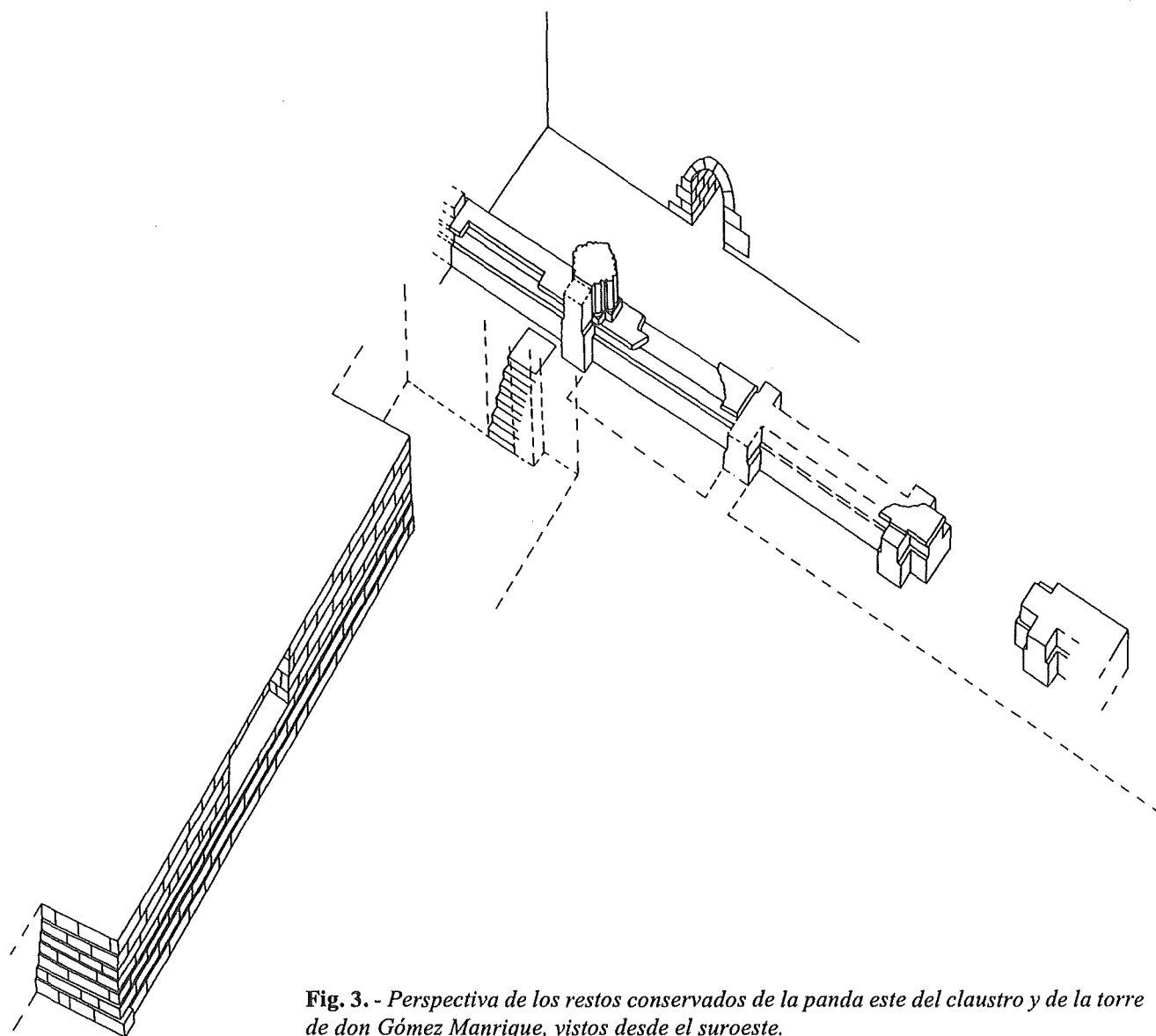


Fig. 3. - *Perspectiva de los restos conservados de la panda este del claustro y de la torre de don Gómez Manrique, vistos desde el suroeste.*

dependencias del arzobispo o en el coro⁵⁵. Su fecha de terminación fue 1392, año en que comenzaron a celebrarse allí las reuniones capitulares, en tiempos del arzobispo don Juan García Manrique⁵⁶. En 1407, una de las dependencias de la torre fue modificada como librería del cabildo, tras la manda testamentaria de don Diego López, a la sazón canónigo de Santiago y arcediano de Deza en la catedral de Lugo⁵⁷. A tal efecto don Diego donó toda su biblioteca, cuyos fondos se vieron pronto acrecentados con otras donaciones, como la del cardenal don Juan do Barro que, en 1446, especificó a sus testamentarios la condición según la cual sus libros debían ser colocados en una librería de la catedral y que ésta tuviera un lugar prestigioso del templo, como el tesoro o el sagrario⁵⁸. Por fin, la librería quedó definitivamente instalada en la torre en 1454⁵⁹.

La base de la torre está construida con grandes bloques de sillería que preservan numerosas marcas de cantería. En el centro de su lado sur se abre un

hueco practicado a 70 centímetros del suelo, con unas dimensiones aproximadas de 3 por 1'36 metros. En su interior quedan restos de pintura mural de carácter decorativo representando trazados geométricos. A ambos lados tiene adosadas dos tallas de soldados, de las que se puede ver la mitad inferior del cuerpo, con un león a sus pies. Por su atavío y sus características escultóricas, estas figuras están relacionadas con la expuesta en el Museo de la catedral, que representa a un guerrero portando una lanza y un escudo con las armas del Arzobispo don Gómez Manrique. Además de su función defensiva y como capítulo de la catedral, la torre de don Gómez tuvo otra finalidad que

⁵⁵ López Ferreiro vol. VI, 1903, 156.

⁵⁶ López Ferreiro vol. VI, 1903, 254.

⁵⁷ López Ferreiro vol. VII, 1904, 132 y Apén. Doc., nº VI.

⁵⁸ López Ferreiro vol. VII, 1904, 133-134.

⁵⁹ López Ferreiro vol. VII, 1904, 134.

considero evidente. En su interior el arzobispo fundó una capilla en 1361⁶⁰, a la cual dotó con cuatro capellanes obligados a oficiar cuatro misas diarias. Las misas debían la primera de *Requiem* y las tres restantes en honor de Nuestra Señora, de Santiago y de la Magdalena, respectivamente. A estas obligaciones litúrgicas se unía el canto del oficio divino y una oración por el fundador – don Gómez – después de la misa. Tras la muerte del arzobispo, todas las misas pasarían a ser de *Requiem*⁶¹. Creo que queda lejos de toda duda que, el destino inicial de la fundación, era la de convertirse en la capilla funeraria del arzobispo Manrique, truncado por la súbita promoción del prelado castellano a la mitra toledana.

Asimismo, entre los fragmentos de fábrica conservados en la excavación y en el Museo das Peregrinacións hallados por Chamoso⁶², existen varios sillares, restos de un arco y un dintel en mitra, con pintura representando ángeles y ornamentación geométrica, repitiendo motivos de la decoración mural conservada *in situ* en el interior de la torre. El estilo de las pinturas las hace datables como obra de fines del siglo XV. Este conjunto pictórico ha sido relacionado con el citado arcosolio funerario del arzobispo don Álvaro Núñez de Isorna⁶³, situado junto a la entrada del capítulo, y del cual sabemos por su testamento otorgado en 1448, que estaba decorado con pinturas que debían renovarse cada seis años⁶⁴. Entre los fragmentos conservados no aparecen la Virgen con el Niño, la Magdalena, San Juan Bautista, Santa Catalina y Santa Margarita, solicitados por el arzobispo para sus pinturas⁶⁵, mas su ubicación en la torre y la identificación de ésta como la fortificación claustral de don Gómez Manrique, donde se realizaban las reuniones capitulares, parecían unir el dato documental y la evidencia arqueológica. Aún así, considero fundamental tener en cuenta las diferencias que la documentación aporta entre cabildo

viejo y nuevo. Es posible que la disparidad entre salas capitulares estribe en la capilla del tesoro – utilizada como capítulo y como lugar de enterramiento de los arzobispos desde don Juan Arias – y el nuevo capítulo realizado por don Gómez Manrique, ubicado en la torre. En este caso, los restos pictóricos hallados en dicha torre no se corresponderían con el monumento sepulcral de Álvaro Núñez de Isorna, cuyo emplazamiento se documenta en el capítulo viejo⁶⁶.

Con respecto a la funcionalidad del claustro, los documentos son suficientemente explícitos para confirmar que el ejemplo compostelano era de connotaciones funerarias⁶⁷. La data de terminación de las obras coincidió con la secularización del cabildo catedralicio a mediados del siglo XIII⁶⁸. Esta eventualidad demuestra que las pandas del claustro no albergaron refectorios, dormitorios u otras dependencias destinadas a la vida en común de los canónigos.⁶⁹ Sabemos que existió una sala capitular vieja, posiblemente identificable con la entonces capilla del tesoro, y la sala capitular nueva ubicada en la torre, pero la mayor parte de las noticias se refieren a capillas funerarias y elementos con destino a fortificar su estructura. El ilustre don Juan Arias, en su testamento otorgado el 20 de abril de 1266, pidió enterrarse en el tesoro nuevo, en el claustro, junto a sus predecesores en el arzobispado (*...in thesauro nouo sci. Iacobi iuxta fratres archiepiscopos et coepiscopos.*), uniendo así las noticias sobre la fundación de la capilla de 1250, como lugar de uso funerario, y las referentes al tesoro nuevo en una sola capilla⁷⁰. A partir de aquí se suceden las noticias de enterramientos citadas *supra* y que llevaron a López Ferreiro a percatarse del fundamental uso funerario del claustro, *...en donde casi de continuo había que construir capillas ó abrir arcosolios para contener sarcófagos...*⁷¹. Hemos mencionado la capilla del tesoro nuevo fundada para los enterramientos arzobispaes por don Juan Arias,

⁶⁰ López Ferreiro vol. VI, 1903, 102.

⁶¹ López Ferreiro vol. VI, 1903, 156-157.

⁶² En 1527 el cabildo ordenó al fabriquero rellenar de tierra el cabildo nuevo, es decir, parte de la torre, con el indudable fin de ser utilizado como base a la nueva edificación (López Ferreiro vol. VIII, 1905, 59, n. 2 y 64-65). Otros restos del claustro medieval, procedentes de arcos y de los muros de la torre del Tesoro, fueron utilizados en la construcción de algunas capillas (López Ferreiro vol. VIII, 1905, 63). R. Yzquierdo ha identificado sillares medievales y restos esculturados del muro de la torre en la actual capilla de las Reliquias y en el muro sur de la catedral (Yzquierdo Perrín 1989, 21 y lám. 2).

⁶³ Yzquierdo Perrín 1989, 27, n. 25.

⁶⁴ López Ferreiro vol. VII, 1904, 184 y 387 y López Ferreiro 1968, 261.

⁶⁵ Según López Ferreiro estas pinturas pudieron ser realizadas por Álvaro García, al que el cabildo encomendó de por vida la misión de mantenimiento de la catedral desde 1447 (López

Ferreiro vol. VII, 1904, 186).

⁶⁶ López Ferreiro vol. VII, 1903, Ap. doc., n° XXV, 91.

⁶⁷ La apertura de capillas funerarias en claustros catedralicios hispanos es habitual desde el siglo XIII (Bango Torviso 1985, 600-601).

⁶⁸ Tras su secularización, la vida catedralicia y las responsabilidades de los canónigos cambiaron definitivamente (López Ferreiro vol. V, 1902, 176-183).

⁶⁹ En 1256, durante el arzobispado de don Juan Arias, el cabildo catedralicio permutó con el monasterio de Antealtares las casas de la canónica, junto al transepto sur de la catedral, a cambio de los edificios del monasterio, situados junto a la cabecera de la catedral (López Ferreiro vol. V, 1902, 176). La razón a este cambio fue la proyectada cabecera gótica de la catedral (Vid. Puente Míguez 1985 and 1989).

⁷⁰ López Ferreiro vol. V, 1902, 224-225, Apéndice, doc. n° XXXVII.

⁷¹ López Ferreiro vol. VI, 1903, 288.

de los deseos de don Gómez Manrique para su frustrada capilla mortuoria en la torre que mandó construir y de la capilla de don Álvaro Núñez de Isorna en el capítulo viejo. Esta significativa funcionalidad funeraria conllevó la consiguiente actividad litúrgica en el claustro y sus inmediaciones. Además de las tradicionales procesiones por las pandas claustrales, las capillas funerarias y las capellanías fundadas en los monumentos sepulcrales propiciarían la realización de oficios litúrgicos en su entorno. Por otro lado, el mismo López Ferreiro apuntó que las pandas del claustro y sus inmediaciones debieron amparar una vehemente función social, heredada de la misma vivacidad cultural que albergaron el dormitorio y refectorio de la antigua canónica⁷².

En cuanto a la configuración defensiva del claustro, quizá las relaciones con Tui – el único claustro catedralicio medieval completo en territorio gallego – puedan proporcionarnos una imagen cercana al aspecto del claustro compostelano tras las modificaciones del siglo XIV. Los casi habituales conflictos sociales en los que la catedral y en concreto el arzobispo compostelano se vieron envueltos, desembocaron en un progresivo enmascaramiento del edificio catedralicio y sus dependencias. El dominico don Berenguel de Landoria, tras su dificultosa toma de posesión del cargo arzobispal⁷³, realizó varias construcciones defensivas, entre ellas la conclusión de la Torre del Reloj y el inicio de otra torre, gemela a ésta, de nombre 'Berengela', que albergaba en su cúspide una catapulta⁷⁴ y que se ha ubicado en uno de los ángulos del claustro⁷⁵ o ha sido identificada como el coronamiento de la mencionada Torre del Reloj⁷⁶. Es probable que, al modo del claustro tudense y de las zonas altas de la catedral y palacio arzobispal, el claustro compostelano estuviera coronado con almenas y merlones, según hipotetizó Conant⁷⁷.

Para finalizar, simplemente incidir en que nos encontramos ante un claustro con un proceso constructivo largo. Fue comenzado en fechas posteriores al arzobispado de Gelmírez, y muestra toda una serie de soluciones arquitectónicas novedosas, frente a elementos escultóricos retardatarios, influidos por la prolongada autoridad que el foco mateano tuvo en las artes figurativas gallegas durante toda la Edad Media. Creo evidente que los restos de la abortada cabecera

gótica de la catedral, comenzada ocho años después de la primera capilla claustral, ponen de manifiesto el conocimiento en la fábrica compostelana de las nuevas corrientes estéticas francesas, a través de las grandes canterías castellano-leonesas⁷⁸. Que el claustro de Santiago se concluyera durante el arzobispado de don Juan Arias sólo revela una construcción lenta y problemática. Tal vez, el ángulo noroeste y parte de las pandas sur y oeste del claustro medieval se encuentren todavía bajo el patio del claustro actual. Con más seguridad, los restos de la panda norte y su difícil articulación con la torre, están ubicados bajo el subsuelo de las correspondientes capillas claustrales del siglo XVI. Actualmente, sólo una nueva serie de campañas arqueológicas podrían resolver estas cuestiones y aportar nuevos datos sobre el proceso constructivo y topografía del claustro medieval de la catedral de Santiago.

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⁷² López Ferreiro vol. V, 1902, 367-368.

⁷³ *Hechos de don Berenguel de Landoria*, 1983, 95-135; López Ferreiro vol. VI, 1903, 14-40.

⁷⁴ *Hechos de don Berenguel de Landoria*, 1983, 148

⁷⁵ López Ferreiro vol. VI, 1903, 60.

⁷⁶ *Hechos de don Berenguel de Landoria*, 1983, 149, n. 78

⁷⁷ Conant 1983, 114.

⁷⁸ Los restos de la cabecera gótica de Compostela fueron descubiertos durante los trabajos de restauración de las capillas

en el año 1934 y en el subsuelo de la Plaza de la Quintana, junto al extremo oriental de la catedral, en 1963. López Ferreiro, a partir de pruebas documentales, supuso que aquí se halló la torre del Ángel (López Ferreiro, vol. V, 1902, 195-196). Tras el hallazgo arqueológico, fueron considerados parte del palacio episcopal y la torre del Arzobispo don Berenguel (Carro García, X., 1948), mientras J. A. Puente los ha identificado como los restos de la abortada cabecera gótica de la catedral (Puente Míguez 1985 y 1989).

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Eduardo Carrero Santamaría
 Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
 C./ Arroyo Fontarrón 47, 7º A
 E - 28030 Madrid
 España

Else Roesdahl

Experimental archaeology: on the reconstruction of a Danish stave church of late Viking Age

In Denmark there is a long tradition of creating full-scale reconstructions of buildings found during excavation. This is particularly true of Viking Age buildings (and also of Viking ships – but that is a different story). The first such reconstruction was the Trelleborg house built in 1942 just outside the geometrically planned circular Viking fortress dating from about 980, and the house built in the early 1980s just outside the Fyrkat fortress of same date. The latter provides a modern and very different view of the construction of this particular house type. Other well known examples are the Hedeby town house (dated by dendrochronology to 870) built in the early 1970s at Moesgård Museum near Aarhus and a farm with a number of buildings modelled on the finds from Vorbasse which is being built near Fyrkat in the 1990s. The largest Viking Age building so far reconstructed is the 70 m long chieftain's residence at Borg in Lofoten, Northern Norway.

In recent years, however, there has been a marked growth of interest in the conversion period and relat-

ed matters. In Denmark, which king Harald Bluetooth declared officially Christian in about 965 (somewhat earlier than the other Scandinavian countries), a small series of early timber churches have been excavated, the results giving rise to a number of questions about their original appearance and construction. Normally only post-holes have been found, but in a few cases timber stumps have survived. A number of pieces of re-used timbers have also been identified as coming from early stave churches.

Against the background of the experience gained by the reconstructions of the houses from Viking fortresses, a Viking town and a farm unit, it was felt time was ripe to build a full-scale reconstruction of a timber church of the early Christian period in Denmark. None such churches survive in Denmark (not a single medieval building is preserved here), nor indeed in the rest of Scandinavia – the famous Norwegian stave churches are of the 12th-century date or later, as are the few preserved timber churches in Sweden. Consequently very little was known concerning the ori-

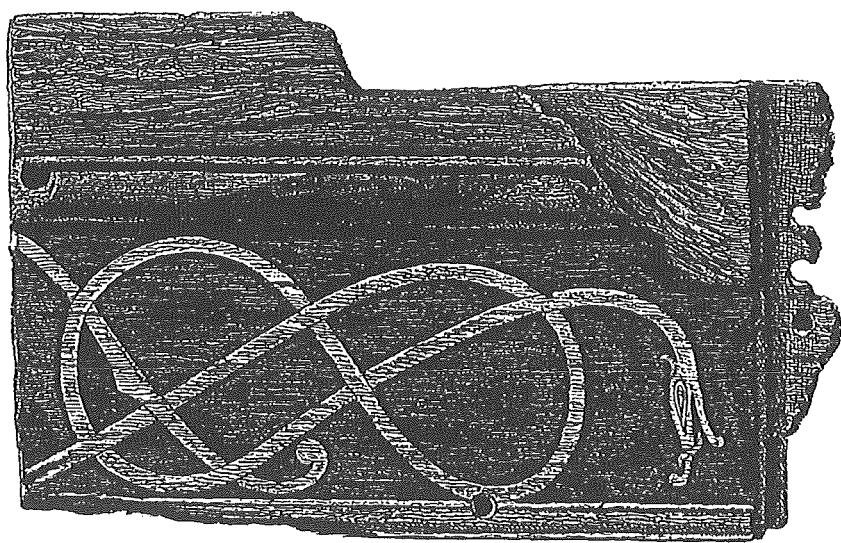


Fig. 1. - Wall-plate from the Hørning stave church; exterior (after Aarbøger for nordsik Oldkyndighed og Historie 1894). While the exterior ornament which is carved in sharp low relief is in the Scandinavian Urnes style, the interior face is flat and has a painted plant ornament in early Romanesque style.

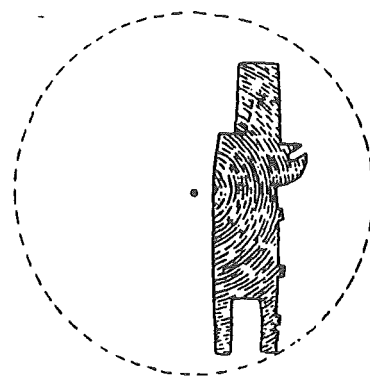


Fig. 2. - Wall-plate from the Hørning stave church: section. Scale 1:15 (after Krogh & Voss 1961).

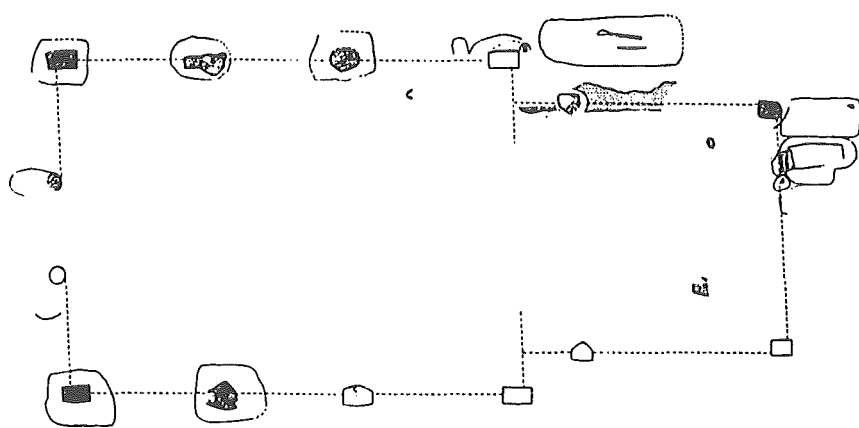


Fig. 3. - The Hørning stave church. Excavation plan 1960. Scale 1:100 (after Krogh & Voss 1961).

ginal appearance of the early Danish churches. We knew even less about the churches' internal arrangement and fittings, as questions concerning such matters had hardly ever been raised and nothing was preserved.

In 1993 the decision was taken to reconstruct a stave church at Moesgård as a joint project between the Moesgård Museum and Aarhus University's Department of Medieval Archaeology. The purpose was to recreate – to the best of our ability – a Danish stave church of the early Christian period in order to stimulate further discussion about all matters related to such a building: its construction, general appearance (including height), carved decoration, colour,

interior arrangements and fittings; the actual function of the church would also be considered. Further, a stave church reconstruction at Moesgård would be important in the teaching of medieval archaeology students and of course of immense interest to visitors to the Moesgård Museum.

The erection of a full-scale reconstruction raises many questions never before thought of. During the building process, consequently, decisions must be taken on matters which otherwise (in archaeological publications or in reconstruction drawings) are lightly touched upon or not tackled at all. In other matters, usually technical or constructional ones, practical decisions may be taken – for example whether modern

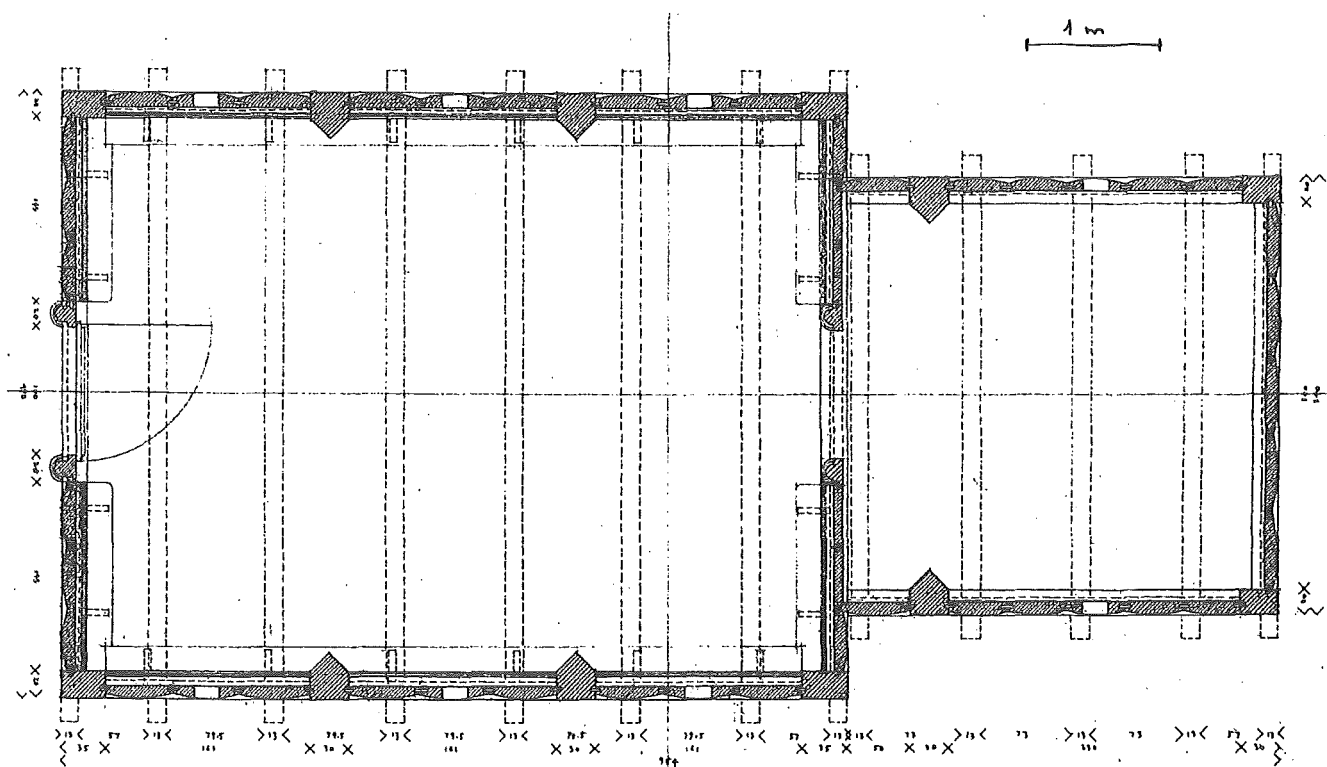


Fig. 4. - Suggested reconstruction of the Hørning stave church: plan, by Holger Schmidt 1994-96. Narrow wall benches have been built on the northern, southern and western sides of the nave. The chancel has a simple timber altar (traces of such features were not found during excavation but the church could hardly be built without wall benches or altar).

tools or modern building methods should be used to some extent. A number of elements are, therefore, open to criticism. Full scale reconstructions also often inspire ideas on matters which may only be distantly related to the building as such – in the case of an early church, for example, church organisation at the time.

The best basis for such a reconstruction was clearly the stave church in Hørning, Jutland (figs. 1-2). From this particular church a fragment of the carved and painted wall-plate survived? It was found at the end of the last century in the in-filling of a wall of the later stone church and has been dated by dendrochronology to c. 1060-70. From this wall-plate elements of the church's roof construction could also be deduced. Further, the plan of the church was known from an excavation in 1960 (fig. 3): it had been 9.3 m long, consisting of a rectangular nave (c. 6 x 4.5 m) with a west portal and a square chancel (c. 3.3 x 3.3 m). The moderate size, which seems to be typical of such early churches, also made the project realistic in economic terms and a single very generous donor provided the necessary grant. Chairman

of the project was Jens Jeppesen of Moesgård Museum, while I was the representative of the University's Department of Medieval Archaeology.

The actual building process started in January 1995 (figs. 4-6). It was carried out by a team of professional carpenters led by Arvid Ramsbøl with the assistance of a professional wood carver, who carved the portal, the four gable dragon heads and the wall plates with their continuous ornament of entwined Urnes style snakes in sharp relief (in fact a frieze encircling the entire church). The architect was Holger Schmidt, an expert on Viking Age houses and also the architect of the reconstructed Fyrkat house and Vorbasse farm. A number of other specialists gave advice on specific matters, including the Hørning church's excavator, Knud Krogh of the National Museum, and professors Erla B. Hohler and Signe Horn Figlesang of the University of Oslo (particularly on the design of the portal and the interior fittings). The faint colour traces of the wall-plate were re-analysed by Mads Christensen of the Danish School of Conservation (bright yellow snakes with red details on a black background, the colours being

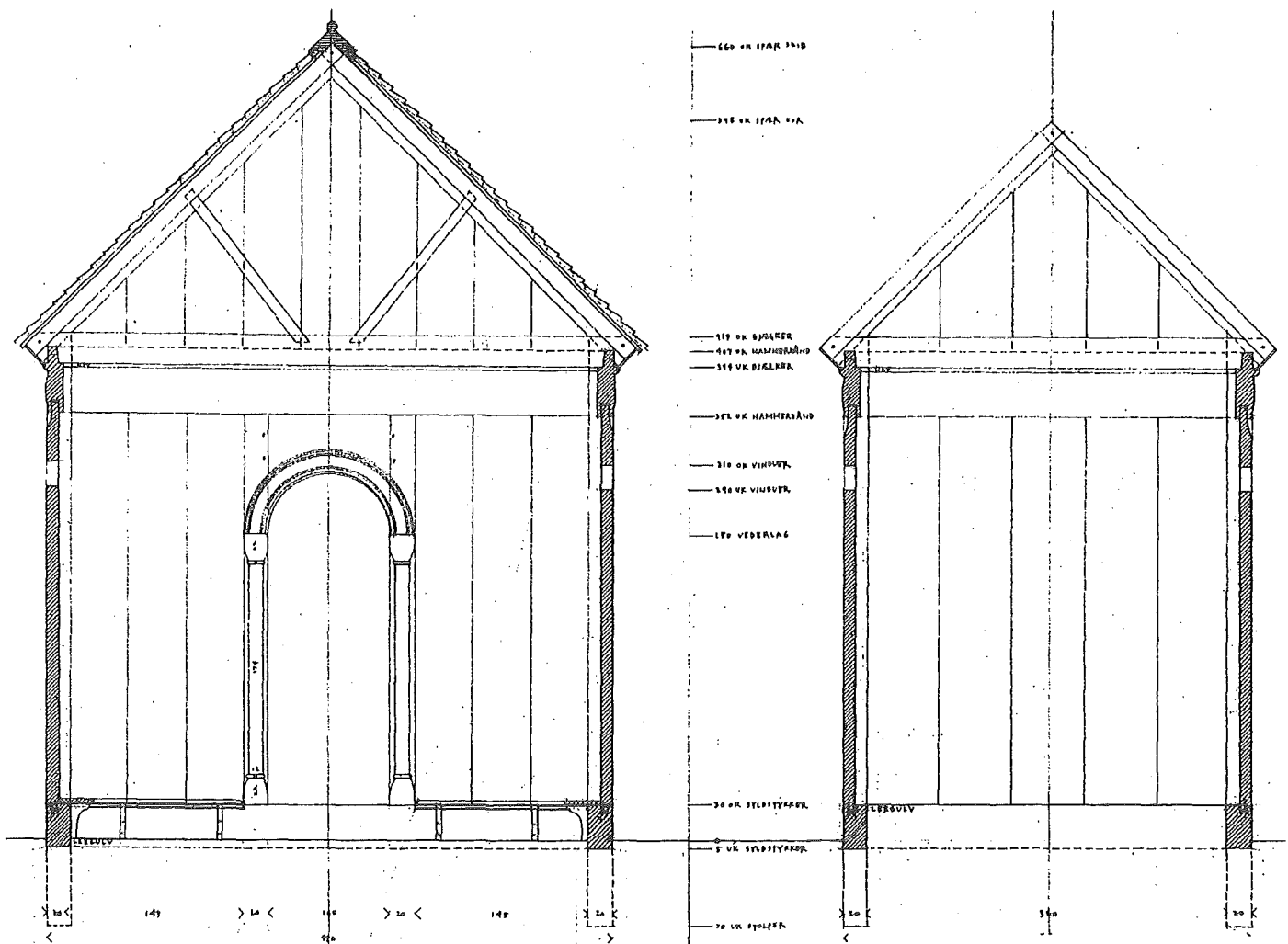


Fig. 5. - Suggested reconstruction of section of nave and chancel of the Hørning stave church, by Holger Schmidt 1994-96.

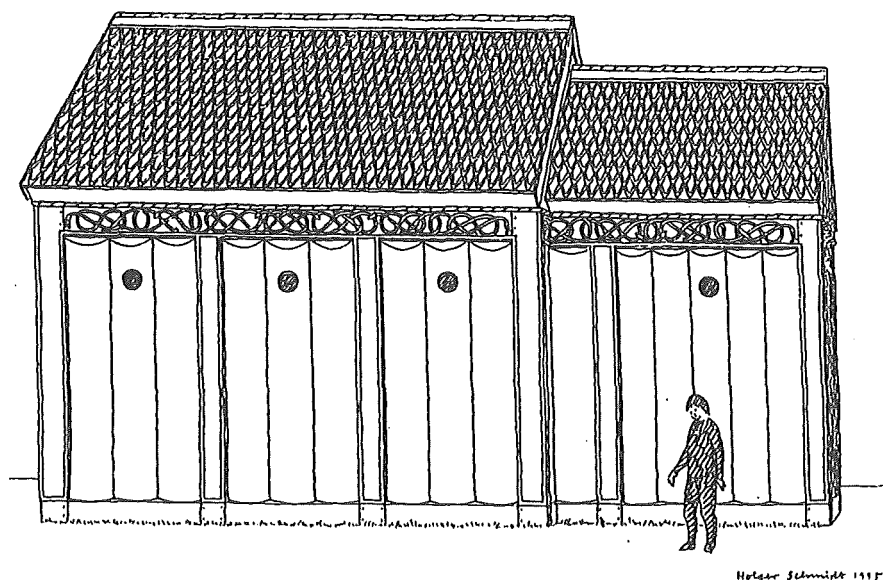


Fig. 6. - South side of the Hørning stave church. Reconstruction drawing by Holger Schmidt 1995. Wall-plate, posts and west portal are painted, while stave planks and roof shingles are treated with wood tar. Each of the four gables has been adorned with a dragon head – a feature seen on many Scandinavian stave churches and in representations of such churches.

based on linseed oil), while advice on the actual production of such colours and their application to the building was given by colleagues at the 'Old Town Museum' in Aarhus. Everything has been documented – prototypes, trials leading to the individual solutions, all decisions and discussion relating to the church, as well as the actual working processes, modifications to the original designs and the general progress of the work.

In the summer of 1997 the church was inaugurated. As part of the project an academic publication will be produced as soon as possible, while popular leaflets will be printed this year. It is hoped that the project's second phase will start soon. This comprises a timbered belfry with bell, traces of which were found during the excavation in 1960, and an altar cross.

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Prof. Else Roesdahl
University of Aarhus
Department of Medieval Archaeology
Moesgård
8270 Højbjerg
Denmark

Die spätmittelalterliche Synagoge in Wien (13.-15. Jahrhundert)

Einleitung

Im Vorfeld der Planungen der Stadt Wien für ein Holocaust-Mahnmal wurden im Juli 1995 archäologische Ausgrabungen auf dem Judenplatz im 1. Bezirk, dem geplanten Standort des Mahnmals, begonnen. Aufgrund der baldigen, eindeutigen Identifizierung der Befunde als Reste der im Zuge eines Pogroms zerstörten spätmittelalterlichen Synagoge und der damit verbundenen Möglichkeit, eine der spannendsten wie bedrückendsten Fragen der Wiener Stadtgeschichte zu beleuchten, wurde die Ausgrabung sukzessive ausgeweitet und von der Stadt Wien der Beschluß gefaßt, die gesamte erhalten gebliebene Substanz der Synagoge in einem neu zu errichtenden unterirdischen Schauraum der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich zu machen.

Die Ausgrabung ist derzeit (Jänner 1997) noch nicht abgeschlossen, mit der Aufarbeitung und Auswertung konnte daneben kaum begonnen werden¹. An dieser Stelle werden als Vorbericht die wichtigsten archäologischen Befunde der spätmittelalterlichen Synagoge vorgestellt und eine erste, ungefähre Einteilung in Entstehungsphasen getroffen². Daher wurde eine stark vereinfachte Form der Plandarstellung gewählt. Ein Vergleich mit anderen Synagogen und eine Verbindung der archäologischen mit bekannten historischen Daten ist zur Zeit kaum und nur mit Vorbehalten möglich. Nur angerissen werden hier die neuen Erkenntnisse zur hochmittelalterlichen Bebauung und zum spätmittelalterlichen Ghetto im Umfeld der Synagoge, ausgeklammert werden die vielfältigen römischen Befunde.

Die hochmittelalterliche Bebauung vor Errichtung der Synagoge

Über das Aussehen des heutigen Judenplatzes im Hochmittelalter war bisher nichts bekannt. Durch die Ergebnisse der Grabungen der letzten zwei Jahre können wir erstmals ein Bild dieses im Nordwesten der Stadt gelegenen Gebietes für die Zeit etwa ab dem 12. Jahrhundert zeichnen.

Im 12. Jahrhundert wird eine Nord-Süd verlaufende befestigte Straße angelegt. Das älteste Pflaster dieser Straße bestand aus unregelmäßig gelegten, unterschiedlich großen Bruchsteinen und römischen Ziegelbruchstücken. Nach einer Aufplanierung folgten, getrennt durch eine Planierschicht, übereinander zwei weitere in der selben Art gelegte Pflaster, die aber mit Kalk übergossen waren, um eine härtere Oberfläche zu schaffen. Diese Straße blieb bis ins 15. Jahrhundert in Verwendung, wobei ihr Belag immer wieder verändert wurde. Der Umstand, daß diese Straßenflucht auch durch das Spätmittelalter beibehalten wurde, findet im unregelmäßigen Grundriß der Synagoge der letzten Ausbauphase seinen Niederschlag.

In relativer Bebauungsdichte fanden sich auf dem gesamten heutigen Platz Holzhäuser verschiedenen Bautyps; Schwellbalken- und Pfostenbauweise treten gemeinsam auf. Diese Holzhäuser waren mit einfachen Lehm Böden versehen. Eine genauere Rekonstruktion ihrer Bauweise ist beim derzeitigen Stand der Aufarbeitung nicht möglich. Die Holzhäuser westlich der Straße wurden im 13. Jahrhundert für den Bau der Synagoge abgerissen, östlich der Straße wurden sie durch Steinbauten ersetzt.

Die spätmittelalterliche Synagoge

Als historische Eckdaten der Synagoge fungieren das Jahr 1294, in dem sie sicher schon bestand, da ihr Schulhof schriftlich erwähnt wird, und ihre überlieferte Schleifung nach dem Pogrom der Jahre 1420 und 1421. Diese Synagoge war Mittelpunkt einer Gemeinde, die durch das Ansehen ihrer Gelehrten überregionale Bedeutung erlangte: Rabbiner wie Isak ben Moses, dem Verfasser des theologischen Werkes "Or

¹ Wiener Null liegt 156,68 m über Adria.

² A. GOLDMANN, Das Judenbuch der Scheffstraße zu Wien (1389-1420), *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutsch-Österreich* 1. Band, Wien/Leipzig, 1908, 129-130.

Sarua" ("Lichtsaat"), dessen Sohn Rabbi Hajyn und Rabbi Mordechai waren es, die Wien zu einem geistlichen Zentrum von beachtlicher Strahlkraft machten.

Wie wir jetzt aufgrund der archäologischen Ausgrabung wissen, war die Gemeindesynagoge ein repräsentativ ausgestatteter Bau, der in mehreren Bauphasen stark vergrößert worden war (Abb. 2). Zuletzt bestand das Gebäude aus fünf Räumen und war außen zwischen 26,6 m und 28 m lang und an der breitesten Stelle mindestens 17,6 m breit – sie war damit eine der größten spätmittelalterlichen Synagogen (Abb. 1).

Da in dem zentralen und ältesten Raum der Synagoge auch die sakrale Innenausstattung (Thoraschrein und Bima) zum Vorschein gekommen ist, konnte er als der wichtigste Raum einer Synagoge bestimmt werden: als der "Männerschul" genannte Lehr- und Gebetsraum für die Männer. Er wurde bei einer Erweiterung durch den Einbau von zwei Pfeilern zu einem zweisechiffigen, eingewölbten Raum umgestaltet. Ein Raum diente, wie aus der Schriftquelle "Wiener Geserah" (siehe unten bei Pogrom und Zerstörung der Synagoge) bekannt ist, den Frauen als Lehr- und Gebetsraum und wurde "Frauensschul" genannt. Zumindest ein weiterer Raum war wahrscheinlich als Eingangshalle in Verwendung. Die Identifizierung dieser zwei Räume ist aber bisher ungeklärt. Auch die Innenausstattung dieser an die Männerschul angebauten Räume zeigt interessante Details wie eine Treppe, Sitzbänke und sehr gut erhaltene Fußböden. Das Pogrom von 1420/21 und die anschließende Schleifung haben vielfältige archäologische Spuren hinterlassen. Obwohl die aufgehenden Gebäudeteile vollständig abgetragen und auch ein großer Teil der Fundamente ausgerissen wurden, blieb der Grundriß als negativer Abdruck erhalten.

Die Synagoge liegt im nordwestlichen Teil des heutigen Judenplatzes, eines längsrechteckigen Platzes mit Ausmaßen von ca. 70 m mal 30 m. In der Neuzeit wurde durch das Verlegen von Kanälen und Leitungen sowie den Neubau des benachbarten Hauses etwas Substanz zerstört.

PHASE 1

Männerschul

Die erste Männerschul war ein rechteckiger, einschiffiger Raum mit einer Länge von 12,15 m und einer Breite von 9,4 m; die Innenmaße des Raumes betrugen ca. 10 m mal 7,6 m. Die Unterkanten der etwa 1,2 m breiten Fundamente liegen auf einem Niveau zwischen 14,8 m und 14,9 m über Wiener Null³; da das zugehörige Bodenniveau in der Män-

nerschul um 16,1 m über Wiener Null liegt, wurden die Baugruben also etwa 1,3 m abgetieft und die Fundamente auf den gewachsenen Boden gestellt. Das Fundamentmauerwerk besteht aus Bruchsteinen und Bruchstücken römischer Dachziegel in Erdbindung. Der Boden des Raumes bestand aus einem dünnen, feinen weißen, aber auch mittels Magerung mit Ziegelmehl rosa gefärbten Mörtelstrich über einer Bruchsteinstückung und lag ca. 0,5 m unter dem damaligen Straßenniveau, was einer an vielen Synagogen zu beobachtenden Besonderheit entspricht.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist eine terminologische Klärung angebracht: Wenn im folgenden Text zwischen "aufgehendem" Mauerwerk und Fundamentmauerwerk unterschieden wird, so wird von einer "Innenperspektive" (d.h. vom Blick aus dem Inneren der Synagoge auf die Innenseite der Mauern) ausgegangen. "Aufgehendes" meint hier: das Mauerwerk unterscheidet sich in seiner Struktur und Zusammensetzung von darunterliegenden Lagen und/oder Verputzflächen sind an der Innenseite der Mauer nachweisbar oder das Mauerwerk läßt sich durch ein zugehöriges Bodenniveau in zwei Teile scheiden. Wir sprechen von "Aufgehendem", auch wenn ein Mauerwerk in dieser Höhe für den spätmittelalterlichen Passanten außerhalb des Gebäudes nicht sichtbar war, da die Synagoge eingetieft lag. Die untersten Bereiche der Räume sind also mit Kellern vergleichbar: was innerhalb als aufgehende Mauer erscheint, ist in Wirklichkeit mit der Außenseite an die eingetieft Baugrube gesetzt. An keiner Stelle der Grabungsfläche ist eine Mauer so hoch erhalten, daß sie auch im Spätmittelalter von außen zu sehen war.

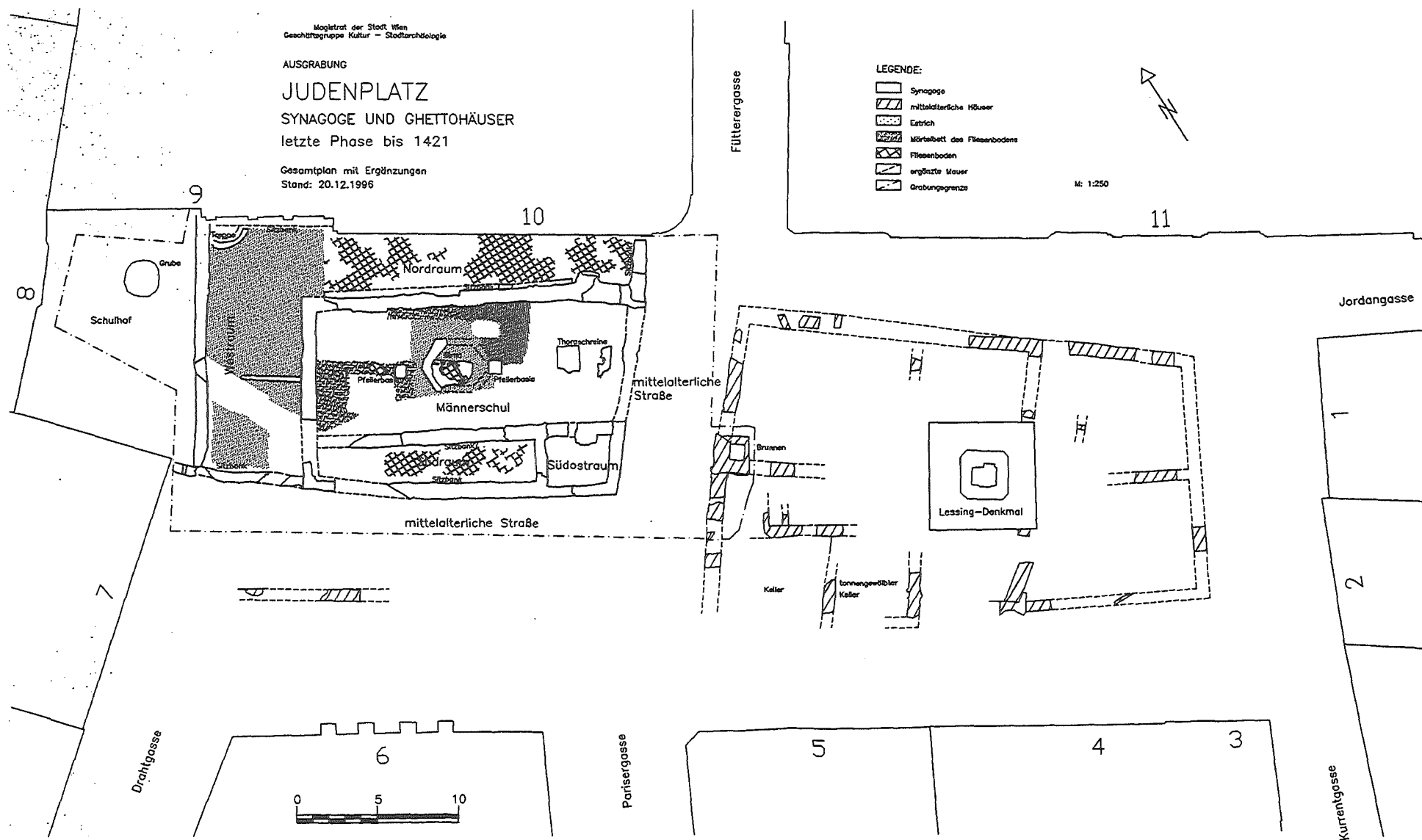
Hinweise auf die vermutlich hölzerne Inneneinrichtung der Synagoge existieren keine mehr.

Der Nordraum

An dieses Gebäude wurde sowohl im Norden wie im Süden entlang der gesamten Längsseiten je ein schmalerer Raum angebaut. Es kann nicht gesagt werden, ob schon die Grundkonzeption des Baues diese zwei Anbauten vorsah. Der Nordraum war außen auch 12,15 m lang und der Innenraum ca. 10 m lang und durchschnittlich mindestens 3,6 m breit. Von einem diesem Raum zugehörigen Boden war noch eine Mörtelschicht nachweisbar, von der nicht klar ist, ob es sich dabei um ein Mörtelbett für einen Fliesenboden, oder um einen Mörtelstrich handelt. Der Abschluß dieses Raumes im Norden wurde beim

³ Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien 1. Band, Regesten aus dem Archive des Cistercienserstiftes Heiligenkreuz. Ed. Benedict Gsell. Nr. 606 1294 IX 1: Pilgrim stiftet dem Kloster Heiligenkreuz einen Jahrtag für sich und seine verstorbene Frau Mechthild, p. 122.

Abb. 1. - Wien, Judenplatz: Synagoge und Ghettohäuser, letzte Phase bis 1421. Synagogue and ghetto houses, last phase up to 1421.



neuzeitlichen Neubau des benachbarten Hauses zerstört.

Die Fundamente des gleichlangen und innen durchschnittlich 2,4 m breiten Südraumes waren im Osten um 0,75 m und im Süden um 0,45 m weniger tief gegraben als die der Männerschul. Die unterste Fundamentlage bestand aus schräg gelegten Bruchsteinen mit Erdbindung. Bei dem in der Südostecke und im Westen höher erhaltenen Fundament waren die Bruchsteine durch Mörtel verbunden. Eine Bruchsteinstückung diente einem Fußboden als Fundament. Vielleicht handelte es sich bei diesem Fußboden um einen Mörtelstrich.

PHASE 2

Die Männerschul wurde in der zweiten Bauphase um ca. 3,4 m nach Westen und um ca. 3,4 m nach Osten verlängert. Zugleich mit der Männerschul wurden auch der Nord- und Südraum vergrößert. Der Nordraum auf die selbe Länge, wie die Männerschul, der Südraum allerdings nur die ca. 3,4 m nach Westen und nicht nach Osten. Der aus drei Räumen bestehende Gebäudekomplex, der einen einheitlichen Westabschluß, aber keinen gleichen Ostabschluß hatte, war in dieser zweiten Bauphase ca. 18,4 m lang und mindestens 17,6 m breit.

Männerschul

Bei der Vergrößerung der Männerschul wurden die alten Quermauern komplett ausgerissen. Das Fundament der neuen Ostmauer wurde um 0,35 m weniger tief als beim ersten Bau gegraben. Das Fundament der neuen Westmauer liegt dagegen gleich tief wie das der ersten Westmauer der Männerschul. Im Westen besteht dieses Fundament nun aus grob quaderartig zurechtgeschlagenen Steinen, die durch Mörtel verbunden sind. An einer Stelle sind auch etwa drei Lagen der "aufgehenden", innen verputzten Mauer erhalten. Der Innenraum der Männerschul war nun ca. 16,4 m lang und 7,6 m breit.

An die Südostecke der Männerschul wurde außen ein nach Süden gerichteter ca. 0,5 m langer und ca. 1,2 m breiter Strebe Pfeiler aus Bruchsteinen angebaut. In der östlichen Verlängerung der Südmauer weist ein im Norden rezent gestörtes, mit dem nach Süden gerichteten Strebe Pfeiler im Verband errichtetes Mauerwerk darauf hin, daß es auch einen nach Osten blickenden Strebe Pfeiler von ca. 0,7 m Länge gab. An der gegenüberliegenden Nordostecke der Männerschul konnte kein Strebe Pfeiler nachgewiesen werden, weil sich an der betreffenden Stelle eine Ausrißgrube und die Fundamentreste der, in der dritten Bauphase verlängerten Nordmauer der Männerschul

befinden (siehe unten). Es gibt Hinweise auf zwei der drei außen an der Westmauer der Männerschul vermuteten Strebe Pfeiler. An der Nordwestecke der Männerschul der zweiten Phase ragt ein Teil des Fundamentes der Westmauer um 0,3 m aus der Flucht zu weit nach Westen. Außen an der Mitte der Westwand der Männerschul befindet sich eine feste, vermörtelte, annähernd quadratische Steinlage mit einer Seitenlänge von mindestens 0,7 m. Ihre genauen Grenzen konnten nicht erfaßt werden, da sie von darüberliegenden Befunden des später errichteten Westraumes abgedeckt werden (siehe Phase 3). Wir interpretieren diese mörtelige Steinlage als Hinweis auf einen Strebe Pfeiler, der spätestens bei der Herstellung des Westraumes abgerissen worden ist. An der Mitte der Ostwand der Männerschul, wo die unterste Lage des Fundamentes erhalten blieb, konnte kein ihm gegenüberliegender Strebe Pfeiler nachgewiesen werden. Da die Südwestecke der Männerschul durch einen neuzeitlichen Kanal komplett zerstört wurde, sind Aussagen zu diesem Bereich nicht möglich.

In den vergrößerten Innenraum der Männerschul wurden durch den alten Boden zwei Pfeiler gesetzt, deren aus Bruchsteinen und Mörtel gemauerte, viereckige Fundamente 1 m breit und 0,8 m tief sind. Auf dem westlichen Pfeilerfundament sind noch 0,25 m hoch die Reste der runden, gemauerten Säule erhalten, die einen Durchmesser von 0,8 m hatte. Die zwei symmetrisch angeordneten Pfeiler gestalteten die Männerschul zu einem zweischiffigen Raum um und wurden wahrscheinlich wie in der Altneuschul in Prag als Stützen für ein neu eingezogenes Kreuzgewölbe mit sechs Jochen verwendet. Wir nehmen an, daß spätestens in dieser Bauphase die Männerschul bedeutend höher auftrug als die im Norden und Süden angebauten Räume. Diese Annahme ergibt sich aus der Notwendigkeit, ein Lösung für die Beleuchtung der Männerschul auch mit natürlichem Licht zu finden.

Der alte Boden der Männerschul wurde stellenweise ausgebessert und nach Westen und Osten in Form einer feinen Mörtelschicht verlängert. Das diente vielleicht als Mörtelbett für einen Platten- oder Fliesenbelag. In der Osterweiterung des Raumes befand sich auf dem selben Niveau – allerdings nur direkt vor dem Thoraschrein – der Rest eines feinen, roten Mörtelstrichs. Im nordöstlichen Bereich der Männerschul wurde später ca. 0,1 m über der vorher beschriebenen Mörtelschicht eine sehr ähnliche, ebenfalls feine Mörtelschicht als neuer Boden aufgebracht. Im östlichsten Teil der Männerschul ist ein wenig vom "aufgehenden" Mauerwerk der Nordmauer erhalten. Auf diesem Mauerstumpf fand sich der Rest einer weißen Verputzfläche, allerdings nicht in der

Flucht der Innenkante dieser Mauer, sondern so zurückversetzt, daß sie eigentlich innerhalb der Mauer liegen würde. Wir interpretieren diesen Befund als Rückwand einer Nische, die sich zu der Männerschul hin öffnete.

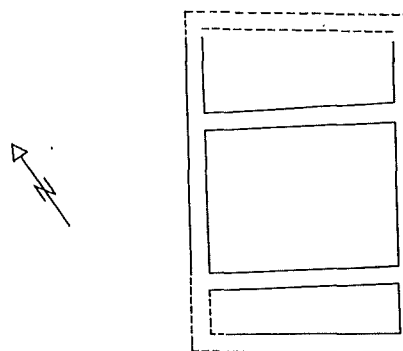
Erstmals ist nun auch die sakrale Innenausstattung der Männerschul faßbar. Vor die Mitte der Ostmauer wurde eine etwa 1,4 m mal 1,55 m große Plattform aus Steinen und gelbem Mörtel gesetzt. Aufgrund dieser Lage muß es eine Zurichtung für den Thora-schrein (Aron ha-Kodesch), dem wichtigsten sakralen Bestandteil jeder Synagoge, sein oder seinem Zugang gedient haben. Nicht genau in der Mitte des Raumes zwischen den beiden Pfeilern, sondern etwas nach Osten gerückt und auch im Verband mit diesem östlichen Pfeiler errichtet, wurde ein ovales Fundament mit einem Fortsatz nach Osten aus lose verlegten Bruchsteinen geschaffen. Aufgrund der Lage innerhalb des Raumes kann angenommen werden, daß auf diesem Fundament ehemals die Bima stand. Die Bima ist der zweitwichtigste Bereich einer Synagoge, nämlich das Podium auf dem aus der Thoralrolle vorgelesen wurde.

Der Nordraum

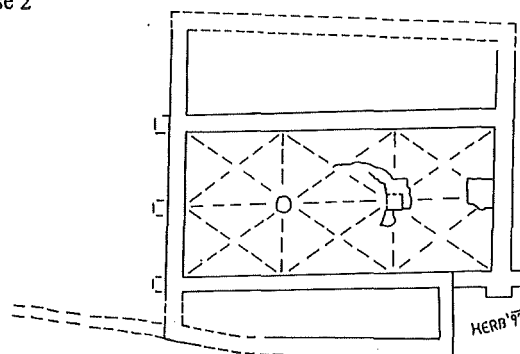
Der Nordraum wurde um ca. 3,4 m nach Westen und um ca. 3,4 m nach Osten verlängert. Die Befunde, auf die sich die These einer Erweiterung des Nordraumes nach Osten in dieser zweiten Phase stützt, sind schwierig zu interpretieren und nur in Kombination von verschiedenen Fußböden und einer Ausrißgrube zu erklären: In selber Flucht wie die Ostmauer der Männerschul verläuft an der Nordostecke der Männerschul eine Nord-Süd ziehende Ausrißgrube. Der Boden des Nordraumes der zweiten Phase endet mit einem geraden Nord-Süd verlaufenden Abschluß in der selben Flucht wie die Westkante dieser Ausrißgrube. In dieser ist eine unterste Mörtellage erhalten. Diese Ausrißgrube hat allerdings eine maximale Ost-West Breite von 1,50 m – ist also wesentlich breiter als das erhaltene Mauerwerk und auch die anderen Ausrißgruben der Synagoge. Wir sind uns der Problematik, eine Ausrißgrube dieser Dimension als Mauer-ausriß zu interpretieren, durchaus bewußt. Doch nur so lassen sich die stratigraphischen Verhältnisse der Böden der zweiten und dritten Phase, die weiter unten noch ausführlich besprochen werden, sinnvoll erklären.

Im Nordraum, der jetzt innen ca. 16,4 m lang und durchschnittlich mindestens 3,6 m breit ist, wird entlang der gesamten Südwand eine dauerhafte Innenausstattung angebracht. In den Winkel von Boden und verputzter Wand wird aus Bruchsteinen und überwiegend Backsteinen ein schmaler und niedriger Absatz gemauert. Dieser weiß verputzte, ca. 0,4 m

Phase 1



Phase 2



Phase 3

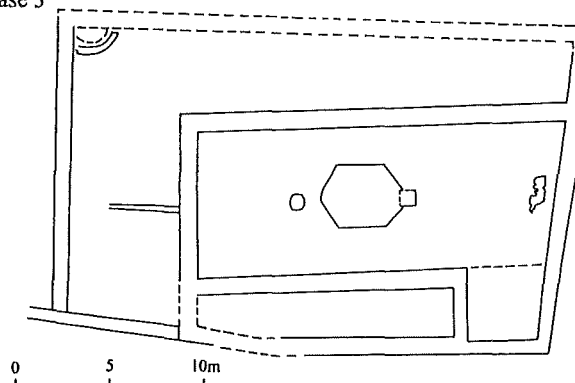


Abb. 2. - Wien, Judenplatz: Schematische Darstellung der drei Bauphasen der spätmittelalterlichen Synagoge.

The three main phases of the late medieval synagogue.

breite und ca. 0,3 m hohe Sockel diente vermutlich als Sitzbank, vielleicht auch als Ablage. Der neu verlegte, jetzt ca. 0,06 m höhere Boden schließt direkt an dieser langen Sitzbank an und besteht aus Keramikfliesen, die in ein Mörtelbett verlegt wurden. Die quadratischen Fliesen mit 0,2 m Seitenlänge bilden ein geometrisches Muster (siehe Abb. 3). Entlang der Wände befinden sich Streifen parallel gelegter Fliesen. Von diesen gehen in unregelmäßigen Abständen im rechten Winkel, also entlang der Breite des Raumes, ebensolche Streifen aus quadratischen Fliesen ab. Die dazwischen entstehenden sehr großen Rechtecke wurden mit den gleichen Keramikfliesen belegt, die aber um 45 Grad gedreht, also sozusagen "auf die Spitze" gestellt wurden. Die an der Anschlußstelle zwischen den unterschiedlich verlegten quadratischen Fliesen entstehenden dreieckigen Felder wur-

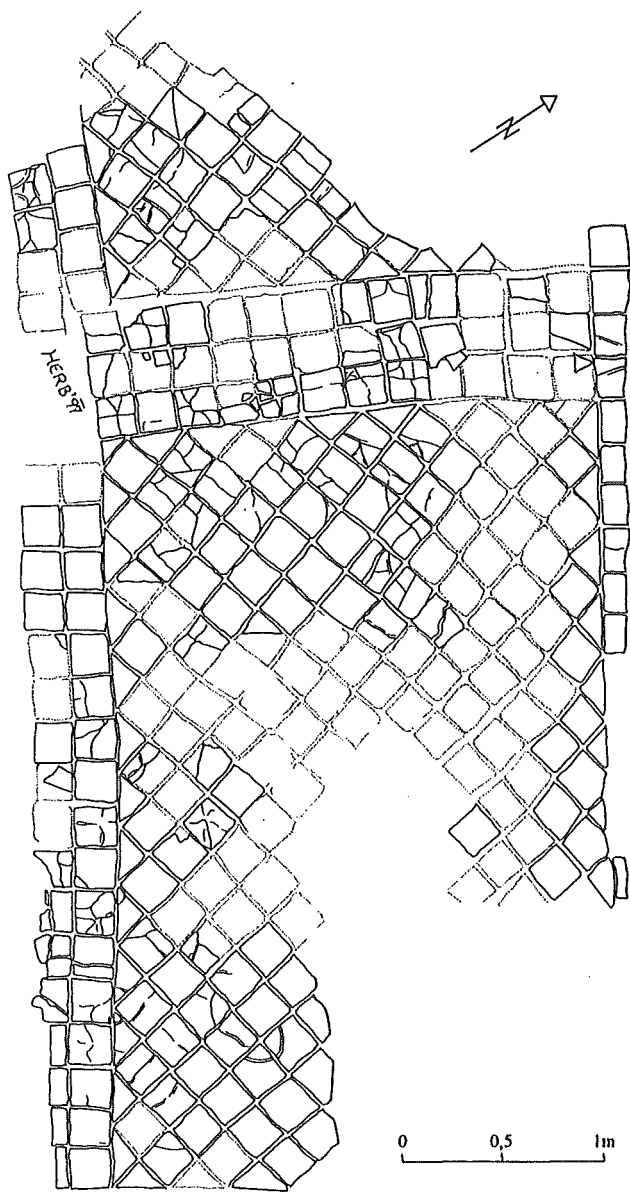


Abb. 3. - Wien, Judenplatz: Ausschnitt des Fliesenbodens des Nordraumes der spätmittelalterlichen Synagoge (Phase 2).

Part of the tiled floor of the northern room of the late medieval synagogue (Phase 2).

den mit eigenen Fliesen in dieser Form gefüllt. Obwohl die Nordmauer beim neuzeitlichen Neubau des benachbarten Hauses zerstört wurde, geben Lage und Aussehen der Fliesen im Nordwesten direkt an dem Fundament des neuen Hauses einen Hinweis auf den Verlauf der ehemaligen Nordmauer. Es wurden nämlich nicht ganze, sondern halbierte Fliesen verlegt, was nur bedeuten kann, daß sich nach Norden ein anderes Objekt, z. B. die Nordmauer oder Sitzbänke entlang dieser, erstreckte, das von dem Fußboden respektiert wurde.

Der Südraum

Der Südraum wurde ebenfalls um ca. 3,4 m nach Westen verlängert, so daß seine Innenmaße nun 13,6

m mal durchschnittlich 2,4 m betrugen, er also ca. 32,6 m² groß war. Von seinem Boden ist noch ein Mörtelbett erhalten, auf dem vielleicht auch Fliesen verlegt waren.

PHASE 3

Männerschul

In der dritten Bauphase wurde der gesamte Gebäudekomplex nach Osten verlängert. Da aufgrund neuzeitlicher Störungen im neu dazugekommenen, östlichen Teil der Männerschul kein Boden erhalten blieb, wissen wir nicht, ob der Neubau der Bima vor oder während der Osterweiterung des Gebäudes stattfand. Die alte Bima wurde nämlich abgerissen und, leicht nach Westen versetzt, eine neue Anlage gebaut. Trotz der veränderten Lage befand sich auch die neue Bima nicht in der Mitte der beiden Pfeiler, sondern noch immer näher dem östlichen. Auf dem alten, ovalen Fundament wurden neue Mauern aus Bruch- und wenigen Backsteinen errichtet, die eine regelmäßige, sechseckige Form mit 2 m Seitenlänge bildeten (siehe Abb. 4). Im Westen stehen noch zwei Seitenmauern dieses Hexagons bis in eine Höhe von maximal 0,35 m und ein fein gearbeiteter Eckstein im Nordwesten. Wo die Mauern nicht mehr erhalten sind, existiert noch die unterste Mörtellage des fehlenden Mauerwerkes. Das Hexagon war innen mit Erde aufgefüllt und sein erhöhter Boden besaß ein Mörtelbett.

Die Verlängerung des gesamten Gebäudekomplexes nach Osten bedeutet die zweite Ausweitung von Männerschul und Nordraum nach Osten. An den Südraum anschließend wurde in der Südostecke ein zusätzlicher Raum geschaffen. Das Gebäude besaß jetzt wieder, wie in der ersten Phase, eine in einer Flucht verlaufende Ostmauer. Diese verläuft schräg, weil sie sich an einer älteren Straße orientiert. Die unregelmäßige Form des neuen Gebäudes spricht dafür, daß der damals zur Verfügung stehende Platz komplett genutzt werden sollte und ein regelmäßiger Grundriß keine allzu große Bedeutung hatte. Zusätzlich wurde an den Gebäudekomplex im Westen ein großer, zu den übrigen Räumen quergestellter Raum angebaut. Die nun aus fünf Räumen bestehende Synagoge war außen zwischen 26,6 m und 28 m lang und an der breitesten Stelle mindestens 17,6 m breit.

Und nun zu den baulichen Veränderungen an den einzelnen Bauteilen:

In dieser dritten Bauphase wurde die Männerschul zwischen 1,85 m und 2,8 m nach Osten verlängert, so daß der Innenraum nun durchschnittlich 19 m lang und 7,6 m breit, also etwa 144,4 m² groß war. Durch die Vergrößerung des Raumes muß auch die Gewöl-

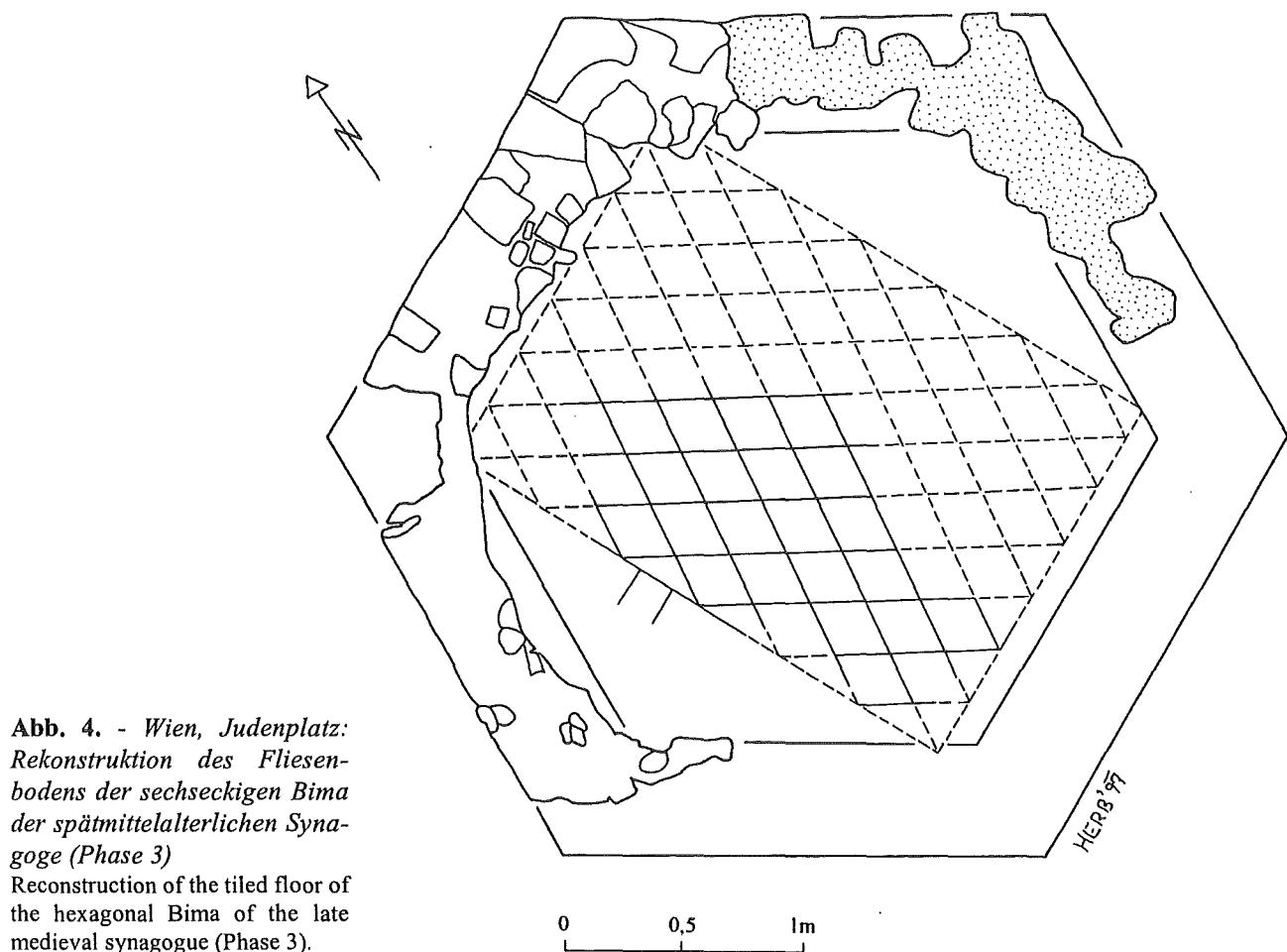


Abb. 4. - Wien, Judenplatz:
Rekonstruktion des Fliesen-
bodens der sechseckigen Bima
der spätmittelalterlichen Syna-
goge (Phase 3)

Reconstruction of the tiled floor of
the hexagonal Bima of the late
medieval synagogue (Phase 3).

belösung adaptiert worden sein, aber darüber geben die archäologischen Befunde keine Auskunft. Auch diesmal wurde die alte Ostmauer komplett ausgerissen. Von der neuen Ostmauer sind noch die untersten zwei Lagen des Fundamentes erhalten: die plattigen Bruchsteine wurden sorgfältig schräg mit Erdbindung verlegt. Die Unterkante der Baugrube liegt etwa in der Mitte der Ostmauer bei etwa 15,25 m über Wiener Null. Nach der Vergrößerung der Männerschul mußte natürlich der Thoraschrein an die neue Ostmauer gerückt werden. Vor ihm errichtete man ein Podest, das vermutlich von Steinen umgeben war und von dem noch die Aufschüttungsschichten und darauf ein gelbes Mörtelbett erhalten sind.

Wie schon oben angesprochen, existiert aufgrund neuzeitlicher Störungen kein Boden in der Osterweiterung der dritten Bauphase. Wir wissen daher nicht, ob die Erhöhung des Bodens während oder erst nach der Ausweitung des Raumes nach Osten erfolgt ist. Auf den Boden der zweiten Phase wurde nämlich eine 0,15 m bis 0,2 m dicke Planierschicht aufgebracht und anschließend auf ein Mörtelbett 0,43 m lange und 0,06 m dicke, grün glasierte Ziegelplatten verlegt, die im westlichen Teil der Männerschul noch erhalten sind. Dieser Ziegelbelag schloß bündig an den westlichen Pfeiler an, der damals also seine

Funktion als Stütze des Gewölbes noch erfüllte. Der Befund ist, was den östlichen Pfeiler betrifft, leider nicht so deutlich. Es kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, daß dieser aufgelassen wurde, was aber die Abstützung einer Decke problematisch macht. Im Süden, und zwar in dem Bereich, der bei der Osterweiterung der zweiten Bauphase in den Raum einbezogen wurde, ist wenig vom Fußboden der dritten Phase erhalten geblieben: eine gelbe Mörtelschicht diente vielleicht als Mörtelbett für einen Platten- oder Fliesenbelag.

Zur selben Zeit als der Boden aufgestockt und mit den großen Ziegelplatten belegt wurde, wurde auch die Bima durch eine Aufschüttung um ca. 0,15 m erhöht und auf einem Mörtelbett ein Fliesenboden verlegt. Die Reste der zur Gänze braun oder zur Gänze grün glasierten Keramikfliesen zeigen noch, daß rhombische Fliesen mit 0,225 m Seitenlänge, dreieckige Stücke mit maximal 0,38 m Länge und rechteckige Fliesen ehemals ein geometrisches Muster bildeten (siehe Abb. 4). Die rhombischen Fliesen lagen in der Mitte der Bima in Form eines Rechteckes, das an den Rändern von den dreieckigen Fliesen abgeschlossen wurde. Dieses Muster war von den quadratischen Fliesen umgeben. Im östlichen Teil der Bima konnte ein 0,4 m tiefes Pfostenloch mit

Steinbruchverpackung nachgewiesen werden, in dem vermutlich ein hölzernes Lese-pult verankert war. In der Schuttschicht, die auf den letzten Böden der Synagoge und der Bima lag, befanden sich kleine, viereckige Säulenbasen mit etwa 0,13 m Seitenlänge und einige Bruchstücke von runden Säulchen mit ca. 0,08 m Durchmesser. Diese Architekturfragmente aus Sandstein waren rot bemalt. Eine Bima ist normalerweise von einer Brüstung umgeben und besitzt darüber einen höheren, verzierten Aufbau. Daher vermuten wir, daß die gefundenen Säulchen ehemals als Brüstung auf den Mauern der Bima standen. Die Dimensionen dieser Säulchen machen eine Verwendung in statisch nicht tragender Funktion auch wahrscheinlich. Der eine erhaltene Eckstein der Bima hat an der Innenseite eine runde Ausnehmung, deren relativ großer Durchmesser von ca. 0,34 m in Betracht ziehen läßt, daß hier eine der Säulen stand, die einen schwereren Aufbau trugen.

Auch das Podest vor dem Thoraschrein wurde aufgestockt, doch kann nur vermutet werden, daß das zur selben Zeit wie die Erhöhung der Bima und des Bodens geschah. Auf das Podest vor dem Thoraschrein wurde, nachdem das alte Mörtelbett rot verbrannt und mit einer Ascheschicht bedeckt worden war, eine Planierschicht aufgebracht und auf einem weißen Mörtelbett ganze und gebrochene Backsteine mit 0,235 m bis 0,245 m Länge verlegt.

Der Nordraum

Der Nordraum wurde in dieser dritten Phase um durchschnittlich ca. 3 m nach Osten verlängert, so daß der Innenraum nun ca. 20,5 m lang und mindestens 3,6 m breit wurde, also mindestens 73,8 m² groß war. Die Unterkante der Baugrube der neuen Ostmauer liegt bei etwa 15,6 m über Wiener Null. Das Fundament besteht aus sorgfältig schräg gelegten, plattigen Bruchsteinen mit Erdbindung – eine auffällige Analogie zum Fundament der in gleicher Flucht verlaufenden Ostmauer der Männerschul dieser dritten Bauphase. Deshalb nehmen wir an, daß die beiden Ostmauern von Nordraum und Männerschul gleichzeitig errichtet wurden, auch wenn die Unterkanten der Baugruben um etwa 0,35 m differieren. Das Fundament der in dieser dritten Bauphase nach Osten verlängerten Mauer, die sich zwischen Nordraum und Männerschul befindet, besteht aus vermörtelten Bruchsteinen; ihr Anschluß an die Ostmauer ist nicht mehr erhalten. Diesen Unterschied in der Bauart der Fundamente deuten wir als Hinweis, daß die Ostmauer älter ist als die nach Osten verlängerte Mauer zwischen Männerschul und Nordraum; immerhin ist auch das Fundament der ersten Bauphase der Männerschul mit Erde gebunden. Da entlang der Ostmauer dieser dritten Bauphase eine Straße verläuft,

die auf das Hochmittelalter zurückgeht, ist es möglich, daß es sich bei dieser Ostmauer um eine ältere, schon bestehende Mauer zur Begrenzung der Parzelle handelt, die bei der letzten Vergrößerung der Synagoge einbezogen wurde, indem die Mauern von Nordraum und Männerschul angebaut wurden. Da von der Ostmauer, ausgenommen eine "aufgehende" Lage aus plattigen, schräg gelegten und mit Mörtel verbundenen Bruchsteinen beim Nordraum, nur stellenweise die unterste Fundamentlage erhalten blieb, kann diese These nicht erhärtet werden. Als Vergleichsbeispiel kann die Errichtung des Westraumes in der selben, dritten Bauphase herangezogen werden: wie weiter unten ausführlicher beschrieben wird, wurde die Westmauer dieses Raumes an eine schon bestehende Mauer im Süden angebaut.

Im Inneren des Nordraumes wurden entlang der Ostmauer Backsteine hochkant nebeneinander gestellt und auf der zum Raum hingewandten Seite verputzt. Der zwischen 0,2 m und 0,3 m breite Streifen zwischen der Mauer und den Backsteinen wurde mit Erde angefüllt. Wir deuten diesen Befund als Rest einer Sitzbank, die allerdings in einer anderen Bauweise als die übrigen Sitzbänke der Synagoge errichtet worden ist. Der durch die Vergrößerung des Nordraumes nach Osten neu hinzugekommene Innenraum wird ebenfalls mit einem Fliesenboden ausgestattet. Dieser weist allerdings Unterschiede zu dem schon westlich davon bestehenden Fliesenboden der zweiten Phase auf: auf einem nun weißen Mörtelbett liegen quadratische Keramikfliesen, die nur eine Seitenlänge von ca. 0,18 m haben. Die Fliesen sind, ohne ein ähnlich aufwendiges Muster wie im älteren Teil des Nordraumes zu bilden, einfach parallel verlegt.

Der Westraum

Wie schon oben erwähnt, wurde an den Gebäudekomplex im Westen ein großer, zu den übrigen Räumen quergestellter Raum angebaut. Dieser Westraum war innen mindestens 15,3 m lang und 5,8 m breit, also mindestens 88,7 m² groß. Das mit Mörtel gebundene Fundament der Westmauer besteht aus größtenteils quaderartig zurechtgeschlagenen und in Lagen verlegten Bruchsteinen. Von der durchschnittlich 0,9 m dicken Westmauer sind ein paar Lagen der "aufgehenden" Mauer mit innen weißem Verputz erhalten. Sie wurde im Süden an eine schon bestehende, leicht schräg Ost-West verlaufende Mauer angebaut, die noch weiter nach Westen zieht. Diese Mauer begrenzte zuvor eine freie Fläche westlich der Synagoge, die durch die Errichtung des Westraumes etwa um die Hälfte verkleinert wurde. Wir identifizieren diese freie Fläche mit dem historisch genannten Schulhof, doch dazu mehr bei der spätmittelalterlichen Bebauung der näheren Umgebung der Syna-

goge. Wo diese Ost-West verlaufende Mauer an die südwestliche Ecke des Südraumes anstößt, ist in den erhaltenen untersten Fundamentlagen die Baunaht noch gut erkennbar: die Ost-West verlaufende Mauer wurde also nachträglich an den Südraum der zweiten Phase angebaut. Südlich entlang der gesamten Süd-mauer der Synagoge, die in ihrem westlichen Teil nicht die gerade Flucht beibehält, sondern schräg einzieht, verläuft eine spätmittelalterliche Straße.

Die Nordmauer des Westraumes ist wegen des neuzeitlichen Neubaus des benachbarten Hauses nicht erhalten geblieben. Die aufgehende Westmauer des Nordraumes wurde bei der Errichtung des West- raumes abgebrochen und das verbleibende Funda- ment mit dem Mörtelstrichboden des Westraumes bedeckt. West- und Nordraum gehen also ineinander über und falls es eine Vorrichtung zur Trennung der Räume gab, so hat sie keine Spuren hinterlassen. Ausgenommen eine kleinflächige spätere Flickung im Norden, stoßen im Übergang zwischen den beiden Räumen der feine, feste Mörtelstrichboden des West- raumes und die Fliesen des Nordraumes auf gleichem Niveau in einer geraden Nord-Süd verlaufenden Linie direkt aneinander. Vermutlich war der West- raum durch eine quer, also West-Ost verlaufende Mauer in zwei unterschiedlich große Bereiche geteilt. Erhalten ist eine Lage Backsteine, die mit den Längs- seiten aneinander verlegt wurden. Daher ergibt sich nur die geringe Mauerstärke von ca. 0,3 m für diese Raumtrennung, die vom Mörtelstrichboden respek- tiert wird. Die Backsteinmauer reichte im Osten bis zur Westmauer der Männerschul; ihren westlichen Teil haben moderne Einbauten zerstört.

In der Nordwestecke des Westraumes befand sich eine halbkreisförmige Treppe, die entlang der ver- mutlich ehemals hier verlaufenden Nordmauer ca. 1,8 m bis 1,9 m und entlang der Westmauer etwa 1,4 m lang war. Der Kern der Treppe bestand aus ausgeschüttetem Erdmaterial, auf das die zumindest vier Stufen aus plattigen Bruch- und Backsteinen aufgesetzt und anschließend nur senkrecht verputzt wurden. Auf der untersten Stufe der Treppe auf- liegend schließt, wie an der Südmauer des Nord- raumes, ein diesmal nur aus Backsteinen gemauerter und weiß verputzter Sockel, vermutlich eine Sitz- bank, an. Sie ist ca. 0,4 m hoch, 1,1 m lang und noch 0,3 m breit. Darauf folgt ein unverbaute Bereich von 0,4 m Länge, dann wieder eine diesmal 0,8 m lange und etwa gleich breite und hohe Sitzbank. Der Mör- telestrichboden befindet sich zwischen den Sitzbän- ken und respektiert sie, wurde also erst nach der Errichtung der Sitzbänke aufgebracht. Nach einem ca. 0,4 m langen, unbebauten Bereich fehlt der Mör- telestrichboden auf 1,4 m Länge, weil hier vermutlich eine dritte Sitzbank stand. Direkt hinter der Treppe

und den Sitzbänken verläuft heute die Baugrube des nördlich anschließenden Hauses. Die gerade beschrie- benen Befunde machen es wahrscheinlich, daß an dieser Stelle die Nordmauer des Westraumes verlief, was in etwa auch der Mauerflucht des Nordraumes entspricht, wie sie oben anhand des Fliesenbodens des Nordraumes besprochen wurde (siehe Phase 2). Wei- tere Hinweise auf eine Sitzbank stammen von der Südmauer des Westraumes, die innen weiß verputzt und an einer Stelle 0,9 m hoch erhalten ist. In ca. 0,15 m Abstand von der Mauer liegen in einer Linie drei Werksteine mit einer zum Inneren des Raumes hin fein gearbeiteten, hellbraun verputzten Schauseite. Dieser Befund kann wohl als Rest einer Sitzbank, die nachträglich an die bereits verputzte Mauer und auf den Mörtelstrichboden gesetzt wurde, angesprochen werden. Sie unterscheidet sich durch diese Tatsache und ihre Bauweise von allen übrigen Sitzbänken der Synagoge. Eine waagrechte Grenze zwischen zwei unterschiedlichen Verputzfarben an der Südmauer befindet sich ca. 0,4 m über dem Fußboden und gibt die Höhe der Sitzbank an.

Ob zwischen dem West- und dem Südraum die Westmauer des Südraumes als Trennmauer bestehen blieb oder ob sie wie beim Nordraum abgebrochen wurde, läßt sich wegen der weitgehenden Zerstörung dieses Bereiches durch den Einbau eines Abwasser- kanals zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts nicht mehr sagen.

Der Südraumes

Das Bodenniveau des Südraumes wurde wahrschein- lich in dieser Bauphase durch eine Planierschicht um ca. 0,25 m erhöht. Anschließend wurden auf einem Mörtelbett abwechselnd zur Gänze grün oder zur Gänze braun glasierte, quadratische Keramikfliesen mit 0,2 m Seitenlänge verlegt. In diesem Raum liegen die Fliesen parallel nebeneinander wie in der östli- chen Erweiterung des Nordraumes in der selben, drit- ten Bauphase. Im östlichsten Teil des Südraumes ändert sich dieses einfache Muster allerdings: Ähn- lich wie beim Fliesenboden des Nordraumes (siehe Phase 2) gehen die parallel gelegten Fliesen über eine Reihe dreieckiger Fliesen in um 45 Grad gedrehte, also "auf die Spitze" gestellte quadratische Fliesen über. Dieser aufwendiger gestaltete Bodenbelag, der nicht zur Gänze erhalten ist, hebt einen etwa 1 m mal 1,6 m großen Bereich nahe der Ausrißgrube der Süd- mauer des Südraumes hervor.

Der Fliesenboden reicht nicht bis zu den Ausriß- gruben der Mauerfundamente, so daß ein einheit- licher, ca. 0,3 m breiter Streifen entlang der Nord- und Südmauer freibleibt. Dieser Befund findet seine Entsprechung und Erklärung in der erhalten geblie- benen Sitzbank im Nordraum, an die ebenfalls der Fliesenboden anschließt. Der Südraum war also mit

zwei gemauerten, schmalen Sitzbänken entlang der Nord- und Südmauer ausgestattet. Eine derartige Interpretation ist entlang der Nordwand des Südraums als wahrscheinlich, entlang der Südwand aufgrund der geraden Abschlußkante der Bodenfliesen als sicher zu bezeichnen.

Der Südostraum

Anders als der Nordraum wurde der Südraum in dieser Bauphase nicht verlängert, sondern in dem neu in den Gebäudekomplex einbezogenen Bereich im Südosten ein eigener, kleiner Raum geschaffen. Von der Südmauer dieses Südostraumes ist nur stellenweise die unterste Lage des Fundamentes in Form plattiger Bruchsteine erhalten geblieben. Die Ostmauer dieses kleinen Raumes ist nur als Ausrißgrube nachweisbar. Diese Befunde weisen daraufhin, daß die Fundamente im Süden und Osten um 0,3 m dünner als die der Mauern im Westen und Norden waren. Bei der Errichtung des innen durchschnittlich 4 m mal 4 m großen Raumes wurden die zwei alten Strebpfeiler und die Südmauer der Männerschul abgebrochen und vom Fußboden überdeckt. Dieser Mörtelstrich lag etwa 0,6 m höher als der Boden der Männerschul und zwar etwa auf Straßenniveau. Wegen der fehlenden Mauer konnte man wahrscheinlich von dem Südostraum in die Männerschul, und zwar in den Ostteil mit dem Thoraschrein, sehen. Einige Pfostenlöcher könnten einen Hinweis auf ein Holzgitter darstellen, das die beiden Räume von einander trennte.

Nach dieser großen Ausbauphase wurden in den Räumen hauptsächlich nur noch kleinere Arbeiten ausgeführt:

Im südöstlichen Bereich der Männerschul wurde der Bodenbelag sehr unregelmäßig mit glasierten, quadratischen Keramikfliesen mit unterschiedlicher Seitenlänge (zwischen 0,17 m und 0,2 m) auf einem weißen, festen Mörtelbett geflickt. Vielleicht war dieses offensichtlich sorglos gelegte Stück Fliesenboden nicht sichtbar, sondern war von einem nicht erhaltenen Material bedeckt. Im nordöstlichen Bereich wurden quadratische Keramikfliesen mit 0,2 m Seitenlänge auf einem ebenfalls weißen, festen Mörtelbett unregelmäßig verlegt. Zwischen den Fliesen steckte eine große, sorgfältig bearbeitete Steinplatte von 0,56 m Länge senkrecht im Boden: ihre 0,05-0,06 m starke Schmalseite lag auf dem selben Niveau wie die Keramikfliesen und war von dem gleichen weißen Mörtel bedeckt. Die Steinplatte ragte durchschnittlich 0,25 m – die älteren Schichten schneidend – in die Tiefe. Der Grund für ihre Anbringung ist bisher unklar. Es läßt sich allerdings nicht mit Sicherheit sagen, ob die Keramikfliesen im Sinne von Ausbes-

serungen tatsächlich den letzten baulichen Veränderungen in der Synagoge zugeordnet werden können, da in der dritten Bauphase im Osten der Männerschul die Einordnung der unterschiedlichen Böden schwierig ist, da isoliert kleine Flächen erhalten sind.

Im Westraum wurde der bestehende Mörtelstrichboden mit sehr ähnlichem Material an mehreren Stellen ausgebessert. Auch im Übergang der Böden von West- und Nordraum fand sich über dem Mörtelstrichboden des Westraumes und über dem Fliesenboden des Nordraumes eine in diesem Fall rosa Mörtelschicht, die wir als Ausbesserung der allerletzten Phase ansprechen.

Spärliche Reste weisen darauf hin, daß der Südostraum einen um mindestens 0,2 m erhöhten Boden aus plattenartigen Steinen erhielt. Es könnte sein, daß das zugleich mit der Aufstockung des Bodens der Männerschul, der Bima und des Podestes vor dem Thoraschrein erfolgt ist.

Zusammenfassung der Bauphasen

Spätestens Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts entsteht ein einschiffiger, rechteckiger Bau, der bis zum Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts in drei großen Bauphasen erweitert wird (siehe Abb. 2). Eine auch nur ungefähre chronologische Eingrenzung dieser drei Phasen ist beim derzeitigen Stand der Aufarbeitung noch nicht möglich. Das Erkennen der Phasen basiert allein auf der Beobachtung der stratigraphischen Abfolge der Befunde; eine Verknüpfung der Befunde mit dem Fundmaterial steht noch aus. Die eindeutige Zuordnung unterschiedlicher Bodenniveaus zu den Bauphasen ist nur möglich, wenn ein Raum und damit der dazugehörige Boden erst in der letzten Bauphase entsteht oder ein neu eingebrachter Boden sich nachweislich an die durch Umbauten entstandenen neuen Grenzen eines Raumes hält. Die Zuordnung der Böden zu einzelnen Phasen ist schwierig, wenn ein Raum durch mehrere Bauphasen in seinen Dimensionen unverändert bleibt, aber mehrere Bodenniveaus innerhalb dieses Raumes nachgewiesen sind – so etwa im Südraum; oder wenn nur partiell kleinflächige Reste von Böden oder Bodenausbesserungen erhalten sind – so im östlichen Teil der Männerschul.

Die Funktion und Benennung der einzelnen Räume ist beim derzeitigen Forschungsstand nicht eindeutig – mit einer Ausnahme: der zentrale rechteckige und älteste Raum läßt sich anhand der sakralen Innenausstattung der zweiten und dritten Phase (Thoraschrein, Bima) sicher als Männerschul ansprechen. An diesen ältesten Bau werden sowohl im Norden als auch im Süden zwei schmälere Räume angebaut. Es kann derzeit nicht gesagt werden, ob

schon die Grundkonzeption des Baues diese zwei Anbauten vorsah.

In der zweiten Phase erfordert die Umgestaltung der Männerschul in einen zweischiffigen Raum und das Einziehen eines Kreuzgewölbes in diesem Raum einige Umbauten: im Inneren des Raumes werden zwei Pfeiler errichtet und an den Außenseiten des Gebäudes werden nachweislich zwei, maximal fünf Strebepfeiler (zwei an der Südostecke und drei an der Westwand) angebaut. Die Männerschul und der Nordraum werden nach Osten und nach Westen verlängert. Der Südraum dagegen wird nur nach Westen erweitert. Somit besitzen die drei Räume einen gemeinsamen Westabschluß, aber keinen gleichen Ostabschluß.

In der letzten großen, der dritten Bauphase wird der gesamte Bau nach Osten verlängert: Männerschul und Nordraum erfahren eine Erweiterung und östlich an den Südraum anschließend wird ein neuer, kleinerer, zur Männerschul offener Raum geschaffen. Durch diesen Ausbau erhält das Gebäude wieder einen einheitlichen, obgleich nun aber schrägen, Abschluß im Osten. Im Westen wird an den Gebäudekomplex ein großer, zu den übrigen Räumen quergestellter Raum angebaut.

Pogrom und Zerstörung der Synagoge

Über den Ablauf des Pogroms in den Jahren 1420 und 1421 berichtet die "Wiener Geserah", eine zeitgenössische Schriftquelle, und sie schildert auch lebhaft zwei Ereignisse, die in der Synagoge stattfanden. Als Herzog Albrecht V. befahl, alle jüdischen Kinder gefangen zu nehmen und zu taufen, beschloß die Gemeinde, "daß sie sich wollten umbringen ... und warfen das Los, wer es tun sollte, so fiel es auf einen Frommen, Rabbi Jonah (Rabbi Jonah ha-Kohen). Es war Laubhüttenfest (28. September 1420), so stellt sich der Rabbiner vor den Thoraschrein, und die ganze Gemeinde ... wurde getötet vor dem Thoraschrein in der manen schul (Männerschul). Auch die ... Frauen in ihrer Schul töteten sich ...; eine Frau blieb über, und bittet den Rabbi Jonah er soll sie töten durch das Fenster der frauen schul (Frauensschul). ... der Rabbi Jonah ... nahm alle stender (Betpulte) der Schul, legt sie übereinander, und goß all das Öl darauf, ... und setzt sich auf den Altar (Bima?) und zündet ihn unten an. Wie das Feuer anging, tötet er sich selbst." Am Morgen stieg der Mob auf das Dach der Synagoge und sah unten die Toten liegen. Später ließ der Herzog über hundert Jünglinge und Mädchen in der Synagoge einsperren und aushungern. Da sie sich der Taufe widersetzen, beschloß er, sie zu verkaufen. "Da sammelten sich viele Händler, die ...

Kinder wurden es gewahr und hielten die Türe der Schul zu, bis die Feinde mußten sie mit Gewalt aufbrechen, ..." ⁴ Der später erfolgte Abriß der Synagoge ist uns durch den Beschluß der Wiener Universität vom Dezember 1421, das Steinmaterial der Synagoge für den Ausbau der Universität zu verwenden, auch historisch belegt ⁵.

Das Pogrom von 1420/21 und die anschließende Schleifung der Synagoge haben vielfältige archäologische Spuren hinterlassen:

Der schlechte Erhaltungszustand der Bima ist wohl der augenscheinlichste Beleg dieser Zerstörungen: die Fliesen zeigen Einwirkungen von Hitze und sind in kleine Stücke zersplittert, abgestürzte Teile haben zahlreiche Einschlaglöcher hinterlassen und die Fliesen sind von einer dünnen Aschenschicht überzogen. Eine dünne Aschenschicht liegt auch direkt auf den Fußböden des Nord- und Westraumes und auf dem Podest vor dem Thoraschrein. Sie findet sich auch auf der Treppe im Westraum und den Sitzbänken im Nordraum.

Zwei große Objekte aus Backstein lagen noch im Verband auf einer Schuttschicht innerhalb des Westraumes vor der Südmauer. Diese großflächig weiß verputzten Bauteile lassen sich aufgrund ihrer inneren Struktur (hochkant gestellte Backsteine) und ihrer Form als gestürzte Gewölbeteile oder Teile eines Tür- oder Fensterbogens ansprechen. Daneben befand sich direkt auf dem Mörtelstrichboden ein sorgfältig behauener Quader mit etwa 0,4 m Seitenlänge. Dieser Stein ist aber mit Sicherheit nicht abgestürzt, denn der Boden würde bei einem Objekt dieses Gewichtes Zerstörungen aufweisen, sondern er wurde aus unbekannten Gründen beim Abtragen der Synagoge nach dem Pogrom hier abgestellt und liegen gelassen.

Wie schon zu Beginn erwähnt, wurden bei der Zerstörung der Synagoge die aufgehenden Gebäudeteile fast vollständig abgetragen und auch ein großer Teil der Fundamente ausgerissen. Die dabei entstandenen Ausrißgruben wurden mit jenem eben erwähnten lockeren, mörteligen Schutt aufgefüllt, der beim Abbruch entstand. Die selbe Schuttschicht lag durchschnittlich 0,4 m (maximal 0,6 m) dick über den letzten Böden und den Resten der Innenausstattung

⁴ I. SCHWARZ, *Das Wiener Ghetto. Seine Häuser und seine Bewohner, 1. Band, Das Judenviertel in der Inneren Stadt bis zu seiner Aufhebung im Jahre 1421*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutsch-Österreich 2. Band, Wien/Leipzig, 1909.

⁵ K. LOHRMANN, *Juden im mittelalterlichen Wien, Veröffentlichungen des Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchivs Reihe B, Heft 41*, 1994.

aller Räume bzw. auf der oben erwähnten, stellenweise vorhandenen, dünnen Aschenschicht. In dem Schutt, der die Männerschul bedeckte, fanden sich einige steinerne Architekturfragmente, die vermutlich auch in diesem Raum angebracht waren. Die rot bemalten, viereckigen Säulenbasen und runden Säulchen wurden schon bei der letzten Erneuerungsphase der Bima vorgestellt (siehe Phase 3). Ein mehrfach profiliertes Bruchstück diente ehemals als Gewände der Verkleidung einer Nische. Das Bruchstück eines Knospenkapitells datiert in das 13. Jahrhundert. Im Laufe seiner Verwendung wurde es verputzt und rot übermalt. In der Schuttschicht wurden auch kleine Stücke roten und weißen Verputzes gefunden. Das zeigt, daß die Männerschul zumindest zuletzt innen auch rot dekoriert war, während für die anderen Räume nur weißer Verputz nachgewiesen ist.

In der Schuttschicht fehlten fast vollständig die Bruchstücke von Dachziegeln. Da angenommen werden kann, daß zumindest das Dach der repräsentativen Männerschul, deren architektonische Details für einen hohen, eingewölbten Raum sprechen, mit Dachziegeln gedeckt war, müssen sie vor dem Abbruch entfernt worden sein. Das und die gefundenen Ascheschichten sprechen für ein oder mehrere, eventuell partielle Brände, aber keinesfalls für ein komplettes Abbrennen des Gebäudekomplexes.

Da die Synagoge tiefer als das umgebende Staßenniveau gelegen war, reichte der lockere, mörtelige Schutt, der beim Abbruch der Synagoge entstand, nicht aus, um ein einheitliches, neues Niveau zu schaffen. Deshalb wurde auf den Schutt eine große Menge Abfälle gekippt, die die oft großen Unebenheiten ausglich. Es entstand eine Schicht mit besonders charakteristischem Aussehen: das dunkelbraune Material war von Holzkohlestückchen durchsetzt und enthielt eine sehr große Anzahl spätmittelalterlicher Keramikbruchstücke und Tierknochen. Die darüberliegende gestampfte Schicht beinhaltete Schutt und Reste von Baumaterial. Das eigentliche Pflaster des ab dann als Platz genutzten Geländes wurde nicht angetroffen.

Wie weiter unten noch kurz beschrieben wird, haben die Ausgrabungen auch die neue Erkenntnis gebracht, daß die östliche Hälfte des heutigen Judenplatzes während des Bestehens des spätmittelalterlichen Ghettos dicht verbaut war. Wahrscheinlich ebenfalls kurz nach dem Pogrom von 1420/21 wurde der gesamte östlich der Synagoge gelegene Häuserblock geschliffen und so wurde es möglich, einen

großen freien Platz zu schaffen, der zuerst "Neuer Platz in der Judengassen" und ab 1434 "Judenplatz" hieß. Noch 1547 wurden sowohl "Judenplatz" als auch "Schulhof" zur Bezeichnung dieses Platzes verwendet; erst danach wird "Judenplatz" die alleinige Bezeichnung dieses Ortes.⁶

Die spätmittelalterliche Bebauung der näheren Umgebung der Synagoge

Das Aufbringen eines neuen Oberflächenbelages im Sommer und Herbst 1996 erforderte das großflächige Entfernen der rezenten und neuzeitlichen sowie teilweise der jüngsten spätmittelalterlichen Schichten insbesondere in der östlichen Hälfte des Platzes. Die Neuverlegung sämtlicher moderner Leitungen und Kabel machte von archäologischer Seite die Beobachtung und Dokumentation tieferer und zerstörender Eingriffe in die archäologischen Schichten nötig. Bei diesen Arbeiten wurden vor allem die Oberkanten von abgebrochenen, spätmittelalterlichen Bruchsteinmauern mit 0,8 m bis 1 m Stärke freigelegt. An wenigen Stellen konnten diese Reste eines ganzen Häuserblockes genauer untersucht werden (siehe Abb. 1). Bei einem mit Steinmauern verkleideten Brunnen sind die oberen 2 m viereckig und die folgenden 12,6 m rund ausgebildet. Seine Sohle wurde nach einer abschließenden Lage Eichenstämme in 14,75 m Tiefe (das ist 1,42 m über Wiener Null) erreicht. Zumindest zwei Keller konnten festgestellt und davon einer teilweise vom verfüllenden Schutt befreit werden. Die gefundene Keramik zeigt, daß der Häuserblock zur Zeit der Synagoge stand und noch im Spätmittelalter abgerissen wurde.

Von der Ausgrabung wissen wir, daß die Häuser nördlich der Synagoge im Spätmittelalter nicht so weit nach Süden reichten, wie das jetzt der Fall ist. Die heute bestehenden Häuser rund um den Judenplatz sind in ihrer Bausubstanz nicht untersucht⁷. Die neu aufgefundenen spätmittelalterlichen Mauern sprechen dafür, daß die neuen Häuser die mittelalterlichen Baufluchten im großen und ganzen beibehalten haben. Eine Ausnahme stellt wahrscheinlich das Haus südlich der Synagoge dar. Eine nur etwa 6 m von der Synagoge entfernte Ost-West verlaufende Mauer weist darauf hin, daß dieses Haus ursprünglich viel weiter nach Norden reichte. Das Umfeld der Synagoge war also ziemlich dicht verbaut.

⁶ R. PERGER, *Strassen, Türme und Basteien. Das Straßennetz der Wiener City in seiner Entwicklung und seinen Namen. Ein Handbuch*, Wien, 1991, 71.

⁷ Im November 1996 wurde von der Stadtarchäologie eine archäologische Bauforschung in dem angrenzenden Haus Judenplatz Nr. 8 begonnen.

Die einzige größere, freie Fläche war der im Jahr 1294 schriftlich erwähnte Schulhof der Synagoge⁸. Wie wir jetzt wissen, befand er sich westlich der Synagoge und wurde bei ihrer Vergrößerung nach Westen etwa um die Hälfte verkleinert. Seine Form zeichnet sich noch heute in der freien Fläche vor Haus Nr. 8, die die Regelmäßigkeit des Platzes durchbricht, ab. Der bedeutendste spätmittelalterliche Befund aus diesem Bereich, der sonst durch Aufschüttungen und Laufhorizonte gekennzeichnet ist, ist eine durchschnittlich 2,5 m breite und fast 6 m tiefe Grube (die Unterkante wurde bei 11,2 m über Wiener Null angetroffen), die für verschiedene, bisher ungeklärte Zwecke verwendet wurde. Eine homogene Oberfläche, im Sinne einer einheitlichen Pflasterung, konnte im Bereich des Schulhofes nicht nachgewiesen werden; nur stellenweise konnte eine schottrige, gehärtete Oberfläche identifiziert werden. Die Laufhorizonte wurden aber ebenso von einplanierem Müll und mehr oder weniger ebenen Planierschichten gebildet. Die Oberfläche des Schulhofes war weniger gut befestigt als die spätmittelalterlichen Straßen.

Zwei Straßen des Spätmittelalters konnten stellenweise untersucht werden (siehe Abb. 1). Die eine bestand kontinuierlich seit dem Hochmittelalter, wie zu Anfang bei der hochmittelalterlichen Bebauung vor Errichtung der Synagoge schon berichtet wurde. Sie führte zwischen der Ostmauer der Synagoge und dem damals gegenüberliegenden Häuserblock von Norden nach Süden und verband ehemals die heutige Fütterer- mit der Parisergasse. Die Straße war in ihrer jüngsten spätmittelalterlichen Phase 5,6 m breit. Von dieser Straße zweigte, ohne sie zu kreuzen, im rechten Winkel eine Straße ab und führte entlang der Südseite der Synagoge. Der 2,9 m breite, nördliche Bereich dieser Ost-West verlaufenden Straße konnte untersucht werden; vermutlich reichte sie aber bis zu der etwa parallel zur Südmauer der Synagoge liegenden Steinmauer, war also etwa 6 m breit. Beide spätmittelalterlichen Straßen wurden mehrmals mit sehr ähnlichem schottrigem Material gepflastert und ausgebessert. Nur an einer Stelle, nahe der Südostecke der Synagoge, wurde eine sehr kleine Fläche eines hochwertigeren Pflasters aus kleinen Kieselsteinen, größeren Steinbrocken und Ziegelbruchstücken angetroffen. Die jüngste Straßenbefestigung bestand aus einem orangefarbenen Schottermaterial.

Historischer Abriß zum spätmittelalterlichen Ghetto

Anlaß und Zeitpunkt der Entstehung des Ghettos rund um den heutigen Judenplatz sind historisch nicht überliefert. Von den Historikern wird angenommen, daß das Ghetto in der 2. Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts nach der Errichtung der neuen Burg im Südwesten der Stadt planmäßig eingerichtet wurde, als die Gegend um die aufgelassene Burg (Am Hof) frei für eine neue Verwendung war. Jedenfalls muß im Jahr 1294 die Synagoge schon gestanden sein, da in diesem Jahr ihr Schulhof schriftlich erwähnt wird (siehe oben).

Im 14. Jahrhundert, vor allem in den sechziger Jahren, wuchs die jüdische Gemeinde durch Zuwanderung stark an und umfaßte schließlich bis zu 800 Personen. Die etwa 60 Häuser des Ghettos⁹ waren von der übrigen Stadt abgegrenzt, indem sie sich nur zu den Gassen innerhalb des Ghettos öffneten. Einige Mauern und Tore, die in der Nacht geschlossen wurden, grenzten das Ghetto zusätzlich ab. Neben verschiedenen Geschäften sind durch historische Quellen mehrere Bäder, ein Fleischhof und das Spital, das nördlich des Schulhofes lag, nachgewiesen. Die jüdische Gemeinde war im 14. Jahrhundert nicht nur wirtschaftlich potent, sondern war wegen seiner Gelehrten weithin berühmt. Zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts verschlechterte sich die Situation der Wiener Juden deutlich: die habsburgische Herrschaft verlor ihr ökonomisch motiviertes Interesse an der jüdischen Bevölkerung und nahm deshalb ihre Verpflichtung zum Schutz der Juden kaum noch wahr. Die Polemik von Seiten des christlichen Klerus tat ein übriges: nach einem Brand im Jahr 1406 wurde das Wiener Ghetto geplündert.

Unter dem Vorwand der Verbündung mit dem Feind, ein wie Wucherzinsen und Hostienschändung immer wieder herangezogenes antijüdisches Vorurteil, leitete zur Zeit der Hussitenkriege Herzog Albrecht V. am 23. Mai 1420 eine große Judenverfolgung ein. Dieses Pogrom hat ein Zeitzeuge in bewegender Weise in der "Wiener Geserah" schriftlich überliefert. Die armen Familien wurden auf ruderlosen Schiffen auf der Donau ausgesetzt, während die Reichen gefangengenommen, gefoltert und ihr Vermögen eingezogen wurde. Ein Teil der jüdischen Gemeinde beging wegen der drohenden Zwang-

⁸ Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien 1. Band, Regesten aus dem Archive des Cistercienserstiftes Heiligenkreuz. Ed. Benedict Gsell. Nr. 606 1294 IX 1: Pilgrim stiftet dem Kloster Heiligenkreuz einen Jahrtag für sich und seine verstorbene Frau Machthild, 122.

⁹ I. SCHWARZ, *Das Wiener Ghetto. Seine Häuser und seine Bewohner 1. Band: Das Judenviertel in der Inneren Stadt bis zu seiner Aufhebung im Jahre 1421*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutsch-Österreich 2. Band, Wien/Leipzig, 1909.

staufe am 28. September 1420 Massenselbstmord in der Synagoge (siehe auch oben bei: Pogrom und Zerstörung der Synagoge). Später wurden über hundert Jugendliche in der Synagoge eingesperrt, zwangsweise getauft und verkauft. Das Pogrom endete am 12. März 1421 mit der Verbrennung der verbliebenen über zweihundert Juden und Jüdinnen außerhalb der Stadt. Das Ghetto wurde aufgelöst: die enteigneten Häuser wurden verkauft, die Synagoge bis zu den Fundamenten abgerissen und das Steinmaterial für den Ausbau der Universität verwendet¹⁰.

Summary

The Late Medieval Synagogue in Vienna (13th to 15th Centuries)

by Paul Mitchell

Archaeological excavations began in Judenplatz (Jews' Square) in July 1995, as part of plans to erect a Holocaust-Memorial. After the ruins of Vienna's medieval synagogue were discovered, the town council decided to excavate the entire complex and incorporate the excavations in a subterranean exhibition space. At the time of writing the excavation is still continuing and therefore this report is necessarily provisional and limited to the synagogue, with other medieval contexts mentioned only briefly and the Roman period completely ignored.

A street ran roughly north-south through the area from at least the twelfth century until the destruction of the ghetto and the creation of the square thereafter. Along this road and for a great depth behind it were wooden houses built with vertical posts or in beam-slot fashion. These buildings were demolished in the thirteenth century, partly to make way for the synagogue, partly to be replaced by houses in stone.

The synagogue is first mentioned in written records in 1294 and was demolished following the pogrom of 1420-21. Sewers and a neighbouring house have since destroyed parts of the remains. It is possible to deal with the development of the synagogue in three rough phases (Fig. 2).

The first *Männerschul* (or *Mens' Synagogue*) was a rectangular building of 12,15 m x 9,4 m. It was a sunken building with a mortar floor supported by a layer of stones. No traces remain of the internal wooden architecture of this phase (the distinctive *Bima* and *Ark*). Two other rooms of the same length

were built to the north and the south of the *Männerschul* either at the same time or shortly afterwards. The northern room was at least 3,6 m wide with a simple mortar bed remaining at floor level, the southern room was 2,4 m wide with a floor similar to that of the *Männerschul*. The foundations of the *Männerschul* were without mortar, those of the southern room partly so.

In a second main phase the *Männerschul* was extended 3,4 m to the west and 3,4 m to the east, its new inside measurements being 16,4 m x 7,6 m. The new foundations were built with mortar and roughly hewn stone, while the floor was extended with a layer of mortar, perhaps as the basis for tiles. Two buttresses were built on at the southeast corner of the *Männerschul*, the position of other buttresses is less clear. The buttresses helped to support vaulting, now added through the construction of two columns, which divided the *Männerschul* into two symmetrical halves. The *Männerschul* would have risen high above the surrounding rooms. Against the east wall was the roughly square foundation of the platform in front of the *Ark* (Aron ha-Kodesch), while in the eastern centre of the room, connected to the foundations of the easterly column, is the oval rubble foundation of the *Bima* (or speakers' podium). Both neighbouring rooms were enlarged in this second period, the northern room parallel to the *Männerschul*, the southern room only to the west. In the northern room a bench was built against the south wall, mostly in brick, while the floor consisted of square tiles arranged to form three rectangular panels of diamonds (Fig. 3). The complex now measured circa 18,4 m by at least 17,6 m.

A third main phase brought further extensive developments. The complex was extended eastwards to conform exactly to the line of the older road, where a wall may already have stood. Before or during this extension the oval *Bima* was replaced by a hexagonal version, with sides 2 m long. The walls of the hexagon formed a hollow object filled with earth, a layer of mortar remains from the surface of the platform. The *Männerschul* acquired a new platform in front of the *Ark* against the east wall, filled with earth and flanked with stone. At some point after the construction of the new *Bima* the floor of the *Männerschul* was raised around 0,2 m, presumably to keep pace with the rising level of the streets outside. The western end of the new floor was now covered in square, green-glazed tiles, with sides 0,43 m long, while the eastern end, now or later, acquired a chaotic covering of differently-sized tiles, perhaps as a basis for something else. The *Bima* was raised to keep pace with the floor and covered with glazed rhombic, square and triangular tiles forming a geometric pat-

¹⁰ K. LOHRMANN, *Juden im mittelalterlichen Wien*, Veröffentlichungen des Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchivs, Reihe B, Heft 41, 1994.

tern (see illustration Nr. 4). A deep posthole probably provided support for a lectern. The remaining stones of the Bima and architectural fragments found in the rubble indicate that round columns with a diameter of around 0,34 m supported a baldachin, while smaller columns formed a balustrade around the edge of the structure. The floor of the northern room was extended eastwards with smaller tiles in this third phase, while a further bench was built against the east wall. The southern room was not enlarged, although benches now lined the southern and possibly the northern walls, and coloured tiles were laid in a simple parallel fashion. Instead a new room was built in the south-east corner, measuring internally 4 m x 4 m. The wall and buttress dividing this room from the Mönnerschul were demolished and covered by a new mortar floor at street level. The two rooms may still have been separated by a wooden screen.

A room was also added across the entire width of the building at the western end of the complex around this time, apparently divided by a brick wall into two irregular parts. The southern wall of this room had existed prior to this phase; as a boundary wall cordoning off the Schulhof (or synagogue courtyard) now known to lie westwards of the complex. The new room had internal measurements of 15,3 m x 5,8 m. The floor of the west room was of hard mortar and now covered the line of the former west wall of the north room. A semi-circular staircase was built at the north-west corner of the complex, the only entrance definitely established. Accompanying the staircase was a bench in three parts along the north wall. Plaster suggests that the Mönnerschul was painted red and white, the other rooms simply in white. The

synagogue complex was now between 26,6 m and 28 m long and at least 17,6 m wide, making it one of the largest known in Europe (see illustration Nr. 1). Apart from the Mönnerschul no room can be definitely identified. One part of the neighbouring rooms was the Frauenschul (or Womens' Synagogue), another the entrance hall.

After the third phase no major structural changes took place. After a fire the platform before the Ark was raised and covered with a brick surface. In the south-east room the floor was raised 0,2 m. (These two developments may have taken place parallel to the raising of the floor in the Mönnerschul). In the western and northern rooms the floor was repaired and a new bench built onto the south wall of the west room.

The pogrom and the demolition of the synagogue have left deep traces. A layer of ash was found at several places and the Bima was particularly badly damaged by heat. Deep holes were left by falling fragments of the walls and vaulting, but few or no roof tiles were found, suggesting their systematic removal. The walls were largely flattened to floor level and the foundations partly ripped out. The hole left by the sunken building was filled with rubble and rubbish.

The synagogue was the centre of a densely-built district, as rescue archaeology during the laying of a new surface of the square demonstrated. Long-forgotten stone houses stood on the other side of two streets, which flanked the synagogue to the east and the south. The excavation has not only revealed the architectural history of the synagogue, but also redrawn the map of the medieval ghetto.

Heidrun Helgert
Heiligenstädter Str. 12/22
1090 Wien
Österreich

Mary Alexander

A possible Synagogue in Guildford

Guildford is the county town of Surrey, in the south-east of England, about 30 miles south-west of London. It was an important town from at least the 10th c., having a mint from c.975-9, and a planned extension to the town, probably also of 10th c. date, added to a much smaller early nucleus. From soon after 1066 it had a royal castle and was the centre for royal administration in the county, with the sheriff based at the castle.

Surrey was a fairly poor county, with no important noble families based in it. Although the Warennes and de Clares had castles there the families both died out in the first half of the 14th c. These facts, combined with the proximity of London, probably explain why Guildford remained a rather small market town until the 19th c. and the coming of the railway, unlike many other county towns such as Chichester and Winchester in the south. London, being one day's journey away, could provide the specialised services and amenities that might otherwise have developed in the county town.

Guildford consisted of a single street running up from the river crossing, marked by a ford and a bridge, over the chalk ridge of the North Downs and on to London. The houses and churches on the High Street were enclosed within a boundary ditch running parallel to the High Street to north and south.

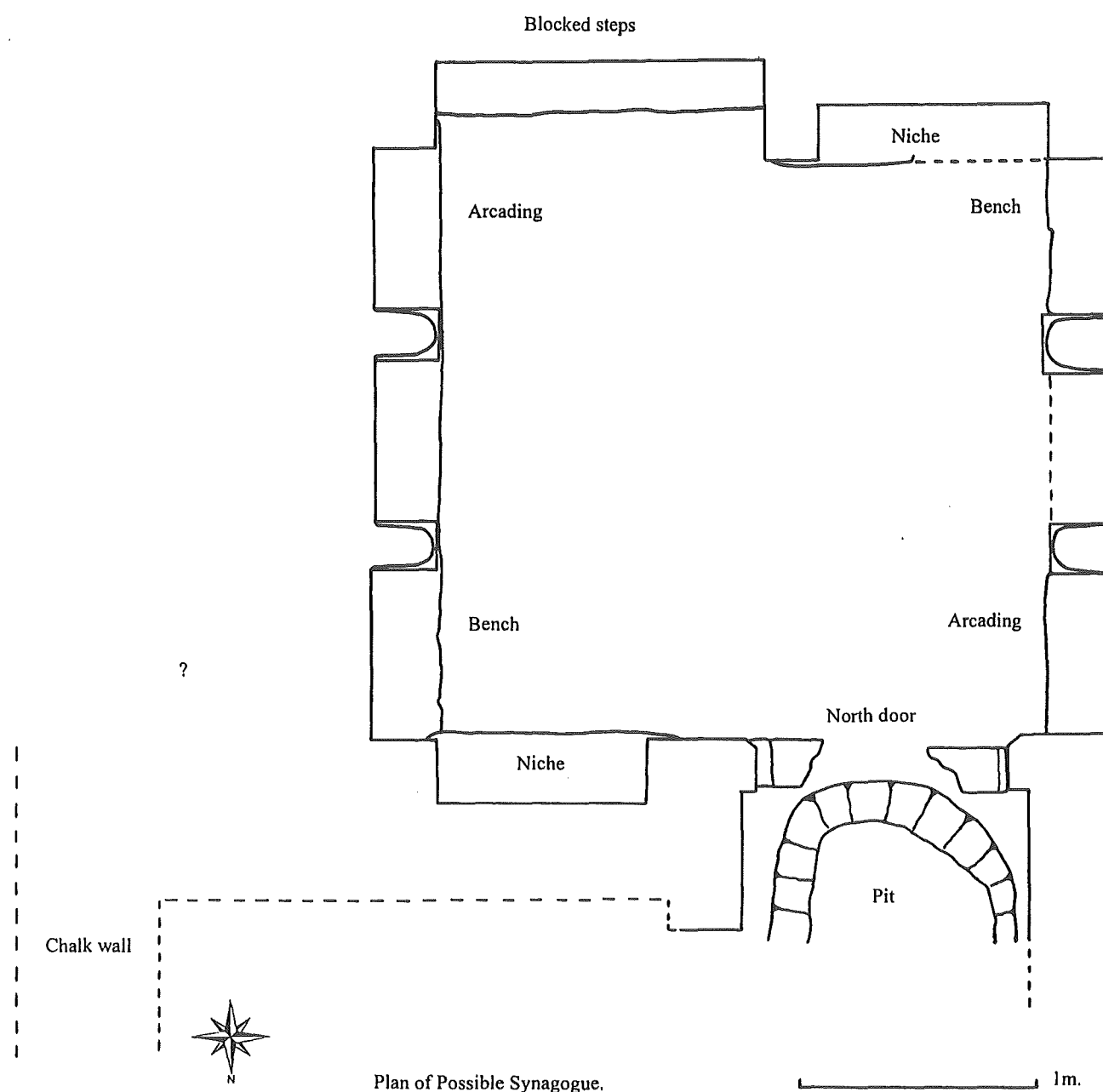
The building which may have been a medieval synagogue is behind a property on the High Street, on the south side, not far from the castle. The property on the High Street, no.50, has been rebuilt at least twice, the second time being in the late 19th or early 20th c. However, a thick chalk wall, about 6 feet thick (nearly 2 m.) remains on the east side of the cellar. Part of it is faced with brick and much of it is covered with boarding at present but it is likely that the chalk wall continues back into the property for some distance. Guildford is built on chalk, which has been used for building since at least late Saxon times. Chalk does not survive well out-of-doors and most of the chalk walls which remain in Guildford are in cellars. No medieval domestic buildings of chalk, or any other stone, survive in Guildford above ground

level and it is generally assumed that the houses above cellar or undercroft level were timber-framed. Timber was (and still is) plentiful in Surrey. However, most of the remains of Guildford Castle are of chalk and the excavated remains of the Dominican Friary were of chalk and flint. Of the three town churches, only St.Mary's survives in its medieval form. Its exterior walls are of flint rubble, except for the chancel which is partly of chalk. Holy Trinity has a late medieval chapel of chalk and flint chequer work and St.Nicholas has one of flint. The interior of St.Mary's is of chalk. A drawing of the remains of the leper hospital in 1791 shows a stone building and a drawing by the same artist of a building demolished in 1800 also shows a stone building – the only one which might have been domestic.

However, there are three complete 13th c. undercrofts along the High Street, and traces of several others, all built of chalk. As the buildings above them have all been rebuilt it is impossible to say what they were made of. They may have been of timber, with infilling of wattle and daub, but the surviving traces of royal and ecclesiastical chalk buildings above ground show that it is not impossible that domestic buildings were built of stone in Guildford, though it was probably rare. The thick chalk wall at the site in question certainly indicates a substantial building.

The present building has a modern shop front, with an undistinguished brick facade above. Photographs show that the brick facade, at least, was rebuilt in the later 19th c. or early 20th c. It has not, unfortunately, been possible to date it more closely. Although the rest of the building was altered or rebuilt at about that date the roof may preserve 17th c. timbers, in which case there have been least three rebuildings since the Middle Ages.

The possible synagogue was discovered when the owners of the building wanted to redevelop it with the next-door property on the east. This involved lowering floor levels and the architect (on the advice of Guildford Borough Council's Planning Department) consulted Guildford Museum about the likelihood of archaeological deposits being disturbed by



High Street

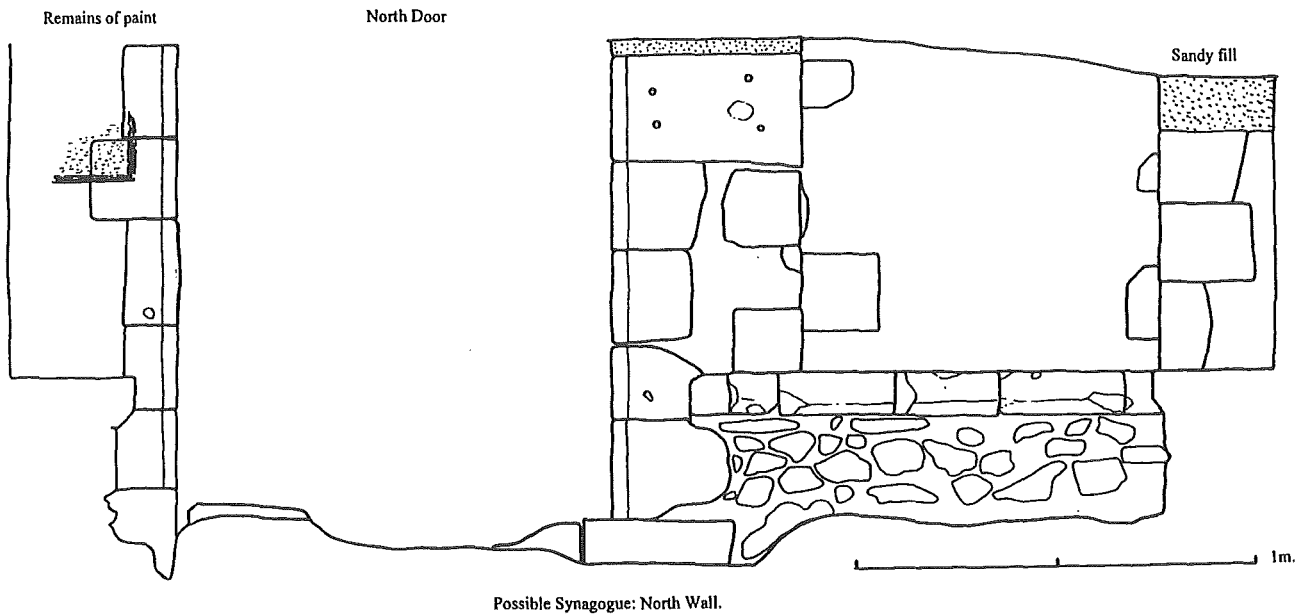


this. An investigation of the shop showed that there was a change in level 13.4 m. (44 feet) from the High Street, with a flight of five steps leading to a higher level, which continues for a further 9.75 m. (32 feet). This higher level is at ground level at the rear of the shop because the land rises to the south (behind the shop) and the east. The change in level may simply reflect terracing into the hillside, but there are other possible explanations. It is found in most shops along this side of the High Street and there is a tradition that a large chalk wall ran along here parallel with the street, but this needs more investigation¹.

The chalk wall in the cellar was an obvious indication of possible archaeological remains. Also, the

cellar is much shorter than the shop above – 9.14 m. (30 feet) as opposed to 23.17 m. (76 feet). Thirty feet is the normal length of an undercroft in Guildford and, indeed, a standard length for a medieval domestic hall. The cellar ends with a brick wall, no older than the mid 19th c. The east wall, as already described, is of chalk. The west wall is of even later brick than

¹ The site has been published briefly in the *Surrey Arch. Soc. Bulletin* 300, March/April 1996. The excavation on the site is not yet complete as the buildings above the medieval chamber are due to be demolished during 1997, and further investigations will take place. A popular leaflet is available at Guildford Museum and the site archive is also there.



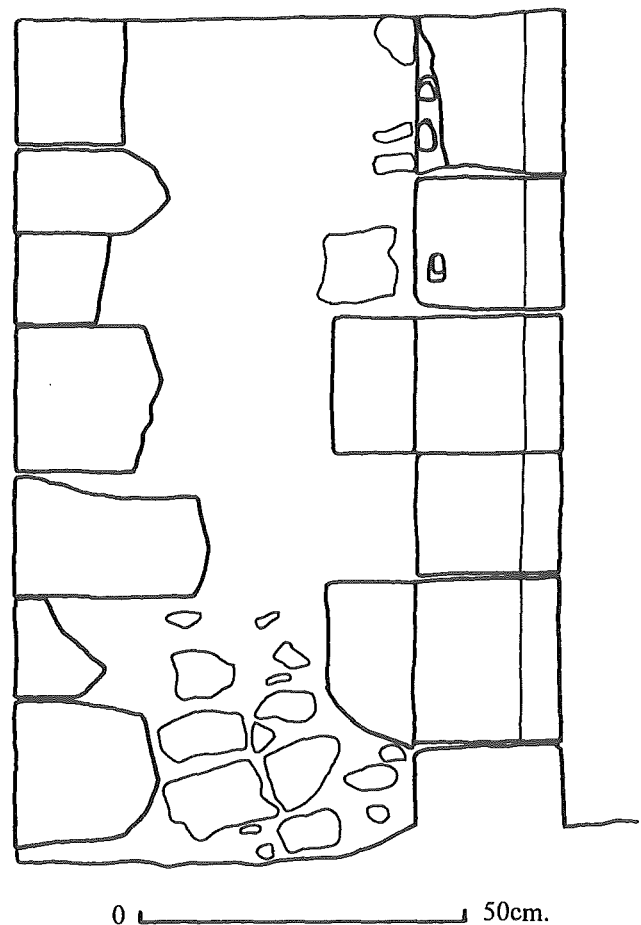
the south wall, and the north wall, along the High Street, is boarded over at present but the part showing above the boards is of concrete.

An old photograph shows that there was once a doorway directly from the street to the cellar, on the west side, exactly like the entrance to an undercroft. This doorway, and probably the entire front wall, has been rebuilt. All that survives of the doorway is a cellar light at pavement level. The whole front of the building has been changed since the photograph was taken in about 1870 and the cellar appears to have been altered more recently still so it is not clear when the door and its associated steps and walls were rebuilt.

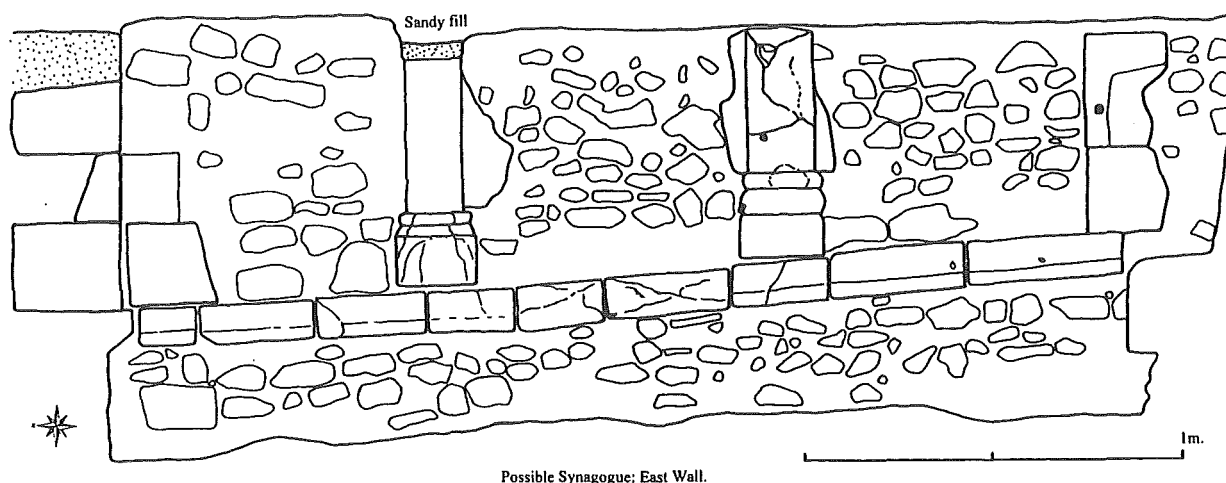
It was clear that there was an unexplained area beyond the cellar which was very likely to contain archaeological remains, but there was no access to it. It could not be approached from above as the shop had to continue to trade uninterrupted. On the west is a property in different ownership and on the east is the thick chalk wall, almost certainly medieval, and as it is a substantial party wall between two properties it could not be breached. That left the south wall, of fairly modern brick.

It was decided to make four small holes at intervals along this wall to try to find out what lay beyond. The holes were about 30 cm. by 20 cm., placed regularly along the wall. The two holes on the east revealed a chalk rubble and flint wall immediately behind the brick wall and apparently running parallel with it. The western hole revealed another chalk rubble wall, at right angles to the brick wall. The remaining hole revealed loose chalk rubble, with a dressed chalk wall on the east, running at right angles to the brick wall. It was clear that there were substantial remains behind the brick wall, and after much discussion it

was decided to enlarge the two western holes. This was done, making a hole in the brick wall about 150 cm. by 143 cm.



Possible Synagogue: East side of North Door.



Possible Synagogue: East Wall.

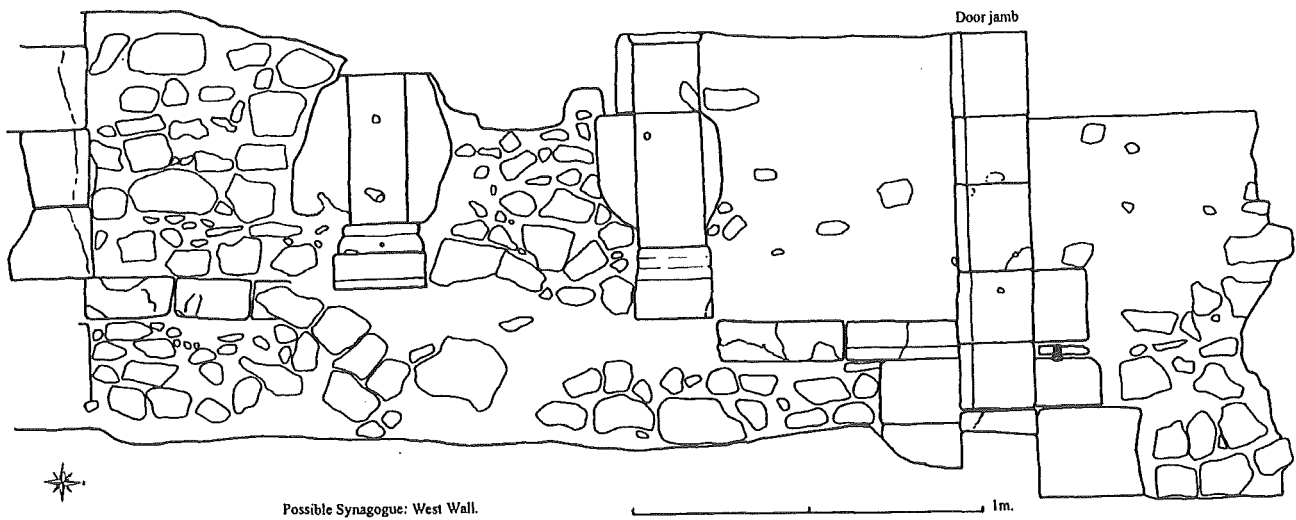
What was revealed, after careful excavation, was a short passage leading to the doorway of a room about 3.27 m. (10 feet) square. The passage was filled with loose chalk rubble with a dry sandy soil, as was the room beyond. When first discovered there was no indication of what was beyond the doorway so it had to be excavated to try to explain the hidden area beyond the cellar, and to see if it contained anything of archaeological importance. Without knowing what was there it would have been impossible to take it into account when drawing up the plans for rebuilding, or to protect it during demolition of the shop, or to investigate it if it was discovered at a later stage. The investigation never did find out what was under the raised area of the shop because the discovery of the stone chamber made it impossible to go further in that direction. However, the investigation proved that the site is of great importance, and the future development will have to take account of this.

The chamber was excavated by removing the loose rubble fill by hand. What remains is the lower 1.22 m. (4 feet) of a stone room. The door is on the north side at the west corner, and has well-cut chalk blocks forming the jambs, with narrow joints between them, and chamfers on the inner edge of the jambs. A stone bench or ledge runs around the room except where interrupted by the two doors. On the east and west walls are the remains of blind arcading – two U-sectioned columns placed equidistantly along the walls, with square-sectioned blocks at the corners. The upper part of the room was demolished above the top of the columns. Only a fragment of one capital remains – a simple rounded moulding around the top of the north-west column and a few traces of the capital above. It is difficult to see because of a concrete beam just in front, but it may have been part of the simple scallop moulding which is common in this area in Romanesque buildings. The bases of the columns are well-preserved and have been dated to about 1180. In the south wall, at the eastern corner,

diagonally opposite the north door, is another doorway, rather crudely blocked with chalk rubble in mortar. Half of this blocking was removed (after recording) to reveal stone steps going up. The quality of stonework seems to be lower than that of the room as a whole, and it seems likely that the stairs are a later insertion, but in the limited space available it was difficult to see enough stratigraphic evidence for the sequence of events. The steps end level with the demolished top of the wall, with some modern brickwork visible above.

Immediately above the medieval room is the brick rubble base of the floor of the modern shop. (This had to be supported with steel props as work proceeded.) This base had been laid on the medieval rubble infill and there were no signs of activity, or any artefacts, between the late 13th c. and the late 19th or early 20th c. when the brick rubble was laid down. The builders must have been aware of the rubble and the chalk walls, but they have left no record.

The room was apparently in good condition when it was demolished, except for the north-east column which was fractured at the base. The room was demolished deliberately, and all at one time – it did not fall into ruins gradually. The tip-lines in the section of the rubble showed that the rubble had been tipped in from the east side. It had been cut off at the same level all the way round, though on the west side this neat line has been disturbed by more recent rebuilding of the next door property. In places the line has been built up with sandy soil to keep it level. This may have been done at the time of demolition, or possibly when the brick rubble floor was laid over the medieval rubble. All of the chalk rubble was examined carefully as it was removed and any worked stones were kept. However, none of them were complete. Only a very small fraction of the rubble fill was of worked stone, and each piece had been broken. This suggests that the worked stones from the upper part had been removed for re-use elsewhere.



There would have been the capitals, the arches of the arcading, probably a string course above and perhaps the roof. The walls in between the columns, corners and doors are of chalk rubble, with some flint, and it seems to be largely the remains of rubble walls which were used as infill. The demolition was quick and efficient.

In among the rubble was some pottery and animal bones. The pottery dates to the 13th c. and is of typical local Surrey grey-brown sandy ware with nothing later than the end of the 13th c. The animal bones have been analysed, and are a fairly standard assemblage of domestic food bones, with a few others such as rat². As the pottery and bones are associated with the demolition they need not have any connection with the room itself or its function, but even if they do, they are not very informative. What they do prove is that the chamber was demolished in the later 13th c. as there are no later pottery sherds or artefacts at all. There was only one object directly associated with the chamber itself – a coin of Henry III (1216-72) minted between 1251 and 1272 and withdrawn from circulation in 1279³. The coin was in a crack in the stone ledge in the centre of the east wall, in a position which it would be difficult to achieve by chance.

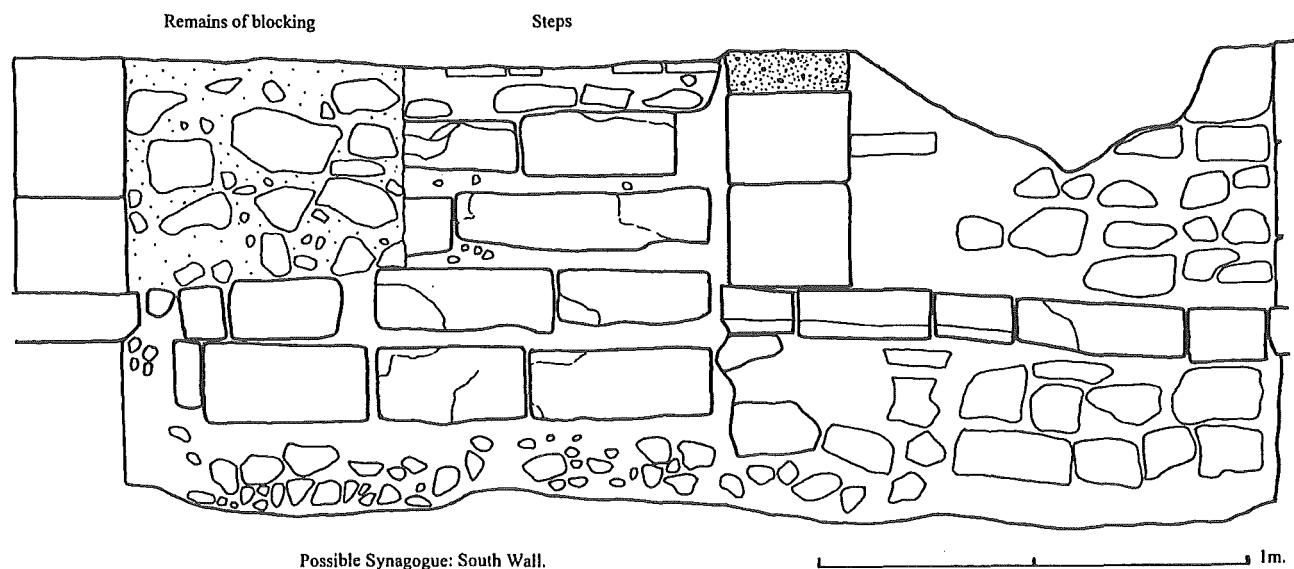
All the evidence points to the room having been deliberately demolished when it was about a hundred years old and in good condition. The demolition was done very carefully, to a particular line, which has been made up with sandy soil where a lower block has been removed. It is possible that this levelling is much more recent, but the impression is that it is contemporary with the demolition. The room then

seems to have been sealed over as if to erase any traces of it. This is odd, since it was done at a time when undercrofts were being built in Guildford, usually taken as a sign that there was pressure on retail space, and so one would expect all available spaces to be used. There was no sign of any structural problems with the chamber, and as it was only about a hundred years old one would expect it to be in reasonable condition. Guildford was a small town in the middle ages and there is likely to have been pressure for space in the 13th c. at least, when the town seems to have been flourishing.

It is possible that the chamber was built partly underground, and that it was demolished down to ground level outside and the remainder filled in with the demolition rubble. It is impossible to calculate the medieval ground level here at present. However, from the amount of rubble in the room (25 tons) and from a wooden reconstruction of the chamber it is possible to calculate an original height of about 3.8 m (12 feet 6 inches). The room was built at the back of a property on the High Street and was integral with it. The wall which was a continuation of the west side of the passage to the door and which was seen in the westernmost trial hole through the brick wall, obviously continued north towards the High Street, and probably formed the western wall of the property though it is a little narrower than the present cellar. On the east side of the passage to the door, the wall turns through a right angle along the south side of the cellar and presumably meets the chalk wall visible in the cellar. So it is clear that the little chamber was once a part of a larger building, though separated

² A. POWELL, *Medieval Animal Bones from a Possible Synagogue, Guildford*, Centre for Human Ecology, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, 1996.

³ The coin has been identified by Barrie Cook of the British Museum. It is a long cross penny, class 5c, of the moneyer Walter of London. It could not have been in circulation after 1280.



Possible Synagogue: South Wall.

from it by the short passage, 62 cm. long. Unfortunately there is almost nothing left of the medieval building which was on the High Street, but it is the right size and shape to have been an undercroft and had the characteristic door from the street. As the floor and ceiling of the cellar are very modern we are not even sure if they are at the medieval level. The little chamber is about a metre (3 feet) above the present cellar floor and appears to be on natural chalk – this can be seen below the stone threshold and below the walls of the passage. However, if the main room of the house on the High Street was at the same level it could not have been an undercroft as it would be only a short distance below ground. In front of the door to the little chamber is a circular pit. This could not be excavated below the present cellar floor level but it contained pottery of 13th c. date in its upper fill. It is difficult to interpret this pit at present. It may post-date the chamber since it is central to the passage, presumably because the passage already existed. It could hardly be contemporary with the chamber unless it was a space hollowed out for a wooden staircase. If the room between the chamber and the High Street had been an undercroft there ought to have been stairs in this position, but there is no sign of any.

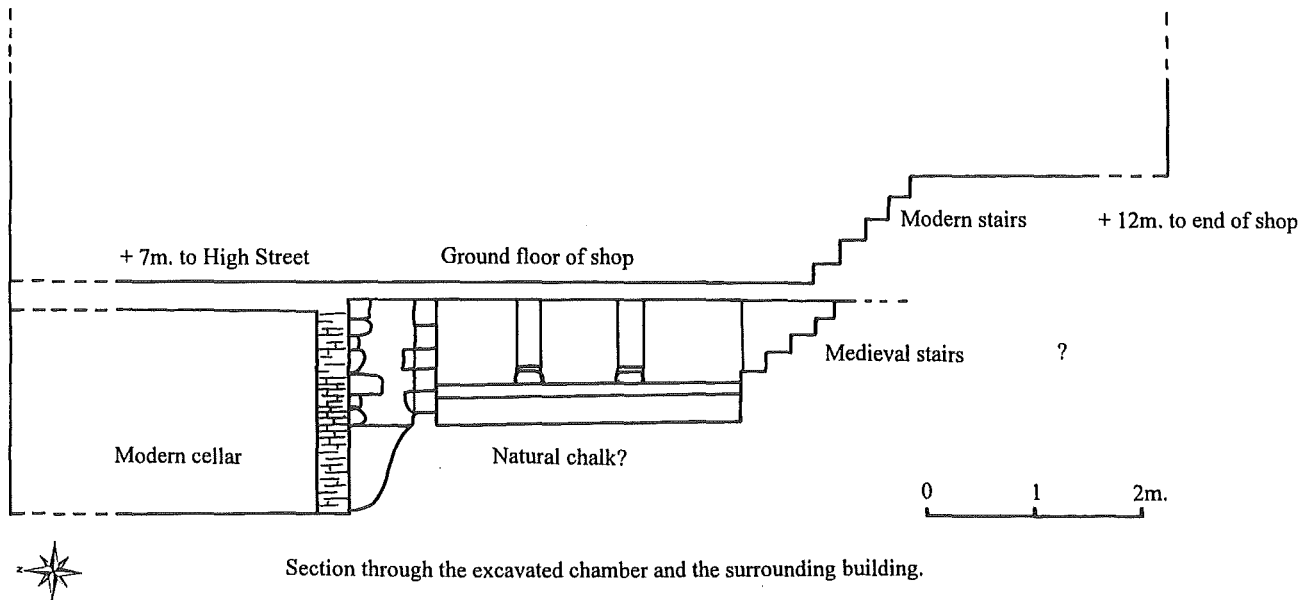
The door into the little chamber was wide, and had a stone threshold, which has broken and worn away in the middle – perhaps not surprisingly since chalk is soft. One of the iron pintles survives near the bottom of the door, which opened into the passage. The door has left a groove in the stone work caused when the door was opened. A further pindle was found in the rubble. The hinges were on the west side. On the east side are the remains of several holes for closing and bolting the door, both from the inside and the outside, showing that security was important.

The rubble infill was resting on a floor surface which was very obviously different from the rubble, though it seems too uneven to have been the actual floor. The soil from it is being analysed. It comprises many fine layers which may produce interesting results. The floor has not been excavated since it was not threatened, with the exception of two holes in the north-east and north-west corners. They appear to be scaffolding holes. Pottery sherds were found in the north-east pit, of late 12th - early 13th c. date. They are of early Surrey white ware, and grey-brown quartz sandy ware, c.1170-1220. The floor curves up roughly at the sides to meet the rubble base of the wall. There is no obvious sign of what the floor was composed of. In one area there are traces which suggest that clay floor tiles had been laid there, but the floor could have been wooden. It seems unlikely that it would be of bare earth in a room of such quality.

Although the roof, of course, did not survive it is possible to suggest what it was like. Among the chalk rubble of the infill were many small slabs of ragstone which probably formed the roof, set on edge in mortar – a technique seen in various buildings locally including the castle keep. It seems unlikely that there was an upper storey to the room.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the room is the paint on the walls, which has been examined by Helen Howard of the Courtauld Institute⁴. Only a very few traces remain, mostly on the north-west column but with a little on the south-east column and elsewhere, and an area in a different style on the

⁴ H. HOWARD, *The Excavated 'Synagogue', High Street, Guildford: Scientific Examination of the Paintings of c.1180*, Conservation of Wall Painting Department, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1996.



plaster to the west of the north door, just inside the room. The painting is contemporary with the construction of the room and is a very rare discovery of previously unknown Romanesque wall-painting. The paint on the dressed chalk of the columns was applied with very little preparation of the stone, but the paint on the wall was applied over a lime ground over the plaster which covers the rubble walling. The paint on the columns is red and black (red iron oxide and charcoal black). The most obvious traces on the north-west column show curved black lines which are probably from a decorative scheme of imitation drapery. There are also patches of red on the column and it is likely that the black lines were painted over a red ground, but not enough survives to prove this. Elsewhere there are traces of a possible lattice pattern in black and red.

On the wall to the west of the door is a reversed-L shape in black, which is presumably the remains of a square or rectangular outline. Inside the black frame the plaster has been painted with a blue-green pigment containing indigo – the first time this has been recognised in English Romanesque wall-painting. It has since been found on a mid-12th c. frieze at Lincoln Cathedral and on figures of c.1180-85 from St. Mary's Abbey, York, both important, high quality work. One would expect there to have been motifs of some sort painted over the blue-green ground but nothing survives. A lot of the plaster has crumbled away and it would be difficult to tell what was there originally. However, the use of indigo is highly significant, showing that the room was built by a very wealthy man, probably with overseas contacts.

There is nothing similar to this room surviving in Guildford, except for a room within the castle keep. The only other buildings of similar date are the castle keep, and parts of St. Mary's church in Quarry Street.

There are very few domestic buildings of the 12th c. anywhere in the country. Although many chalk walls are revealed during building work in Guildford they are not closely dateable, though many are associated with 13th and 14th c. pottery⁵. There are three complete undercrofts surviving and traces of several others, but they all date to the later 13th c.⁶. So far no close parallel for the room has been found anywhere in England. Dr. Roland Harris has kindly shown me plans of small rooms attached to undercrofts elsewhere, but there are none of this style and date⁷. So at present the room is a very unusual one, possibly unique, and the best explanation for it so far is that it may have been a Jewish synagogue. We are well aware that this is a bold claim in view of the fact that there is so little surviving evidence for medieval Jewish ritual buildings in England but at present this hypothesis fits the facts best. There are several reasons for this:

1. It is an unusual building.
2. It is a good quality building.
3. It has rare wall-paintings, using a very unusual and costly pigment.
4. It was at the rear of the property, as all medieval synagogues mentioned in documents were.
5. It was built at a time when there were likely to have been Jews in Guildford, though so far we have no documentary evidence for them as early as this.
6. It was demolished at the time the Jews were expelled.

⁵ J. BOAS, *Chalk Walls in Guildford*, Dissertation for Diploma in Field Archaeology, Birkbeck College, University of London, 1996.

⁶ See for example, M. O'CONNELL, The undercroft 72/74 High Street, Guildford, *Surrey Arch. Coll.* 74, 1983, 101-112.

⁷ Doctoral thesis, forthcoming. I have not seen the entire thesis.

7. It was demolished in good condition.
8. It was apparently demolished in such a way as to obliterate all trace of it.
9. Its internal features are consistent with it being a synagogue.

It may be that the room is very unusual because it is the only one to survive out of what was originally a large number of such rooms. However, we cannot argue that it is a once-common type if there is nothing similar to it. We can, however, suggest that it is a type of building so far known only from documents – a medieval Jewish synagogue. In the 700 years since the Jews were expelled from England nearly all their physical remains have disappeared. There are a handful of stone houses associated with Jews, but no known synagogue. Twelfth and thirteenth century domestic buildings are rare anyway, and as the Jews were very much a minority it is not surprising that few buildings belonging to them survive. In the normal course of events they would be replaced, unless they were deliberately demolished and concealed. The Jews were very unpopular by the time of the Expulsion and a particularly prejudiced new owner of the building may have wanted to get rid of any trace of the Jewish religion. We should not refuse to accept that a building might have been Jewish when it fits in with what we know from documentary sources. If there are good parallels for the room that are so far unknown to the excavators and that provide a better explanation we would be very pleased to know of them, but so far the best parallels are with what is known of Jewish synagogues. A synagogue would have been built in the same style as any other architecture of that date in whichever country the Jews were living.

A close parallel for the architecture of the building is actually very close by – in the keep of Guildford castle, though there are important differences. The room in the keep is an L-shaped chamber within the thickness of the walls at the south-west corner. The southern arm is a rectangle aligned east-west and was originally the chapel of the keep, but most of its features have been destroyed by later openings in the walls. The western arm survives in better condition and has the same architectural features as the chapel. It is known as the ante-chapel but its precise function is uncertain. The two parts seem to have formed one chamber although there may have been a wooden partition, or even a curtain between them. There was certainly no masonry division: although now there is a doorway between the two it is quite clearly later than the original building as it conceals one of the capitals of the arcading. The surviving decoration is of blind arcading along the west (outer) wall of the ante-chapel with a stone bench or ledge below. Five

columns built into the wall form four semi-circular arches, with a different design of capital on each column. The three middle columns are of U-shaped section: the two end ones at the corners are square. The arcading originally continued at right angles along the south wall but has been largely destroyed. Above a string course is a slightly pointed barrel vault made of small slabs of ragstone set on edge and plastered over⁸.

The keep was built in about the 1170s or 1180s and is therefore contemporary with the possible synagogue. It is interesting that the sheriff of Surrey, who would be responsible for the building of the keep, was a London financier, Gervase de Cornhill, who had many dealings with Jews. Did he have a Jewish friend who was moving to Guildford and had a house built by the same masons? The chapel is of a different shape from the possible synagogue; it is long and narrow, with the focus at the east end. The other chamber is square with no obvious focus, unless it is central, though the east and west walls would presumably be more significant for its function than the walls with doors in them. The seating runs all around the room except where it is interrupted by doorways. The bench in the chapel can now only be seen in the ante-chapel on the west wall but it could have run along both sides of the chapel – there is not enough evidence to be certain. Although this sort of feature – blind arcading with a bench – is now usually found in churches it was not necessarily confined to ecclesiastical buildings. Although the chapel in the keep is a good parallel for the architecture the other little chamber was certainly not a chapel. It is the wrong shape and the wrong lay-out: square instead of rectangular, no eastern focus and the south-eastern door right against the east wall would be very unusual in a chapel.

It has been suggested by John Schofield that the room was a porch, similar to one at Corbet Court in London⁹. However, this seems to us to be unlikely for two major reasons – its position and its lay-out. The chamber is at the rear of the property – away from the High Street. All other surviving medieval buildings are firmly on the High Street, and although they are later and of a different type there is no reason to suppose that in Guildford, where the High Street was virtually the only street, the main entrance of a building would be at the rear. The lay-out too is wrong, with doors at opposite corners of the room and the door

⁸ There is no detailed modern publication on the castle, but a useful guidebook is available at Guildford Museum. I am writing a thesis for the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Reading on the history of the castle.

⁹ J. SCHOFIELD, *Medieval London Houses*, 1994, 30-31.

from outside being approached down steps. It also seems unlikely that a rear porch would be decorated with indigo. The house at Corbet Court, however, did have blind arcading on the side walls of the porch, and there is a similar feature on a single wall surviving in Stamford, Lincolnshire, at a house in St. Mary's Hill.

It is virtually certain that this room was built at the rear of the property, and as far as the evidence survives it is almost certain that it was built at the same time as the property between it and the High Street. Dr. Roland Harris has expressed the opinion that it is a type of room often found behind 12th and 13th c. houses but we have not seen any examples which seem to us to be similar, or of the same date¹⁰.

As the room was clearly built by a person of some wealth and status another approach would be to identify a possible builder. It could have been a nobleman or ecclesiastic who required a town house in Guildford. Unfortunately we have no records of such a person in the 12th or 13th c., though this does not mean that there were none. Waltham Abbey maintained a house in Guildford in the 12th c. so that the canons could visit the king's court, but this was near Holy Trinity church and cannot be the property in question. They soon leased it out as an inn¹¹. The bishop of Winchester had residences in Farnham (the castle), ten miles to the west and at Esher 15 miles towards London. He had property in Guildford but it seems to have been on the west side of the river, and there is no evidence that it was a dwelling for his use. There were no important aristocratic families near Guildford and none based in Surrey after the mid 14th c. However, the Warenne earls of Surrey had certain rights in Guildford and may have had a house here, although no documentary evidence survives. The de Clares may also have needed a house in the county town, but again we have no evidence either way.

There are other religious houses which might have had a property in Guildford, but the documentary evidence is lacking. Waverley Abbey and Merton Priory are possible candidates. Merton Priory had the

advowsons of the two town churches and canons would certainly have visited the town from time to time. Possibly religious houses in Hampshire or further west would have found Guildford a useful place to stay on the way to London. Even so, the function of the room is not obvious.

Another possible explanation is that the house was built by a rich merchant, and the chamber was a counting house or "office" where business was conducted, cash stored or special goods kept. This seems a good explanation except that we know of no surviving parallels.

This leaves the explanation that the room was a synagogue. Yet again, there is a problem with the lack of documentary evidence in that we do not know of any Jews in Guildford before the second half of the 13th c. However, those Jews we do know about were only recorded when things went wrong, so there could have been Jews living here for a hundred years without record of their ordinary lives. Guildford is close to London, and would be a very likely place for Jews to move to out of London. It is on routes to Winchester, Southampton or further west, and was a county town with a royal castle where Jews were likely to find business, and would find protection if necessary. It was not one of the official towns with "archae" for registering transactions but Jews lived in many other places beside the official towns, despite efforts to confine them to those particular places. There was a tallage of the Jews in 1186 known as the Guildford tallage, and although this does not mean that there were Jews here then, most other tallages are named after towns where Jews were living¹². Jews could have moved into Guildford during Stephen's reign (1135-54) as he encouraged them generally, and the south east was loyal to him during the troubles of his reign, or after Henry II's accession in 1154 when more Jews moved over from Normandy¹³. They could have moved here in the 1180s when there was a temporary expulsion from France¹⁴. So, although the documentary evidence for the building being Jewish is no more convincing than that for a local nobleman,

¹⁰ Although Dr. Harris has a more extensive knowledge of 12th and 13th c. domestic buildings than I have, I have not yet seen any evidence of a similar room in the few other publications about this type of house, by, e.g. M. WOOD, *Norman Domestic Architecture*, Royal Arch. Inst., 1974; *13th Century Domestic Architecture in England*, *Archaeol. Journ.* CV, Supplement, 1950; P.A. FAULKNER, *Domestic Planning from the 12th-14th c.*, *Archaeol. Journ.* CXV, 1958, 150-183; *Medieval Undercrofts and Town Houses*, *Archaeol. Journ.* CXXIII, 1966, 120-135; W.A. PANTIN, *Medieval English Town-House Plans*, *Med. Arch.* 6-7, 1962-3, 202-239; and SCHOFIELD, *op.cit.* Since writing this paper Marcus Roberts has kindly sent me a

copy of a draught article on the chamber which brings together information on parallels in Europe and Israel.

¹¹ R. RANSFORD (ed.), *The Early Charters of the Augustinian Canons of Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1062-1230*, 14, 433.

¹² There are conflicting dates for this tallage, 1186, 1188 or "near the end of Henry II's reign".

¹³ K.T. STREIT, *The expansion of the English Jewish Community in the Reign of King Stephen*, *Albion* 25,2 (Summer 1993), 177-192.

¹⁴ J. HILLABY, *Beth Miqdash Me'at: The Synagogues of Medieval England*, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44 No.2, April 1993, 182-198.

churchman or merchant, the fact remains that the chamber fits in with what is known about synagogues from documents, and so far we do not know of any equally good evidence for any other sort of use.

There were synagogues in London, Canterbury, Cambridge, Norwich, Worcester, Winchester and Lincoln at the rear of a property. In the 12th c. synagogues were built by private individuals, but were probably open to all the Jewish community¹⁵. By the later 13th c. they were in communal ownership, perhaps to prevent them being lost through escheat to the crown. They may have been built at the rear of properties because they were later additions, but also for discretion so that they were not too obvious to their Christian neighbours. Surviving medieval synagogues on the continent tend to have windows high up, with architecture emphasising the height of the building. They are plain outside and elaborate within. Our chamber seems to share these characteristics although we cannot be certain about the outside. Although we have not yet got firm evidence for its position in relation to the medieval ground level it may well be that the surviving part was below medieval ground level so that it could be tall without appearing to be so from outside and that the upper level was cut down to ground level and the rubble thrown into the remaining part, then levelled off. There are no traces of windows in the surviving part, and the style of architecture makes it likely that the windows would be above the arcading. The chapel in the castle keep has two very small windows within the arcading, but this is probably because the need for defence and the constraints of its situation within the thickness of the wall made larger and higher windows impossible. In the possible synagogue the Torah scrolls could have been in a free-standing container on the east wall, in the central bay. There would be a "*bimah*" or reading desk, within the room. It has left no trace and there is not a great deal of space for one, but it would not be impossible to accommodate one.

There is some discussion among scholars as to whether a synagogue would have a "*mezuzah*" (a box containing some words from the Bible) but it has been suggested that the four holes in a block of chalk on the inner face of the north door supported one and/or other appropriate fittings such as lights. The holes are set so that whatever they held would have been at

an angle, which is apparently how a "*mezuzah*" was fitted. The holes are also at the appropriate height for a "*mezuzah*". Two other blocks of stone with similar holes in were found in the rubble, which would fit over the remaining block, so presumably they must have supported rather more than one item. The holes are 1.5-2 mm. in diameter and 4.5-5 mm. deep. One had the remains of an iron pin or nail in it, about 4 mm. long. The stonework on the corner of this block has been worn smooth by hands touching it. We need to know more about the internal fittings of medieval synagogues before we can draw conclusions.

The only reasonably certain medieval Jewish ritual structure in England is the Bristol "*mikveh*", or ritual bath, though even this is being disputed. In the published drawing of the "*mikveh*" is a stone with four holes in it. The possible "*mikveh*" is not accessible at present so we cannot find out whether the Bristol and Guildford stones with four holes in them are at all similar, but it is a point which should be pursued¹⁶. It has been suggested by an Israeli archaeologist that the chamber at Guildford was a "*mikveh*" or that it was the changing room for a "*mikveh*"¹⁷. It seems unlikely that the chamber could have held water, and although it could have functioned as a changing room that would suggest that it was part of a very much larger complex, which seems unlikely. Guildford was not an official residence for Jews and although there was a community here it would have been very small.

There could have been a "*mikveh*" elsewhere on the site. The whole of the surrounding area needs investigating. There is the unexplained pit in front of the north door (i.e. outside the chamber) and the modern concrete cellar floor beyond this is hollow. It is not impossible that there was a "*mikveh*" here.

There are other small pieces of evidence that might suggest that the chamber was a synagogue. One of the columns has been cracked, apparently by heat over a long period. This might have been caused by an eternally burning flame standing nearby. The painting inside the north door which is incomplete may never have been finished: all Jewish buildings have a symbolic unfinished area. The ledge around the walls would provide seating, and we are told that similar ledges can be found in many European and Israeli synagogues. There may, of course, be other explanations for these features.

¹⁵ See note 14: also a lecture by Joe Hillaby for Guildford Museum on October 17th 1996. Dr. R. Mundill has very kindly shown me extracts from his Ph.D. thesis 1987: *The Jews in England, 1272-1290*, University of St. Andrews, which contains a very useful survey of what is known of English synagogues.

¹⁶ R.R. EMMANUEL & M.W. PONSFORD, *Jacob's Well*, Bristol, Britain's only known medieval Jewish Ritual Bath

"(*Mikveh*)", *Trans. Bristol & Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.* CXII, 1994, 73-86. The presence of a place called Jacob's Well outside Guildford is probably coincidence!

¹⁷ The suggestion that the chamber might be a "*mikveh*" was made by Dr. Dan Bahhat of Jerusalem. I think that a colleague of his who also visited the site suggested that it might be a changing room.

Any Jewish community, even of one household, would have a special room where prayers could be said and the scriptures studied even if there were rarely enough adult men to form the "*minyan*" required for full services. As we have seen, in the 12th c. a synagogue would be built in the house of a private individual and in a community as small as that at Guildford must have been there would certainly be only one synagogue, or place for study. At this date the women would be separated from the men for worship and if this room was a synagogue it is not clear how this would be achieved. There is unlikely to have been an upper gallery, but perhaps a curtain across part of the chamber would suffice.

It is unfortunate that we have no definite evidence for a Jewish community in Guildford in the 12th c. There are no medieval records from the town itself and records of Jewish activities did not become rigorous until the Exchequer of the Jews was established in 1194.

Joe Hillaby of the University of Bristol has visited the site and made a thorough study of it, and has come to the conclusion that the cost of the work, the elaborate nature of the chamber and its position at the rear of the building make the explanation that it was a small family synagogue a very reasonable hypothesis¹⁸. He finds it remarkable that a stone house should have been built in Guildford in the 12th c. It is true that no others are known, and that Guildford was not one of the important commercial centres of the Middle Ages, but it is a debatable point that only a wealthy Jew could have built the house. As it seems likely that the whole house above and below ground was of stone we are certainly dealing with a structure built by a wealthy person or organisation. In our present state of knowledge the chamber is highly unusual and may well have had an unusual function. However, although the stonework would be expensive it is not all of the highest quality. The bases of the columns are very simple and each one is different, but each one is also different around its own circumference. The contemporary stonework in the keep is also rather cruder than one would expect and we should perhaps look closely at other stone buildings throughout the area to see whether this is a local style.

We know of about nine Jews connected with Guildford, several from one family. This was the important family of Isaac of Southwark, a wealthy man who owned property in Southwark, London and Win-

chester as well as Guildford, and who had business interests throughout much of England. Isaac had inherited his business from another Isaac of Southwark, his mother's brother. The older Isaac is first mentioned in 1239 and had died by 1272, but we have no record of him in Guildford. The younger Isaac first appears in records in 1241. He had a house in Guildford which was broken into in 1274. He accused Thomas, son of Martin, "that the said Thomas came with William Haruwe, with force and arms, and carried away his goods and chattels, to the value of 40s., against the peace, &c., and to his damage, 100s." Thomas denied it all but did not come to the subsequent enquiry and we do not know the outcome. It may have been part of the widespread attacks on Jews around this time, although there may have been a more local stimulus. Two years earlier Isaac had taken Thomas of Merrow, a debtor, to court. (Merrow is a village about two miles from Guildford.) Thomas owed Isaac 40 shillings and Isaac impounded Thomas' corn in a barn, but Thomas and his wife Alice broke into the barn and reclaimed the corn. We do not know any more, but the facts suggest that Isaac was living in Guildford when it took place, and it may have caused local resentment against him. Thomas son of Martin could even be the same person as Thomas of Merrow¹⁹.

Isaac had a wife, Thippe, and a daughter Slema. Slema probably had a son called Josce and possibly another called Mendant, but it is difficult to tell from the records exactly which individuals are which. Slema was involved in money-lending, in one case to the Prioress of Kilburn, and another case involved a house in Southwark. Isaac was dead by 1290. Several Jews of Guildford were involved in the mass arrests of the 1270s – Abraham and Floria were both imprisoned and fined. Josce and his wife Formosa were also arrested and fined and in 1281 Josce was murdered while on a journey. He had £11-0s-6d. on him, so was doubtless travelling on business. The jury in Guildford inquiring into his death found that he had no houses or land, but had goods to the value of £1-6s-8d²⁰.

It is probable that the Jews were expelled from Guildford in 1275, before the general Expulsion of 1290. In 1275 the Jews were expelled from the Queen Mother's dower towns, of which Guildford was one, though it does not apparently figure in the records of this expulsion. If it did occur, then the Jews of Guild-

¹⁸ Lecture by Joe Hillaby; see note 15.

¹⁹ *Calendar of Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, 1274, 12-143.

²⁰ Information about the Jews of Guildford comes mainly from the *Calendars of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*,

Vols 1-4, published by the Jewish Historical Society of England. Z. ROKEAH, *Crime and Jews in late 13th century England: Some Cases and Comments*, *Hebrew Union College Annual* LV, 1984, 127-129, gives the details of the events following Josce's murder.

ford imprisoned in the Tower had probably moved to London in 1275. They are likely to have had links with the capital, and it would be an obvious place to move to.

The final Jew of whom we have a record is Bonefey, who occurs in the 1295 Pipe Roll for Surrey, as once having owned property in Guildford. There is no indication of the date when he was in Guildford²¹. There were therefore, at least four Jewish families in Guildford in the 1270s – Isaac of Southwark and his family, Josce and Formosa, Floria and Abraham. There is no evidence that Abraham and Floria were connected; but if they were married there were at least three families in the town. We do not know Bone-

fey's date but he might represent a fourth or fifth family. That is probably as many as we are likely to find in Guildford, whose population was between 500 and 1,000 at this time.

So far, all the evidence for the room being a synagogue is circumstantial but the room itself is definitely real. It does not fit in with what we know of other medieval stone houses of similar date and we feel that the unusual explanation of a synagogue must be considered seriously, unless definite evidence to disprove it can be produced. Part of the reason for publishing it here is to bring it to the attention of a wide audience who may help us to explain it.²²

²¹ The Pipe Roll for 1295 Surrey Membrane, *Surrey Record Society* XXI, 1924, 26.

²² Since writing this an article by Raphael Isserlin has appeared giving information on other excavated sites which might be Jewish, which is encouraging. R.M.J. ISSERLIN, Building Jerusalem in the 'Islands of the Sea': The Archaeology of Mediaeval Anglo-Jewry, in: Sharman KADISH (ed.), *Building Jerusalem. Jewish Architecture in Britain*, 1996.

Mary Alexander
Guildford Museum
Castle Arch
Guildford
Surrey GU1 3SX
UK

*A. Barro Rois, A. Larraz Mora, E. Borges Domínguez, C. M^a. Eugenio Florido,
V. Alberto Barroso & C.M. Hernández Gómez*

Sincretismo Religioso y Expansión del Cristianismo en Tenerife (Canarias) a Fines del Siglo XV

A la memoria de Abuela Moya

1 Planteamientos previos: el occidente Bajo-medieval y la expansión atlántica

La expansión marítima de algunas naciones europeas en la Baja Edad Media supuso la ampliación geográfica de sus áreas de interés político-económico. Sin duda, una de las primeras consecuencias de este fenómeno de singular alcance histórico fue la exploración de la fachada atlántica africana y su incorporación a las rutas comerciales europeas.

El denominado "Mediterráneo Atlántico", tramo de costa entre el estrecho de Gibraltar y el Cabo Bojador, adquiere en este momento gran importancia de la que no se mantendrán al margen Las Islas Canarias (Fig. 1), las cuales habían permanecido en un cierto olvido desde la antigüedad clásica¹. Dicho archipiélago atraerá la atención de algunas naciones europeas y de particulares, bien por su estratégica ubicación en plena ruta marítimo-costera, bien por las posibilidades de aprovechamiento económico que ofrecía, fundamentalmente a través de la captura de esclavos entre la población indígena y de la obtención de ciertas materias primas y manufacturas de interés comercial (hierba pastel, sangre de drago, orchilla, cueros, etc.).

Las Repúblicas Italianas y el Reino de Aragón, consolidadas potencias marítimas del Mediterráneo, protagonizaron esta expansión durante el S. XIV. En la siguiente centuria tomaron el relevo Portugal y Castilla, que experimentaban un proceso de crecimiento en todos los órdenes. Ambos pugnaron por el control de Canarias, surgiendo una rivalidad que junto a otras razones dilató la incorporación efectiva de las islas a lo largo del siglo XV. Se trata de una conquista

en la que cabe distinguir dos fases bien diferenciadas. La primera comienza en 1402 y responde a la iniciativa privada, en ella son sometidas Lanzarote, Fuerteventura, La Gomera y El Hierro, las cuales quedan sujetas a una jurisdicción señorial por delegación de la Corona Castellana. Por contra, será esta última la que patrocine la siguiente fase (conquista realenga), iniciada en 1476 y que tiene como resultado la ocupación del resto del Archipiélago, es decir, las islas de Gran Canaria (1483), La Palma (1493) y por último, Tenerife (1496).

En este trabajo se pretende analizar la evangelización de los indígenas canarios como mecanismo empleado en el proceso de Conquista del Archipiélago. Interesa específicamente cuál fue el desarrollo de estas estrategias de aculturación encaminadas a facilitar el sometimiento pacífico de las sociedades prehistóricas aborígenes. Se estudia un complejo fenómeno histórico que tiene sus inicios en el período conocido como etapa de contacto y precolonización, cuyos límites cronológicos difieren según las islas, resultando siempre una cuestión difícil de precisar. Teniendo en cuenta las últimas islas anexionadas, abarcaría en líneas generales desde fines del siglo XIII² hasta los últimos años del XV. En dicho marco temporal se produce una intensa desmembración de las formaciones sociales insulares que habían experimentado hasta entonces un proceso de evolución esencialmente endógena; a partir de ahora, los cambios en el plano material e ideológico dan paso a un nuevo orden que en la centuria siguiente, reproduce el modelo castellano³.

¹ Existe constancia del conocimiento de las Islas Canarias desde la Antigüedad Clásica en la obra de numerosos autores: Plutarco, Pomponio Mela, Salustio, Diodoro, Estrabón, Ptolomeo; especialmente interesantes son las referencias del naturalista latino Plinio (S.I d.c. 23-79), en su *De Naturalis Historia*.

² El primer viaje bajomedieval relacionado con Canarias del que se tiene noticia tiene lugar en 1.291 protagonizado por los Hermanos Vivaldi en colaboración con Teodosio Doria, para el cual armaron dos galeras. E. Aznar dice al respecto: "Pasado

Gozora, comúnmente identificada con Cabo Num o Cabo Juby, no se volvió a tener noticias de ellos (...). A partir de estos datos seguros surgieron numerosas hipótesis. Como una de las galeras se llamaba Allegranza, nombre de un islote al Norte del Archipiélago Canario, se ha afirmado que los citados Hermanos recalcaron en las Islas. Lo cierto es que este viaje se mueve en el terreno de la leyenda, pero sirve de preámbulo a toda una serie de expediciones que con diversos fines recalcaran en las costas insulares" (1994).

Aunque se hará referencia a la totalidad del contexto insular, se elige como principal marco de análisis la isla de Tenerife, la mayor de todo el Archipiélago, con una extensión aproximada de 2.036 km². Las consideraciones que se efectúan no son generalizables pues los procesos de anexión y aculturación guardaron unas características particulares en cada isla aun cuando sea factible hallar algunos puntos comunes.

Para el estudio de este aspecto se cuenta con una larga tradición historiográfica inaugurada con los relatos de los primeros viajeros en los momentos inmediatos a la etapa de Conquista y Colonización, posteriormente continúa con las llamadas "*Crónicas de la Conquista*", coetáneas a la fase de pleno desarrollo de los hechos que se narran y se acrecienta sustancialmente con los que se conocen como primeros historiadores, quienes incorporan el testimonio oral de los últimos indígenas. La obra del dominico Fr. Alonso de Espinosa: "*Del Origen y Milagros de la Santa Imagen de Nuestra Señora. de Candelaria, que apareció en la Isla de Tenerife, con la descripción de esta Isla*", publicada en Sevilla en 1594, constituye la fuente documental más valiosa para el conocimiento de los inicios del cristianismo en Tenerife, cuya versión de los hechos será la que en líneas generales seguirán posteriormente los diversos historiadores que tratan el tema: Torriani, Abreu Galindo, Marín y Cubas, Núñez de La Peña, etc.

Este período de la Historia insular se prefigura actualmente como una de las líneas prioritarias de investigación compartida por las áreas de Historia Medieval y Prehistoria de la Universidad de La Laguna, en la que se inscribe el Proyecto de Investigación: *Intervenciones Arqueológicas en las Cuevas de Achibinicó* (Candelaria, Tenerife)⁴, centrado en el escenario en el que se sucedieron los hechos que narra el Padre Espinosa, en relación a los orígenes del cristianismo en Tenerife.

2 Los Guanches

La segunda mitad del primer milenio B.C. constituye el marco temporal en el que con mayor probabilidad se produjo la colonización de las islas, cada

una en etapas diferentes y por distintos grupos étnicos. Hoy se acepta la idea de que contingentes poblacionales bereberes desembarcaron en sus costas coincidiendo con un período de convulsiones sociopolíticas en el Norte de África. Para algunos investigadores, lo hicieron por voluntad propia en busca de unas "tierras de promisión" y estimulados por la vigente inestabilidad; para otros, fue el resultado de sucesivas deportaciones desde La Mauritania auspiciadas por cartagineses y/o romanos.

La vinculación de estos grupos al círculo cultural bereber se evidencia a través de múltiples elementos, resultando particularmente elocuente el campo de las manifestaciones rupestres, donde los motivos principales: antropomorfos, ciertas inscripciones alfabéticas, geométricos y podomorfos, conforman un grupo homogéneo emparentable con el horizonte de los denominados *grabados líbicos*.

Una vez pobladas se inicia la adaptación a cada medio insular cuyos precisos límites geográficos imponen particulares estrategias de explotación de los recursos. Por el momento, no existen evidencias de contactos interinsulares sistemáticos, al contrario, las poblaciones evolucionaron en un contexto de cierto "aislamiento geohistórico" de acuerdo a los binomios hombre-hombre y hombre-medio. Su materialización debió implicar una fase inicial de carácter exploratorio encaminada al reconocimiento de las islas, así como al de los tipos y distribución de los recursos disponibles. A ello sucederá una fase de consolidación de las estructuras sociales y de los sistemas económicos. La secuenciación y datación de todo el proceso constituye uno de los actuales interrogantes de la Arqueología Prehistórica Canaria.

La evolución experimentada por los grupos humanos en cada uno de los bloques insulares provocó el desarrollo de sociedades diferentes como ha expresado el profesor A. Tejera:

"Procedieron del Norte de Africa, eso resulta evidente, pero dos mil años más tarde se transformaron en culturas de Las Islas Canarias, que respondían a un patronímico propio para cada isla, que no recordaron los lugares de procedencia, que no podían reconocer ningún pueblo en el que vivieron sus ancestros, que se recono-

³ Las especiales características del archipiélago determinaron que el nuevo orden socio-económico estuviera revestido de ciertas particularidades. En el caso de Tenerife, el nivel de transformación fue desigual, muy superior en las áreas de mayor interés económico, concentradas fundamentalmente en el norte, frente al resto del territorio que experimentó un poblamiento marginal. En este contexto resulta interesante citar el caso de los *alzados*, aborígenes que se refugian en los montes más inaccesibles hasta fechas bien avanzadas del siglo XVI e intentan mantener sus modos de vida, a espaldas de la nueva sociedad.

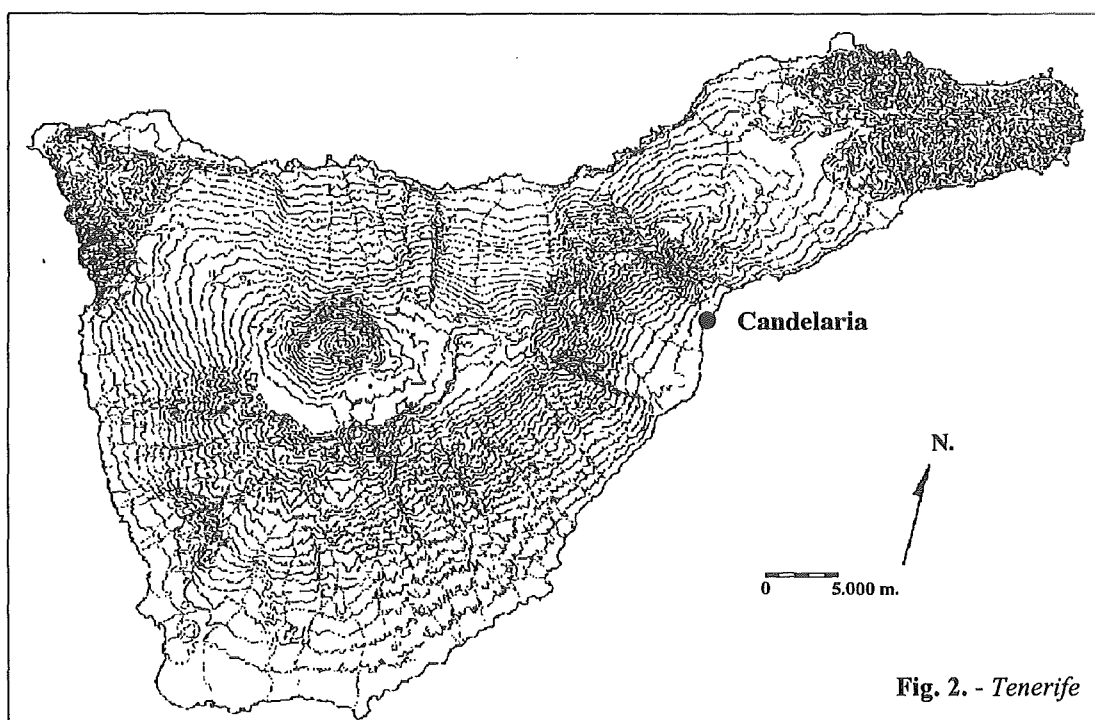
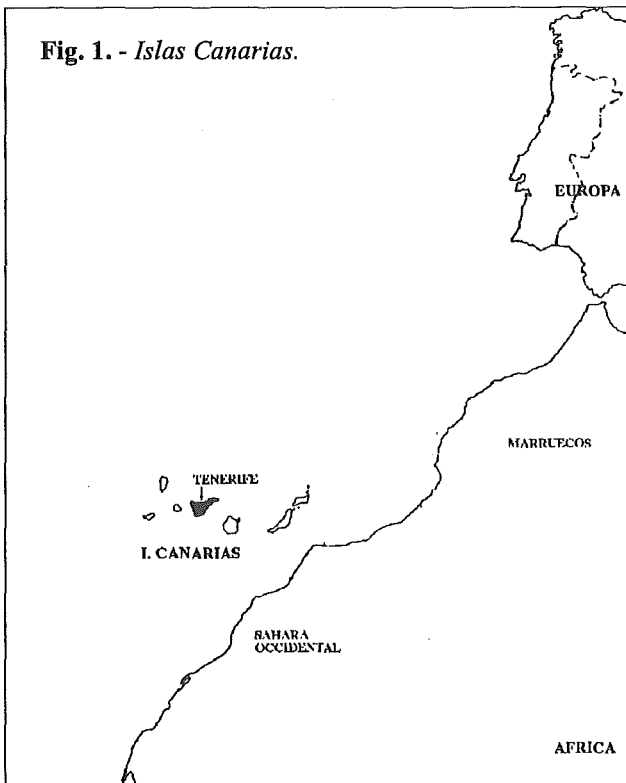
⁴ Dicho proyecto ha sido llevado a cabo por un equipo de investigación interdisciplinar formado por prehistoriadores e historiadores vinculados a los Departamentos de Prehistoria, Antropología e Historia Antigua y de Historia de la U.L.L., así como del Dpto. de Ciencias Históricas de la U.L.P.G.C., contando además con la colaboración del Dpto. de Geografía de la U.L.L., el laboratorio de Paleomagnetismo del Instituto Volcanológico de Canarias (C.S.I.C.), el Institut de Paléobotanique de L'Université de Montpellier y el Laboratorio de Geología del MNCN (CSIC).

cieron como un grupo diferenciado, que percibieron un espacio físico y cultural completamente diferente del que vivieron sus antepasados, y en el que crearon una mitología propia, con otras montañas, otros árboles, otros mares" (A. Tejera 1992, 16).

En general, las islas Canarias y de forma particular Tenerife, se caracterizan por una notable diversidad bioclimática que hallan su explicación en la confluencia de varios factores: los efectos del Alisio y del Anticiclón de Las Azores, unas elevadas cotas altitudinales, la particular configuración orográfica, así como su proximidad al continente africano y la influencia del mar, entre otros. El resultado fue un paisaje heterogéneo en el que los guanches, etnónimo con el que se conoce a los antiguos habitantes de esta isla, desarrollaron una compleja cultura con identidad propia, que se prolongó hasta finales del siglo XV en el que culmina la Conquista castellana.

Los datos de las *Crónicas de la Conquista y Primeras Historias* referidas a Canarias permiten conocer el momento epigonal de la cultura aborigen. Éstos reflejan una estructura social de clan cónico en la que las relaciones de parentesco y el grado de proximidad al linaje principal legitima el desigual reparto de los medios de producción y sustenta una importante jerarquización social. La posesión del ganado de ovicaprinos es concebida como símbolo de riqueza y poder, como corresponde a una sociedad cuya economía de producción descansa sobre una base esencial-

mente ganadera. La agricultura cerealista y de algunas leguminosas desempeñó un papel secundario, tratándose de una actividad a escala doméstica, con unos resultados desiguales según las zonas, en la que mujeres y hombres se dividían las tareas. Quizá mucha



mayor significación tuvo la recolección de vegetales con diferentes fines (alimenticios, terapéuticos, combustibles, artesanales, etc.); si bien dicha actividad está escasamente documentada por la Arqueología⁵.

La máxima autoridad política estaba representada por la figura del Mencey, un jefe redistributivo que organiza todo el funcionamiento socio-económico. Por debajo de éste, pero también en la cúspide social, se hallan los poseedores de ganado (Achimenceyes), individualizados como grupo por una serie de "tabúes" bajo los que subyace una compleja división de las actividades productivas.

La base de la pirámide social la integran los *trasquilados*, denominación que alude a la práctica de "cortarse el cabello" como signo externo de su condición social. Se trata de un grupo dependiente caracterizado por no poseer los medios de producción.

El territorio insular fue objeto de una racional fragmentación político-económica; los cronistas revelan la existencia de nueve demarcaciones independientes para los momentos previos a la Conquista⁶, cuya configuración como espacios que abarcan de costa a cumbre y con una extensión superficial variable (mayores en el sur y de menor tamaño en el norte), obedece a la distribución, diversidad, grado de concentración y ciclo anual de los recursos subsistenciales básicos.

En cada uno de estos menceyatos se instalaron diversos grupos de familias extensas, célula social primigenia regida, al decir de los cronistas, por un comportamiento poligámico. Estos grupos constituyeron pequeñas comunidades conformando poblados, generalmente dispersos y de estructuras muy simples, con escasas transformaciones del paisaje en que se emplazan.

Atendiendo a la estabilidad del hábitat se ha podido distinguir entre asentamientos permanentes y estacionales. Los primeros se concretan de forma preferencial en poblados de cuevas, localizados en las medianías (400-600 m.s.n.m.) en las bandas del sur, e incluyendo la franja costera en la vertiente septentrional, más fértil.

Los asentamientos "no estables" al igual que los estacionales suelen estar constituidos por conjuntos de cabañas o chozas. Se ubican fundamentalmente en la costa y en la Alta Montaña. Los primeros están

relacionados con la explotación invernal de los pastos, así como con el aprovechamiento del litoral (pesca y marisqueo) para satisfacer el suministro de importantes complementos dietéticos y de ciertas materias primas empleadas en diversas manufacturas. Los segundos, son frecuentados durante el periodo estival por razones climatológicas con los mismos motivos que en esencia definen a los anteriores.

Este último territorio, conocido como "*Las Cañadas*", se caracteriza por la presencia de una gran depresión calderiforme limitada por elevados contrafuertes que forman parte de un antiguo estratovolcán hoy desmantelado. El acceso se realiza a través de pasos naturales en los que confluyen las diversas rutas pastoriles que intercomunican los pisos económicos de explotación. Los forrajes de verano atrajeron hacia estas alturas a grupos de pastores que tuvieron la posibilidad de establecer contactos de carácter redistributivo entre los habitantes de diferentes sectores de la isla. En el centro de Las Cañadas se eleva hasta los 3.718 m.s.n.m. el Teide o *Echeide* en lengua indígena, un espectacular edificio volcánico de gran transcendencia en la cosmogonía guanche, desempeñando probablemente la función de *Axis Mundi* y de "morada de los espíritus", a quienes los cronistas les adjudicaron una naturaleza maligna.

Los guanches emplearon las cuevas también como "espacio para los muertos", desarrollando unas complejas prácticas funerarias de extraordinaria diversidad, las inhumaciones, individuales o colectivas aparecen tanto aisladas formando necrópolis como insertas en los propios poblados. El ritual manifiesta asimismo variantes significativas: momificación, deposición secundaria con desarticulación incluida, celebración de banquetes, etc.

Todo ello nos habla de un sistema religioso complejo dominado por la existencia de seres supremos de carácter astral y con manifestaciones rituales ligadas a los acontecimientos básicos de la vida económica y social de los guanches: reproducción del ganado y de las cosechas, fiestas redistributivas, cultos a los antepasados, rituales propiciatorios de la lluvia, etc. Es precisamente en esta esfera ideológica donde actuarán de forma preferente los mecanismos de aculturación desplegados por los europeos en las islas.

⁵ La contribución de los recursos vegetales a la dieta aborigen comienza a ser conocida a partir de los análisis de elementos traza de los materiales antropológicos recuperados en diversas necrópolis. Se trata de una línea de investigación que se encuentra en fase de expansión, destacando los trabajos coordinados por el Dr. González Reimers (Arnay *et al.* 1985-87). Por otro lado, en lo que se refiere al uso de los vegetales como combustibles, es decisiva la reciente aplicación de estudios antraco-

lógicos a cargo de la Dra. Machado (1994).

⁶ Se trata no obstante de una división territorial que debe corresponder a los momentos finales de la etapa prehistórica de Tenerife, pudiendo plantearse la posibilidad de que en etapas anteriores la fragmentación política de la isla fuera menor. En cualquier caso cabe destacar el papel hegemónico y aglutinador de Taoro, al norte de la isla y en menor medida, el del Menceyato de Güímar, en la banda meridional.

3 El contacto entre culturas y la desarticulación de las formas de vida prehistóricas en el archipiélago canario

Como se señaló anteriormente, con la anexión de Tenerife a la Corona de Castilla en 1496 culmina el largo proceso de conquista del Archipiélago que se prolonga prácticamente durante todo el siglo XV. Sin embargo, la influencia europea en cada uno de los territorios insulares se dejó sentir desde fechas muy anteriores a su efectiva incorporación político-económica, percibiéndose la existencia de cambios en las estructuras socio-culturales aborígenes que fueron auspiciadas por las diversas “estrategias de penetración” puestas en práctica con una evidente intención aculturadora, casi desde los primeros contactos occidentales con las poblaciones prehistóricas.

Atendiendo a la frecuencia, intensidad y tipo de relaciones entre los indígenas y los europeos se ha dividido toda esta etapa en dos fases.

a) La primera de ellas va aparejada a los inicios de la expansión atlántica, cuyas principales manifestaciones son las “incursiones” de marinos genoveses, mallorquines, portugueses, vascos, andaluces, etc., quienes se aventuran hasta las islas amparados por los progresos técnicos de la navegación bajomedieval. Éstos se limitaban a practicar contactos esporádicos con la población indígena, generalmente desde la propia costa sin internarse en el territorio y con fines esencialmente comerciales, intercambiando diversas “baratijas” por materias primas y manufacturas de gran interés en los mercados europeos:

“Passati poi ad un'altra isola, probabilmente più grande i membri della spedizione videro una maggiore quantità di gente che accorreva sul litorale, uomini et donne ugualmente nudi, salvo alcuni che sembravano essere di rango superiore, coperti di pelli di capra dipinte di rosso et di color di croco, (...). Tutta la moltitudine mostrava di desiderare di avere rapporti commerciali con chi stava sulle navi de di far durare la sosta dei visitatori” (Nicolosso da Recco (1341) en S. Pellegrini 1995, 85).

Los relatos de algunos de estos viajeros, como el del genovés Nicolosso da Recco o el del portugués Alvisé Ca da Mosto, describen unas relaciones breves, poco intensas, que en líneas generales debieron caracterizarse por su escasa repercusión en los modos de vida indígenas, si se exceptúa la progresiva incorporación a la cultura material aborígen de los citados objetos europeos. Éstos, además, no parece que tuvieran excesiva trascendencia en el desarrollo tecnocómico de la población prehistórica, pues ni obedecen a un tráfico cuantioso, ni intervienen elementos

que propiciaran verdaderos cambios tecnológicos⁷. Ciertamente, en ocasiones parece que se intercambiaron “herramientas” y diversos objetos funcionales, pero otras veces se trató de mercaderías que E. Aznar y A. Tejera (1994, 31) califican de exóticas, tales como: “*ropas desconocidas para quienes vestían con pieles, objetos de adorno*”, etc.

“(...) y llegaron a la Gran Canaria a la hora de prima y echaron ancla en un gran puerto que está entre Telde y Agüimes. Y allí en el puerto vinieron cerca de 500 canarios y hablaron con ello y venían a la barcaza [por grupos de] 10 o 12 todos juntos, sin atreverse, después de heberles dado Gadifer seguridad, y les traían abundantes higos y sangre de Drago, que cambiaban por anzuelos de pesca y por viejas herramientas de hierro y por agujas para coser; y obtuvieron sangre de drago que valía 200 doblas y todo cuanto les entregaron no valía dos francos” (Le Canarien-Ver. G 1965, 72).

Este fragmento de la crónica de la conquista normanda (1402-1404), aunque se sitúa en el final de la fase anteriormente señalada, resulta muy valioso para ilustrar el modelo de intercambio al que se ha venido haciendo referencia, así como la naturaleza de algunos de los productos que fueron objeto de “trueque”.

b) La segunda fase, de mayor repercusión en el proceso aculturador, se desarrolla durante todo el período de Conquista, cuya cronología como se señaló con anterioridad comienza en 1402 con la arribada a las costas de Lanzarote de Jean de Bethencourt y Gadifer de la Salle, y culmina en 1496 cuando el Adelantado Alonso de Lugo toma posesión de Tenerife para la Corona Castellana.

El principal elemento distintivo con respecto a la fase anterior lo constituye el asentamiento permanente de europeos en el Archipiélago, incluso en aquellas islas que no han sido conquistadas, lo cual supone un significativo incremento en el ritmo de los contactos interculturales, haciéndose cada vez más frecuentes a medida que avanza el siglo. Las islas ya anexionadas se convertirán en plataformas desde las que se desplegará una influencia creciente sobre las restantes, muy superior a la originada por los intereses comerciales que habían estimulado los contac-

⁷ El profesor Martín de Guzmán valora de forma diferente la repercusión de estos contactos en la evolución final de la sociedad prehistórica de Gran Canaria. Según este autor, la presencia europea determina un significativo despegue tecnocultural (C. Martín de Guzmán 1986).

tos hasta este momento. Se percibe por tanto, una verdadera política reafirmadora de la presencia europea entre las comunidades indígenas, por lo que es en este período cuando podemos hablar con propiedad de la utilización consciente de mecanismos de aculturación que afianzan la ascendencia occidental sobre las sociedades aborígenes, así como facilitan y aceleran su futuro sometimiento.

A esta situación se llega mediante la formalización de pactos que aseguraban beneficios para ambas "Culturas". Este aspecto ha sido estudiado por A. Rumeu (1975), R. González (1982) y con mayor profundidad E. Aznar y A. Tejera (1994, 30 y ss.); según éstos últimos, los pactos poseían un interés esencialmente económico; para los aborígenes suponían la posibilidad de obtener materias primas y manufacturas de las que habían carecido con anterioridad a la presencia europea, mientras que para los segundos, se garantizaba la explotación y comercialización de productos de gran demanda, como los que se han citado en otra parte del trabajo (sangre de drago, cueros, orchilla, etc). Asimismo, en virtud de estas alianzas se prometía a los naturales la salvaguarda ante las frecuentes incursiones en busca de esclavos⁸.

Los mencionados "acuerdos" se materializarán en la relativa consolidación de dos tipos de asentamientos con características y finalidades bien diferenciadas. Una modalidad consistía en la fundación de *torres*, que combinaban el papel de puesto militar de carácter defensivo con el de lugar donde polarizar las relaciones comerciales.

Se tiene constancia de la construcción de una de estas edificaciones por parte de los franconormandos en el sur de Lanzarote (1402), el mismo papel cumpliría la "Torre del Conde", mandada a construir por Hernán Peraza en la Gomera, o las que erige Diego García de Herrera en Gran Canaria ("Torre de Gando") y en Tenerife ("Torre de Añazo"). Salvo la edificación de San Sebastián de la Gomera, las restantes muestran en la actualidad un nivel de total arrasamiento, habiendo incluso desaparecido. Las investigaciones arqueológicas han sido escasas, limitadas a meras limpiezas y sondeos de comprobación en algunas de ellas (F. Alamo *et al.* 1988; A. Tejera *et al.* 1989), por lo que la poca información con que contamos procede de las fuentes escritas indirectas, en

las que se describen como construcciones de reducidas dimensiones, ubicadas siempre en la costa, cerca de fondeaderos naturales.

El segundo modelo de asentamiento es el que más nos interesa en el presente trabajo por su relación directa con el Conjunto Arqueológico de Achbinicó. Surge como consecuencia de la "labor misional", que adquirirá un protagonismo notable en esta etapa, si bien es preciso remontar su inicio en Canarias, al menos potencialmente, a la promulgación de la Bula *Coelestis rex regum* del 7 de Noviembre de 1351, por la que se eligió al primer titular del Obispado de Fortuna con sede en Telde (Gran Canaria). Por ella se conoce asimismo que serán fundamentalmente miembros de la Orden Franciscana los que la lleven a cabo. Durante el siglo XV dicha acción evangelizadora pudo desarrollarse con mayor continuidad, organizándose desde las islas conquistadas.

La mayor parte de los trabajos sobre "aculturación" y "contacto intercultural" resaltan el papel de la religión entre los mecanismos de penetración. En este sentido, cabe señalar que "el préstamo religioso" constituye un estratégico recurso cuya efectividad se ha puesto de manifiesto en situaciones muy diversas. Entre los aborígenes canarios se ha constatado el empleo de un sistema de "préstamo inducido", de acuerdo a las categorías establecidas por J. Alvar (1990). Según éste se respeta a priori el sistema religioso existente asumiéndolo como parte integrante del que se quiere implantar. De esta forma, se pretende conseguir la desaparición definitiva del primero mediante un complejo proceso de acercamiento previo, más o menos dilatado en el tiempo, en el que se crean las condiciones favorables para la asimilación del nuevo modelo sociocultural y religioso.

El procedimiento utilizado fue siempre el mismo, consistía en la convivencia pacífica de los misioneros con los aborígenes, en una relación que desconocemos en detalle pero que para estos últimos pasaba por la aceptación de la presencia de gente extraña como medio de obtener los beneficios que ya se ha mencionado, es decir, la protección contra las razzias esclavistas y el intercambio tecnocultural.

Uno de los casos más significativos es quizás, el que tiene lugar en la Isla de Gran Canaria a partir del episodio que conocemos como de los "Trece hermanos", franciscanos mallorquines asentados en ella a fines del siglo XIV, tal como relata, entre otras fuentes, la crónica *Le Canarien* (Le Canarien, Ver-B 1965).

Para facilitar la acción evangelizadora se solía contar con la ayuda de los "lenguas", es decir, aborígenes capturados y posteriormente cristianizados que más tarde servían de intérpretes y actuaban como transmisores de las "enseñanzas" cristianas. Estos son utilizados desde los inicios de la conquista del

⁸ El estudio "antropológico" de los escasos datos disponibles sobre estos pactos constituyen un campo de análisis de extraordinario valor para el conocimiento de las relaciones intergrupales de la población prehistórica de Tenerife. Entre otros aspectos se pone claramente de manifiesto el mencionado peso hegemónico de los menceyatos de Güímar y Taoro sobre el resto.

Archipiélago como parte integrante de una estrategia premeditada.

4 Tenerife y la evangelización de los Guanches: el conjunto arqueológico de Achbinicó

El contacto cultural entre los aborígenes canarios y los europeos que recalaron en las costas del Archipiélago, o los que acabaron asentándose de manera más o menos definitiva en las islas, se desarrolló de forma general según los mecanismos expuestos en el epígrafe anterior. Sin embargo, cada uno de los enclaves insulares poseía sus características específicas, valga como ejemplo las realidades tan dispares que encontraron los europeos entre Gran Canaria y El Hierro. Frente a la complejidad social de la primera, isla con una elevada densidad poblacional y estructura política y religiosa férreamente centralizada, se opone la organización socio-política sensiblemente más simple de los pastores bimbaches (El Hierro). Todo ello originó circunstancias individuales que precisan un análisis en detalle caso por caso. En el presente apartado se analiza el particular proceso evolutivo experimentado por la isla de Tenerife durante el período que antecede a su Conquista.

A modo de hipótesis, resulta posible datar el inicio de las actividades misioneras en la isla, al menos, en el tránsito de los siglos XIV y XV; de hecho se sabe con seguridad que ya habían dado sus frutos en la primera mitad de este último, puesto que en la información contenida en la *Pesquisa de Cabitos* (1477) se hace constar que la población de Lanzarote y Fuerteventura tenía conocimiento de la existencia de "bautizados" en Tenerife.

Es factible que la fundación de un núcleo misional en Telde, una de las dos demarcaciones en que se hallaba dividida la vecina isla de Gran Canaria, debió haber favorecido enormemente la labor de los minoritas en el resto del Archipiélago. En su estudio sobre el Obispado de Fortuna, Rumeu de Armas cita la Bula *Dum diligenter* otorgada por el Papa Clemente VI en 1351, en la que se recoge la intención expresa de dos mercaderes mallorquines, Juan Doria y Jaime Segarra, de organizar una expedición a la isla de Gran Canaria "y sus alledañas" para convertirlas al cristianismo, utilizando para ello indígenas previamente "instruidos en la fe".

No obstante, el paso realmente decisivo en la acción evangelizadora de Tenerife tendrá lugar en torno a 1450-1460, década en la que la Orden Franciscana promoverá la instalación de un eremitorio en la costa de Candelaria, de similares características al de Telde.

En el sudeste de Tenerife, tres eremitas franciscanos convivieron con los guanches, compartiendo

sus costumbres y predicándoles la fe católica en su propia lengua (A. Rumeu 1975, 27 y ss.). El eremitorio debió localizarse cercano a la costa, o bien en el propio litoral y en lugar próximo o vinculado a las zonas de poblamiento aborigen, pues éste constituye uno de los habituales patrones de asentamiento de las primeras instalaciones europeas en el Archipiélago. Ocurre así desde los inicios de la conquista y la razón de ello estriba quizá en el deseo de no desvincularlos del mar, único medio de comunicación exterior, así como en la necesidad de hallarse insertos en las comunidades sobre las que se pretendía influir.

Conviene considerar que en dicho sector del litoral, perteneciente al menceyato de Güímar, uno de los de mayor extensión de la isla, se constata un importante poblamiento en época preconquista, cuyo exponente más destacado es el *Complejo Arqueológico de Achbinicó*. (Fig. 2 y 3)⁹. A ello se añade que frente a las escarpadas costas del norte de Tenerife, el litoral del sur y especialmente el de Candelaria, reúne condiciones adecuadas para el fondeo, lo que debió favorecer su frecuentación por los navegantes bajomedievales. Todo lo cual tuvo que influir de forma decisiva en su elección.

Este singular conjunto integrado actualmente en el pueblo de Candelaria, está constituido por diversas cuevas abiertas en la base de un acantilado costero, en la playa de La Arena (Fig. 3). Reúne excelentes condiciones de habitabilidad; caracterizándose por disponer de amplias superficies, así como de buena iluminación y ventilación, además de hallarse bien resguardadas de los agentes atmosféricos. A ello, se añade su inserción en un territorio con abundante disponibilidad de recursos bióticos y geológicos. La conjunción de todos estos elementos propició una larga ocupación humana en época prehistórica, como así ponen de manifiesto los importantes depósitos arqueosedimentarios que aún contienen algunas de estas cavidades (C.M. Hernández *et al.* 1996 a y c).

En estrecha relación con las Cuevas de Achbinicó tiene lugar un acontecimiento de especial trascendencia que se suma a las estrategias de evangelización anteriormente descritas. Este hecho es la "aparición" de la Virgen de Candelaria, imagen gótica cuya repercusión en el sentimiento cristiano de Canarias se perpetúa hasta la actualidad, convirtiéndose en la

⁹ En la propia Cueva de Achbinicó, conocida tradicionalmente como Cueva de San Blas, se desarrollan los episodios más destacados en relación a los fenómenos de sincretismo religiosos y expansión del cristianismo que tuvieron lugar entre las poblaciones aborígenes de esta comarca. De ahí que, por su carácter emblemático, se haya designado con su nombre a todo el Conjunto Arqueológico.



Fig. 3

Fig. 3. - Complejo Arqueológico de Achbinicó.

“Patrona del Archipiélago” y transformando al pueblo de Candelaria en Villa Mariana receptora de una gran afluencia de peregrinos.

La cronología en que se produce este suceso es un problema que ha sido abordado por varios autores y para cuya solución se han aportado diferentes hipótesis, unas a través de deducciones basadas en las pocas noticias escritas con que se cuenta y otras en el estudio iconográfico de la talla; estudio que sin embargo, no resulta definitivo pues la imagen desapareció a principios del siglo pasado¹⁰. En cualquier caso, las dos hipótesis más aceptadas son, por un lado, la que recoge Espinosa según el cual: “(...) ciento y cinco años antes que la Isla fuera de cristianos ni hubiera en ella noticia de evangelio, fue Nuestro Señor servido (...) que apareciese la Santa Imagen de Candelaria”, y por otro, la que ubica el hallazgo no antes de la segunda mitad del siglo XV (J. Hernández 1975).

Bien fuera traída por los propios franciscanos como elemento simbólico dentro de su actividad evangelizadora, bien fuera abandonada por Diego de Herrera tras su fracasado intento de someter la Isla en 1464¹¹, o bien responda a cualquier otra causa, lo cierto es que los aborígenes del menceyato de Güímar acogerán la imagen y la reverenciarán incorporándola a su cosmogonía.

Los detalles de este episodio se conocen a través de la obra del fraile dominico Alonso de Espinosa (1594), quien relata como: la Virgen apareció de forma milagrosa (“*por ministerio de ángeles*”) en la Playa de Chimisay, donde la encontraron dos pastores que dieron aviso al Mencey de Güímar el cual, tras advertir el carácter sagrado de la talla, la instaló en su propia residencia, la Cva. de Chinguaro, comunicando al resto de menceyes el singular acontecimiento. Una vez reunidos los jefes de la isla, éstos acuerdan que la imagen sea preservada en dicha cueva, donde permaneció hasta que entra en escena el aborígen cristianizado Antón Guanche. Según el mencionado autor, la intervención de este personaje fue decisiva para que los indígenas tomaran conciencia de la verdadera significación de la imagen que guardaban, así como, de la necesidad de instalarla en un lugar más apropiado para su veneración, siendo escogida la Cueva de Achbinicó, donde la encuentran los castellanos cuando en 1496 es conquistada la Isla.

Desde el punto de vista teórico Jaime Alvar destaca que la “aculturación” responde a: “*un proceso cuyo carácter se modifica en el transcurso del tiempo, por lo que hablar de grado de aculturación en una sociedad dada, sólo es posible mediante segmentos horizontales de escasa duración. Si, por el contrario, lo que interesa es el análisis de lapsos de tiempo más o menos extensos, nuestra perspectiva debe atender al proceso de aculturación. Aquí se manifiesta un sentido diacrónico que no tiene el grado de aculturación, pero el proceso debe construirse mediante el análisis del mayor número posible de instantes, es decir, de grados de aculturación*” (1987).

En este sentido, el “instante” que representa la aparición de la imagen y su aceptación por los aborígenes supone un momento avanzado en el proceso de aculturación de los habitantes de Güímar, manifestándose también ese mismo nivel, al menos en el grupo dominante que encabeza el resto de los menceyatos, si hemos de creer al completo el texto de Espinosa. Dicho “grado de aculturación” se sitúa cronológicamente a mediados del siglo XV, lo que con toda probabilidad, pone de relieve la existencia de una etapa previa en la que debieron establecerse las bases de tales acontecimientos, “induciendo” en los aborígenes de esta forma una disposición favorable para la aceptación del “concepto” que representa la Virgen.

Otros elementos contribuyen a definir con más precisión este estado de cosas. En primer lugar, la probable “sincronía” o proximidad cronológica de las primeras referencias seguras a la instalación de un eremitorio franciscano en la zona y la aparición de la Virgen de Candelaria, es una coincidencia imposible de interpretar si no aceptamos que están íntimamente relacionados. En este sentido, la imagen parece erigirse en “herramienta” franciscana de evangelización y el significado que le otorgan los aborígenes debe ser interpretado como resultado de una labor evangelizadora previa.

Desde los estudios filológicos de J. Alvarez Delgado sobre “la religión de los guanches” (1945) y más recientemente en los trabajos del profesor A. Tejera, se ha resaltado el carácter astral de sus principales divinidades y aunque la “arqueología de la

¹⁰ En 1826 una espectacular arroyada destruyó el Santuario de la Virgen arrastrando la imagen al mar que se perdió definitivamente. La Imagen que hoy se venera es una talla del escultor canario Fernando Estévez.

¹¹ El debate en torno a cuándo y cómo se introduce la Talla de la Virgen ha suscitado numerosas interpretaciones entre los diversos investigadores. Esta disparidad de opiniones se debe, en buena medida, a las fuentes a las que han acudido para hacer sus afirmaciones, unas veces basadas en la tradición, otras en situaciones concretas y, otras, en hechos que sobrepasan la realidad. Un estado de la cuestión puede verse en C.M. HERNÁNDEZ *et al.*, *El Conjunto Arqueológico de Achbinicó: Las Cuevas de San Blas y de Los Camellos*, (Candelaria, Tenerife), 1997.

religión” constituye un ámbito de investigación preciso y resbaladizo, lo cierto es que como señala éste último, tanto las fuentes etnohistóricas, como las exiguas evidencias arqueológicas disponibles: “*no parecen dejar dudas a cerca de la creencia de los guanches en el Sol y en la Luna, y en general en los astros, aunque a juzgar por la forma en que se presenta en los diferentes documentos, el Sol parece ser el centro de su cosmogonía, a pesar de que en las fuentes etnohistóricas, posteriores a la Conquista, como en las obras de los religiosos A. Espinosa (1594) y Abreu Galindo (1602), al referirse a las creencias de los guanches, introducen conceptos monoteístas, con connotaciones propias de la mentalidad cristiana, si parece posible entender como sucede en muchas comunidades, que el Sol y también la Luna, fueron el centro de su cosmovisión*” (1988, 12 y 14)¹².

Parece evidente, por tanto, que la “Virgen de Candelaria” cumple la función de nexo entre la cosmogonía aborígen y la cristiana que pretende ser impuesta. Según se menciona en el relato de Espinosa (1594) esta imagen encarna a “*Achmayex Guayaxerax Achoron Achaman*”, que él mismo traduce como “*la madre del sustentador del cielo y la tierra*”. Idéntica interpretación se observa en la obra de Abreu Galindo (1602) quien recoge la denominación de “*Chaxiraxi*”: “*la que carga al que sostiene el mundo*”, o con el contenido de “*madre*” como “*Atmayceguayaxiraxi*”.

Este significado, además, no entra en ningún momento en conflicto con las creencias aborígenes sino que por el contrario, el hecho de ser identificada con “la madre del sustentador del Cielo y de la Tierra” constituye una vía rápida de asimilación de la simbología cristiana dentro de la estructura cosmogónica guanche. El Ser Supremo no parece que sea anulado por la nueva divinidad introducida, sino que ésta adquiere un papel subsidiario pero suficientemente trascendente como para realzar su importancia.

Aunque las manifestaciones materiales que se conocen de las divinidades guanches son escasas, lo cierto es que éstas nunca presentan características antropomorfas pese a encarnar principios masculinos y/o femeninos y disfrutar de atributos propios de la naturaleza humana¹³. *Chaxiraxi* se convierte, por tanto, en la primera “divinidad” antropomorfa de la cosmogonía aborígen. Por ello llama la atención que cuando el fraile dominico relata el encuentro de los guanches con la imagen, lo único que parece suscitar extrañeza entre éstos son “los vestidos” y el “color de la tez”, mientras que rápidamente toman conciencia de su carácter “sobrenatural”, a pesar de manifestarse a través de una figura humana. Espinosa pasa por alto este hecho y en su relato tal circunstancia no parece ser causa de sorpresa. Sin embargo, en base a los actuales conocimientos sobre las creencias de los guanches, puede asegurarse que la presencia de la escultura gótica entre ellos supone un aspecto de gran relevancia por cuanto la aceptación de ésta como algo sobrenatural implica una importante transformación conceptual de la estructura religiosa.

Esta transformación ideológica resulta difícilmente aceptable sin acudir a una influencia externa que posibilitase la admisión de realidades tan diferentes. La presencia franciscana parece ser el elemento más acorde con este papel, introduciendo en la cosmogonía aborígen el nuevo concepto de “la madre del sustentador del cielo y la tierra”, mediante una labor misionera, lamentablemente mal documentada.

La simbiosis causa-efecto, o lo que es lo mismo, evangelización franciscana-aparición de la Imagen que se propone en el presente trabajo no aparece claramente reflejada ni en el relato de Espinosa, ni en ninguna de las restantes fuentes. El dominico, por su parte, considera la aparición de la Virgen como un hecho milagroso, al igual que es sobrenatural la forma en que los aborígenes aprecian su naturaleza divina¹⁴, circunstancia que no debe sorprender dado el sentido laudatorio de la obra. Sin embargo, Espinosa es muy claro al afirmar que sólo mediante la intervención de un intérprete (el lengua Antón Guan-

¹² Existen referencias documentales al carácter astral de la religión de los aborígenes canarios, como es el caso de la bula de Urbano V de 2 de Septiembre de 1369, otorgada con ocasión de la presencia de misioneros catalanes en el Archipiélago.

¹³ Se ha señalado la presencia de figuraciones esteliformes en el interior de determinados recipientes cerámicos del tipo I descrito por M. Arnay *et al.* (1985-87), localizados fundamentalmente en escondrijos en Las Cañadas del Teide (M. Arnay, 1985-87 y A. Tejera 1988). Resultan asimismo significativos los motivos interpretados como “soliformes” en algunas estaciones con grabados rupestres de la isla, cuyos ejemplos más destacados son el de Roque Tarucho (Masca) o el de Roque de La Abejera (Arona). Además de estos símbolos astrales, se han considerado representaciones de la divinidad los “podomorfos” identificados en yacimientos como Roque de Vento (Arona), Tagoro del Rey (Granadilla), etc. (J.Fco. Navarro *et al.* 1994). El denominado “guatimac”, pequeño idolillo antropomorfo, es el único caso de manifestaciones de este tipo en la isla de Tenerife. Se desconocen los detalles del hallazgo y de su contexto arqueológico y verdaderamente representa una excepción.

¹⁴ Espinosa relata como uno de los dos pastores que encuentran la Imagen “(...) tomó una tabona, que es una piedra prieta y lisa como azabache (...) tomando, pues, esta piedra, se llegó a la santa imagen para quererle cortar un dedo de la mano (...) y poniendo el dedo de la imagen sobre el suyo y comenzando a cortar en él, hallóse el necio burlado porque la herida se daba a sí propio en sus

che) los aborígenes son capaces de “entender” el verdadero sentido de la Virgen es decir, el “sentido cristiano”.

El relato de Espinosa reúne pues, algunos de los elementos característicos de los mecanismos de aculturación que se han expuesto hasta el momento. Así, el fraile adjudica a un nativo ya cristianizado la responsabilidad de explicar a los isleños el significado de la escultura y con ello obvia la labor evangelizadora franciscana que, como se ha señalado parece ser anterior a este suceso.

La elección de la Virgen bajo la advocación de la Candelaria tampoco debió constituir un hecho fortuito. Por el contrario, la representación iconográfica de la misma, portando al niño en la mano izquierda y una candela encendida en la derecha, aúna dos “principios” reconocibles en la simbología de las religiones prehistóricas como son, por un lado, la fecundidad y por otro, el fuego, de cuyo valor simbólico entre los guanches existe constancia arqueológica y documental (M^a.C. Arco 1993; C.M. Hernández *et al.* 1996c).

Entre las poblaciones aborígenes del Archipiélago “el fuego” estuvo revestido de un carácter simbólico, ejerciendo un destacado papel en las manifestaciones culturales. Se constata su presencia no sólo en contextos domésticos como meros hogares polifuncionales, sino asimismo en enclaves funerarios, participando activamente en los rituales de homenaje a los muertos y a su vez, en espacios de claro significado religioso, donde se ofrecen sacrificios de animales a los “seres supremos”.

Ya el etnógrafo Bethencourt Alfonso, a inicios de la presente centuria, había establecido relaciones entre una divinidad solar aborigen y el fuego como manifestación terrenal de ésta. Para ello, se basó en la tradición oral, así como en relatos populares de los que él mismo fue testigo, lo que le llevó a afirmar que:

“El culto del sabeísmo o de la astrolatría entre los guanches era universal, figurando el Sol o Magec como el más poderoso y benéfico de los dioses, cuyo emblema en la tierra era el fuego nacido de su seno, tenido por sagrado” (Bethencourt Alfonso (1911) 1994, 269).

Teniendo en cuenta tales cuestiones, resulta verdaderamente significativo comprobar cómo la relación que parece existir entre la divinidad solar y el fuego se sintetiza en el concepto que representa la Virgen¹⁵ y casi de manera paralela puede advertirse también en la propia cueva de Achbinicó, incluso antes de constatar señal alguna de influencia europea. En este orden de cosas, las excavaciones arqueológicas proporcionaron un hallazgo relevante, al exhumarse durante dichos trabajos un “área de com-

bustión” ubicada en el lateral derecho de la misma, muy próxima al acceso y ocupando una extensión mínima de 5 m², en una zona topográficamente elevada, perfectamente visible desde el exterior. Este área se originó tras el funcionamiento simultáneo y reiterado de varios focos encendidos de manera sucesiva y empleando siempre como combustible madera de pino. La riqueza antracológica y las características de los carbones, así como el análisis microestratigráfico permiten reconocer que las hogueras fueron apagadas voluntariamente, sin que se produjera la combustión completa de la madera.

Una función estrictamente doméstica para este área parece difícil de explicar, estando más acorde con sus particularidades una interpretación de carácter simbólico para la misma y, por extensión, para la cueva:

“No cabe duda que una interpretación polivalente de este área de combustión donde se incidiera en su función culinaria, calefactora e iluminadora sería suficiente si no se tuviesen en cuenta factores como: el lugar destacado que ocupa en el interior de la cavidad, su extensión superficial que le confiere un protagonismo evidente o la (...) escasez de restos ergológicos asociados, cuya exigua presencia no se corresponde con lo habitual en otros yacimientos habitacionales, y lo que es más importante, el cúmulo de datos de carácter etnohistóricos ineludibles, en los que se insiste en que la cva.. de Achbinicó constituía un lugar de culto para la población aborigen de Tenerife. En tales noticias existen referencias donde el fuego no es un elemento ausente.” (C.M. Hernández *et al.* 1996c)¹⁶.

El hecho de que la cueva ya tuviera una connotación simbólica para los aborígenes debió constituir un factor determinante para que fuera elegida como lugar donde instalar definitivamente la escultura gótica de La Candelaria, en la que permanecerá hasta que el Cabildo de la Isla patrocine la construcción de una iglesia para su culto en la desembocadura del Bco. de Tapia (1526). Esta superposición no es un fenómeno aislado, puesto que la cristianización de antiguos enclaves aborígenes con un contenido religioso puede rastrearse en numerosos lugares de las

dedos, sin hacer daño a la mano de la santa imagen (...)” (1594-1967, 52-53).

¹⁵ Entre los elementos iconográficos de esta Imagen cabe destacar que sostiene una “candela”, es decir, una llama perpetuamente encendida.

¹⁶ Un exhaustivo análisis, arqueológico, estratigráfico y antracológico, así como documental del área de combustión puede consultarse en C.M. Hernández *et al.* 1996a.

islas de manera más o menos evidente. Es conocida la presencia de podomorfos en el lugar en que aparece la Virgen del Pino en Teror (Gran Canaria); en La Gomera, existen asimismo varias ermitas erigidas en espacios que durante la Prehistoria se destinaron a la celebración de rituales ofrecidos a las divinidades indígenas a juzgar por la concentración de "aras de sacrificio" conservadas, caso de la ermita de las Nieves (San Sebastián) o la de El Calvario (Alajeró). Este mismo comportamiento se advierte en numerosas estaciones rupestres del Archipiélago¹⁷.

Se estimula de esta manera la imbricación entre la religión indígena y el credo cristiano, determinando que desde los primeros momentos de la expansión del cristianismo en el Archipiélago, éste se manifieste a través de rituales sincréticos en los que resulta posible reconocer comportamientos duales. En el caso concreto de la isla de Tenerife son numerosos los elementos que pueden aportarse para describir las características de este sincretismo religioso.

En primer lugar, la propia asimilación de la Virgen de Candelaria/Chaxiraxi, como símbolo de la superposición de dos cosmogonías. En segundo lugar, un elemento de sincretismo no menos importante lo constituye la propia elección de la cueva de Achbinió para albergar y venerar dicha imagen. La cueva, en términos físicos, representa para el aborigen un elemento inherente a su cultura, pues en ellas viven y entierran a sus muertos, por tanto, no es de extrañar que algunas estén revestidas de un carácter simbólico vinculado con el mundo de las creencias de esta comunidad. Existen referencias documentales que señalan la presencia de "cuevas santas" repartidas por toda la geografía insular (J.Fco. Navarro *et al.* 1995).

Ahora bien, aunque el carácter peculiar de Achbinió resulte evidente, no se debe desvincular del contexto general en el que se inserta, donde las excavaciones arqueológicas han puesto de manifiesto el desarrollo de diversas actividades subsistenciales propias de los poblados prehistóricos, lo que significa que sus particulares rasgos están inmersos en un

modelo típico de ocupación costera, pudiendo darse incluso una dualidad funcional para este espacio, al menos en cierto momento de su utilización.

El topónimo aborigen de la Cueva, traducido por el filólogo Álvarez Delgado como "*lugar del esquilmo*", la relaciona de forma manifiesta con el desarrollo de determinadas actividades ganaderas, situación que se refuerza cuando posteriormente, tras el traslado de la Virgen a la Iglesia recién construida, la cueva queda bajo la advocación de San Blas, patrón de los rebaños. En una sociedad de marcado carácter pastoralista, la importancia de la cabaña ganadera rebasa la mera significación económica para convertirse en un elemento organizador de la misma, de la estructura social e incluso de la propia visión cosmogónica (A. Tejera 1992). Nuevamente, con la elección de San Blas parece evidenciarse una clara continuidad, en la que predomina la intención de no desvincular la realidad aborigen de los nuevos conceptos que se introducen.

Espinosa y otros autores describen el tipo de culto que se rinde a la imagen con anterioridad a la Conquista, en la que los elementos básicos son igualmente de naturaleza sincrética: ofrendas de animales, celebración de fiestas y comidas colectivas, participación del fuego, etc:

"(...) della no tuvieron otro conocimiento mas de creer que era alguna cosa sobrenatural; (...). Y así de común sentimiento le ofrecieron, cada cual según su devoción o posibilidad, las más hermosas cabras de sus rebaños que llegaron a seiscientas. Y el rey les señaló término particular, que llaman Igueste, donde se apacentase este ganado (...)" (Espinosa 1594, 61).

"Acuden de todas partes a la dedicación que de la cueva se hacía, y jùntase gran número de gente; ordenan fiestas y regocijos, danzas, bailes pruebas y saltos de mucha ligereza, carrera, luchas, tirar la lanza y otros loables ejercicios con que su mucha agilidad, buena disposición, destreza y

¹⁷ J.Fco. Navarro y Fco. de La Rosa señalan a propósito de la estación de grabados rupestres de Lomo Boyero (Las Breñas, La Palma): "*Las primeras inscripciones han sido realizadas sin duda, por los antiguos palmeros. Los restantes grabados no fueron ejecutados, evidentemente, en un mismo momento ni por la misma mano, por lo que cuesta creer que todos o la mayoría se hicieran con ocasión de un proceso inquisitorial o de otro acto religioso del tipo que fuera. Por eso no descartamos que el 2º y 3º grupo fuera igualmente obra de los indígenas ya cristianizados y/o sus descendientes cercanos, que reincidirían en grabar con mayor intensidad que antes en una tierra que para ellos ya era sagrada – no en vano estaba junto al gran cementerio aborigen del Bco. Del Cuervo. Seguirían utilizando sus técnicas tradicionales para grabar (...), pero ahora incorporando los símbolos de la nueva religión. Pudiera ser, incluso, que los aborígenes cristianizados se aprestasen a "resacralizar" un territorio sagrado – el propio Lomo- o la tierra donde reposaban sus ancestros*". (1992, 251).

En el mismo sentido insisten E. Borges y A. Barro en su análisis de la estación rupestre del "Camino de Las Lajas" (San Miguel, Tenerife): "*(...) No debemos olvidar la importante asociación entre las cazoletas y canales y los cruciformes. No parece casual que el lugar elegido para grabar la cruz, símbolo de la religión cristiana, fuera el mismo en el que los guanches realizaban ritos. Se trata de algo más que una mera coincidencia, debiendo estar relacionada con la intención, en algún momento de la historia insular difícil de precisar, de cristianizar un lugar pagano*" (1996).

fuerzas cada cual procuraba mostrar. Quedó concluido y por ley asentado que tantas veces en el año se junta en este lugar, por honra de la madre de Dios, a sus regocijos y bailes (que otro modo de veneración ni lo sabían, ni entendían) y viendo el mucho gasto que en estos días hacían, acuerdan en uno los reyes de Taoro y Güímar que, pues se juntaban por honra y en servicio desta señora, que ella les diese de comer aquellos días del ganado que le habían ofrecido (...). Así quedó la santa imagen en la cueva de San Blas encomendada a Antón, que era su sacristán y a otros viejos que el rey había puesto para que le guardasen y mirasen por ella, barriendo la cueva donde estaba” (Espinosa 1594, 63-64).

“(...) y hacían procesión y encendían luces a la Virgen paseando la playa donde fue hallada y esto hicieron en secreto aún hasta el tiempo de la conquista” (Marín de Cubas 1694, 221-222).

El concepto que representa *Achmayex Guayaxerax Achoron Achaman* como divinidad de contenido sincrético al servicio de los intereses evangelizadores de la Orden Franciscana, desempeñó un papel protagonista en el proceso de desestructuración de la sociedad indígena. Se eligió el marco geográfico adecuado, el menceyato de Güímar, de carácter hegemónico y que acabará encabezando los bandos que pactan con los conquistadores; se hizo partícipe al grupo dominante para asegurar que fuera aceptada por toda la comunidad; se escogieron lugares básicos en la estructura ideológica de los aborígenes y, por último, se aportó un tipo iconográfico que reuniera componentes simbólicos fácilmente reconocibles.

A partir de la Conquista de Tenerife, el concepto de Chaxiraxi se “difumina” y su lugar es ocupado por la Virgen de Candelaria, como exponente de la simbología cristiana. Su presencia dinamiza la evolución histórica de este lugar, cuyo crecimiento se produce de manera subsidiaria a la importancia del santuario, que actúa como foco aglutinador y de atracción. Sin embargo, permanecerán en torno a la Virgen de Candelaria las reminiscencias de un culto sincrético que vagamente recuerda al ofrendado por los últimos indígenas. El más importante ejemplo de ello son las fiestas que cada año se celebran en Candelaria (15 de Agosto), al igual que en la Ermita del Socorro (Güímar, 7-8 de Septiembre), en las que miembros de determinadas familias de la zona escenifican y rememoran algunos de los episodios más significativos del relato de Espinosa, plenamente integrado en la tradición popular.

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A. Barro Rois, E. Borges Domínguez,
C. M^a. Eugenio Florido, V. Alberto Barroso
& C.M. Hernández Gómez
Dpto. de Prehistoria, Antropología e Historia Antigua
Universidad de La Laguna
Tenerife

A. Larraz Mora
Dpto. de Historia
Universidad de La Laguna Tenerife

Sally M Foster

The strength of belief: the impact of Christianity on early historic Scotland

Until Alan Macquarrie's recent paper on 'Early Christian religious houses in Scotland'¹, one particular area was little touched on in the Scottish literature, namely the structure of the church and any pastoral role it may have had². These are key factors in our appreciation of when the church begins to make a significant impact on early historic society in Scotland and its relationship with the secular authorities.

This paper attempts to draw together recent strands of evidence and ideas and to place them within the broader historical context³. My ultimate concern is what were the motivations behind king Nechtán's eighth century reforms of the Pictish church, and their practice. To arrive here we first need to: refresh our understanding of what modern scholarship thinks was happening in contemporary Ireland with regard to the structure of the church and pastoral care; consider the implications for the pastoral function of the Columban church in Scotland, since some Picts were converted by the Irish and the Columban church was an important influence in Pictland throughout this period; clarify the involvement of the early Columban church in Pictland and explore the evidence for romanising influences in Pictland.

The Irish evidence

The subject of church organisation and structure has been propelled forward in Ireland, England and Wales over the last 15 years, with historians and Celtic scholars mostly at the helm; in its wake, the implications for Scotland have been felt in the literature of the last 5 years. There has been a radical

reassessment of what is meant by the terminology commonly used as well as a belated recognition that the true picture is more complex and diverse than long conceived⁴.

Firstly, Richard Sharpe's work must be acknowledged⁵. He redefines *monasterium* ('monastery') as applicable to a wide range of establishments, and not just the monastic withdrawal from society and living a religious life (bound by vows and in obedience under to a rule under the care of an abbot) with which it was traditionally associated⁶. Sharpe therefore rejects the previous model which saw a progression from an early Irish church organised on the basis of dioceses (ecclesiastical territories under the care of a bishop) to, by the late sixth century, a predominantly monastic ideal. The revised picture is far more complex. In its place in the seventh and eighth centuries he envisages both houses of monks/nuns devoted to the religious life and mother-churches which are the centres of pastoral care, from which are 'run' small churches staffed by no more than a single priest⁷. This is part of a trend which has recognised strong similarities of local organisation in England, Wales and Ireland, and hence the possibility that the church took a basically similar institutional shape in each area⁸.

Not all aspects of the new model are accepted, notably by Colmán Etchingham. His main disagreements revolve around the role of bishops, the nature of *paruchia* and associated ecclesiastical authority, and the extent of the pastoral function. With regard to bishops, he argues that bishops had a more important role in the seventh and eighth century church than has formerly been appreciated, in fact their role was indispensable⁹. Abbots and bishops operated within

¹ Macquarrie 1992.

² Major exceptions are Donaldson 1953; Sharpe 1992; Fisher 1994, 34.

³ I have benefited from discussion with patient members of the Early Medieval Research Group, notably Thomas Clancy, Gilbert Markus and Simon Taylor.

⁴ Clancy 1995 provides a very useful overview.

⁵ Sharpe 1984, 1992, 1995.

⁶ Blair 1995, 194.

⁷ Sharpe 1992.

⁸ In other words, the Irish mother-churches and dependent *monasteria* staffed by pastorally active religious communities are analogous with Anglo-Saxon 'minsters'. See the papers in Blair and Sharpe 1992 for evidence of this general trend.

⁹ The relative roles of bishops and abbots have therefore been reassessed. Bishops are seen to have had high status and an in-

paruchia, the traditional definition of which as 'confederations of far-flung monasteries not coterminous with any tribal kingdom'¹⁰ has now been called into question¹¹. There is agreement that these largely correlate with secular territorial units (*túatha*) and that their extent reflected fluctuations in secular authority¹². To quote Etchingham, "The essential implications of the word are not monastic but relate to pastoral jurisdiction of a bishop ... *paruchia* in addition to its episcopal dimension has connotations of a temporal asset or resource. ... Moreover, while the authority of a leading church over its subsidiaries was important, the essence of the phenomenon was rather jurisdiction – exercised or claimed – over a region and its community"¹³. To expand slightly, the head of the church (*princeps*) in a *paruchia* need not be a bishop, but might be an abbot who could be non-clerical; regardless, the *princeps*'s legal and social standing was that of a bishop¹⁴. The head or mother-church (*andóit*) had the right to provide rulers for its dependent churches, but only if the landowner's kin, the church's tenants (*manaig*) or the kin of the founding or patron saint (*érlam*) were not able to provide one for themselves¹⁵. The church was therefore entirely dependent on the goodwill of secular lords and the acquisition of their material resources. Finally, *contra* Sharpe, whilst in theory pastoral duties were a universal care, in practice it seems that it was largely only manifest as a close relationship between the church and their tenants¹⁶.

Pastoral function of Columban church

Columba was, according to Adomnán, an ordained priest and monk, who baptised, visited the sick, received hospitality, preached and possibly buried the dead¹⁷. We will return later to the question of the extent to which he was also a missionary. But it is clear from the *Life of Columba* that Iona and her daughter island houses were first and foremost eremitic sites and not primarily pastoral missions; the only pastoral care described is taking place away from Iona¹⁸. By Adomnán's time a century later there was an additional burial ground for laity, including kings, on Iona¹⁹ and recent excavations have found what appears to be an early Christian cemetery outwith the *vallum*²⁰. It is unclear the extent to which this arrangement is typical of Columban foundations, although Clancy and Márkus are confident that "Iona's churches elsewhere ... served as bases for the daily pastoral care and preaching tasks of those monks who had been ordained to serve the church as priests"²¹.

There is no record of a bishop of Iona until 'Coeti, bishop of Iona, rested' in 712²² and it is still not clear whether he would have been constantly resident on Iona²³ nor whether he had a successor²⁴. However, we know that from Columba's day bishops did spend time there and some of Iona's monks became priests and bishops²⁵. The episcopal structure and attendant mechanisms were clearly not unfamiliar as the sending of a bishop to Northumbria in 635 also shows²⁶.

dispensable role because of: their unique function in consecration of chrism, churches and other bishops, ordination of priests and acting as confessor to secular and ecclesiastical magnates; their supervision of the pastoral ministry; and their role as ecclesiastical judge. Abbots, who need not be clerics, can be seen to be: wealthy land-owners; administrators of church's temporalities and tenants; may have a general directing role in respect of clergy, but not pastoral jurisdiction; likely to have had secular connections and social influence; and probably had legislating powers (Etchingham 1994, esp. 41, 46-7; Davies 1982, 91-2). We should note that although sacramental functions were reserved for bishops and priests, the pastoral function of preaching and teaching could also be undertaken by monks (Blair & Sharpe 1992, 3-4).

¹⁰ Henderson 1967, 167.

¹¹ See for example Sharpe 1984, 243, 261; Herbert 1988, 5

¹² For example, the increasing concentration of power in the hands of greater overkings from the mid-eighth century. Etchingham 1994, 53, 61, 62; Clancy 1995, 95

¹³ Etchingham 1993, 162.

¹⁴ Charles-Edwards 1992, 67; Etchingham 1993, 145-7.

¹⁵ Etchingham 1993, 155-60.

¹⁶ Etchingham 1991; Etchingham 1994, 45-6. Technically there were detailed contractual obligations between the church and *túath* which were a way of "ensuring that ecclesiastical neglect of its pastoral duties would bring retribution" (Charles-Edwards 1992, 73).

¹⁷ VC I 33; it is not clear if Columba is involved in the burial rite, or merely the baptism of Artbranan, a Pict on Skye.

¹⁸ Macquarrie 1992, 113; Clancy & Márkus 1995, 23; VC I 32; VC I 41, VC I 45; VC II 18; Sharpe 1995, 21.

¹⁹ VC I 16; Sharpe 1995, 67.

²⁰ Excavations in 1992 by AOC (Scotland) Ltd at St Ronan's Church on Iona have revealed a cemetery of E-W extended inhumations and a small rectangular mortared building with clay-bonded walls and lime-mortar wall-rendering which appear to be early Christian in date and lie outwith the monastic vallum, (*Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* 1992, 57).

²¹ Clancy & Márkus 1995, 24. Sharpe 1995, 22 is less confident about "the extent to which the monks were also priests, involved in pastoral work, perhaps even missionary work, or whether some foundations were devoted strictly to the monastic life".

²² Tigernach Annals for 712.

²³ Anderson & Anderson 1961, xlv.

²⁴ Anderson 1961, 102 had suggested that *kathedra Iae*, obtained by Dornene in 713 (Tigernach Annals) was a bishop's chair, but reported 30 years later that this suggestion had met with little approval, (Anderson & Anderson 1991, xlv).

²⁵ Clancy & Márkus 1995, 24. VC I 36 describes how a bishop was brought to Tiree/to the relevant part of Tiree for the ordination of a priest.

²⁶ HE III, 3.

Here, at Lindisfarne, the monastery was both an episcopal residence and monastery, as we have come to expect in the revised Irish model²⁷. However, Bede suggests Iona's organisation was different from the start and still, by implication in his day, 'Iona is always ruled by an abbot in priest's orders, to whose authority the whole province, including the bishop's, is subject, contrary to the usual custom. This practice was established by its first abbot Columba, who was not a bishop himself, but a priest and monk.'²⁸

How then does Iona compare to the reassessed Irish model? She certainly does not fit into Sharpe's model of a mother-church with extensive pastoral duties, but Etchingham's adjustments are more accommodating. We can see how the leader of Iona need not be a bishop, although bishops were necessary; it is plausible that the church's tenants received pastoral care – others benefited incidentally as Columba passed en route to somewhere else; but it is difficult to understand the likely extent of Iona's *paruchia*, and how churches founded in Columba's name outwith Argyll or Ireland would have related to the 'mother-house', if indeed they were expected to. The picture is most confusing, and clearly was so from an early date²⁹.

The involvement of the early Columban church in Pictland

There appears to have been three main axes of Columban influence or infiltration into Pictland: from

the north via the Great Glen, from the south (through the 'intermediary' so-to-speak of the Northumbrian church) and from the west, across the 'mountains of the spine of Britain' and along the valleys and lochs leading to Atholl.

The northern Axis

Adomnán and Bede both emphasise the 'northern Picts' as having been Columba's ambit, although it is unclear if he visited more than once, just as it is unclear if his visits had an explicitly missionary function. Whatever their purpose, however, some conversions were certainly a by-product. The Elegy of Columba (*Amra Choluimb Chille*), perhaps written a year after Columba's death and therefore the most contemporary source for his life, refers to 'tribes of the Tay'.³⁰ However, it is not clear whether 'tribes of the Tay' means all Picts, the 'southern Picts' only, or even if the poet understood what he was talking about at all! But to Clancy and Márkus, this leaves us in 'no doubt' about 'the extent to which he worked as an evangeliser, and where', with its specific mention of Columba's role as a priest³¹ (others are more cautious³²). His unit of conversion, where it existed, seems to have been the individual noble household rather than kings and their courts, as in Northumbria and further south³³.

Conversions aside, Adomnán does state Columba had founded monasteries in Pictland which still existed in his time³⁴ – alas he does not name them – and the inference must be that within about 50 years of

²⁷ Life of Cuthbert 16: 'Let no one be surprised to hear that Lindisfarne, as well as being an episcopal see ... is also the home of an abbot and community... The episcopal residence and monastery are one and the same, and all the clergy are monks. Aidan, the first bishop, was a monk and he and his followers kept to the monastic life ... The abbot, who is elected by the bishop and a council of monks, rules the monastery, while the clergy – priests, deacons, cantors, lectors, and the rest – live the full monastic life together with the bishop. [See also HE, IV 27]. The existence of a visiting bishop from Munster implies that in Columba's time there was no resident bishop on Iona, Anderson and Anderson 1991, xlv.

²⁸ HE III 4.

²⁹ Bullough 1982, 84, 90 observes that Adomnán was oddly 'unassertive' about Iona's supposed superiority as *matrix ecclesiae* (a term usually used of metropolitan churches), if Adomnán was exercising the authority supposedly credited to his predecessors. Should we be giving this observation more weight? As Duncan 1981 has pointed out, Bede's source may have had political grounds for asserting that "Iona held superior authority over all the monasteries established by his [Columba's] disciples in Britain and Ireland" (HE III 4).

³⁰ "For he has died to us ... for we do not have the teacher who would teach the tribes of the Tay ... The northern land shone, the western people blazed, he lit up the east with chaste clerics ... His blessing turned them, the mouths of the fierce ones who lived on

the Tay, to the will of the king ...", translated by Clancy & Márkus 1995, 105, 107, 113.

³¹ Clancy & Márkus 1995, 98, 118–120. Whilst Bede's sources presented an image of Columba as a missionary to Pictland (HE III 4; Sharpe 1995, 32; Clancy & Márkus 1995, 23) perhaps we must simply infer that because Adomnán's *Life* was not written for a Pictish audience, it therefore included little about the Picts (Sharpe 1995, 64).

³² Herbert 1988, 31 sees the emphasis as being on the fulfilment of monastic life rather than pastoral activity, and does not find sufficient information upon which to make assumptions about whether Columba and his followers had a pastoral function.

³³ I owe this observation to Professor Leslie Alcock (*in litt.*). Since Columba was clearly involved in 'rapprochement between secular aristocracy and Christian leadership' (Herbert 1988, 12) this significant difference could perhaps be explained by the fact that he had a greater uphill battle, dealing with pagan kings in a more fragmented society, as opposed to his colleagues in Northumbria who went at the invitation of a powerful Christian king into an area in which Christianity is already likely to have been more prevalent.

³⁴ VC II 46: 'population of Pictland and the Irish who lived in Britain' twice spared from plague in Adomnán's time. '... Surely this grace from God can only be attributed to St Columba? For he founded among both peoples the monasteries where today he is still honoured on both sides.'

Columba's death his followers, and perhaps those of other pioneering missionaries, may have been organising an infant church centred on the Moray Firth³⁵, if not, indeed, further south.

The southern axis

Various strands of evidence, including Bede³⁶, provide evidence that Ninian and his followers were active in southern Scotland south of the Antonine wall during the fifth/sixth centuries, and that the church was organised on the basis of dioceses with bishops. It is in this area and further north amongst the so-called *Niduari* of (?) Fife that Cuthbert, a product of the early Columban church in Northumbria, was probably active in the third quarter of the seventh century³⁷. Depending on one's interpretation of the nature of Northumbrian domination in southern Pictland, this was the area (until 685) into which the episcopal authority of the Anglian bishopric of Abercorn (just south of the Forth) extended.

Arising from this we should note in particular that: the Northumbrian – for which read Columban-derived – church could have been a significant presence in southern Pictland during the late seventh century³⁸; that (post-664) it would have been exerting Romanising influences in this area; and that these missionaries could have been in contact with fellow missionaries elsewhere in Pictland³⁹.

The western axis

The important western routeway could, in theory,

have been open to significant influence during Columba's lifetime, but evidence has not yet been found for this. The earliest evidence is late seventh or early eighth century (see below).

Romanising influences in Pictland

The issue of when romanising tendencies first make their presence seriously felt in Pictland is indistinguishable from the question of how strong a presence the church – or at least the romanising factions of it – had in Pictland in the late seventh/early eighth centuries⁴⁰. We have seen that Christians in southern Pictland could have been aware of such changes through the efforts of Cuthbert and his Northumbrian contemporaries⁴¹, but we have no indication of the extent to which the nobility was either Christian or directly involved in the workings of the church⁴². Our main evidence therefore hinges on the events leading up to the 710s when king Nechtán (706-732) put well-known efforts into reforming the Pictish nation and placing it "under the direction of Peter, the most blessed Prince of the Apostles"⁴³.

Adomnán⁴⁴ was persuaded to accept the Roman practice in 688, and it is therefore from this period that we must consider the nature of any direct influence which he might have been having in Pictland, whilst bearing in mind that we cannot be sure if any of his Columban colleagues would also have advocated such practice. In his time he was perhaps best

³⁵ Hudson (1994, 146) poses the possibility of a seventh century foundation at Deer, Aberdeenshire, being associated with Columba, although Anderson 1965 says the tradition is no older than the eleventh century. She finds no clear evidence of Columba nor any of his contemporaries, but "we are not in a position to deny, anymore than we can confirm, that the seeds were sown in Columba's life time, or even by his own hand" (Anderson 1965, 35). Bullough 1982, 85 suggests that Iona's missionary activity in Pictland need be no earlier than 634/5.

³⁶ HE III 4; Kirby 1973, 22-24 argues that Bede's source for this tradition was the *Niduari* themselves, and that Nechtán possibly had a link with them.

³⁷ Kirby 1973, 11; Life of Cuthbert 11: 'Once he had to go the land of the *Niduari*, a tribe of Picts, to settle some business or other. Two of the brethren travelled with him by boat. (One of them, who afterwards became a priest, brought this miracle to general notice.) They arrived after Christmas ... No sooner had they landed than a violent storm arose, cutting them off completely, and they languished for some days, hungry and cold. ... [After praying] He led them to the bank where he usually spent the whole night praying, and they found three cuts of dolphin meat, ready to cook ... Three days of fierce storm were followed by a calm sea and a blue sky, and they were wafted home with fair winds following.'

³⁸ Kirby 1973, 12, note 31 argues why Hughes (1970; 1980) is wrong about the lack of influence by the Church in Pictland

prior to the early eighth century.

³⁹ Kirby 1973, 11.

⁴⁰ Romanising tendencies within the church were prevalent in Ireland from the 630s, became the official practice of the Northumbrian church from 664 and, whilst prominent individuals within the Ionan church had been persuaded earlier, Iona officially and rather belatedly, only accepted the changes in 716. An issue of practice rather than doctrine, this amounted to the date on which Easter was celebrated, the use of the Petrine tonsure, and church hierarchy – the subordination of abbots to bishops.

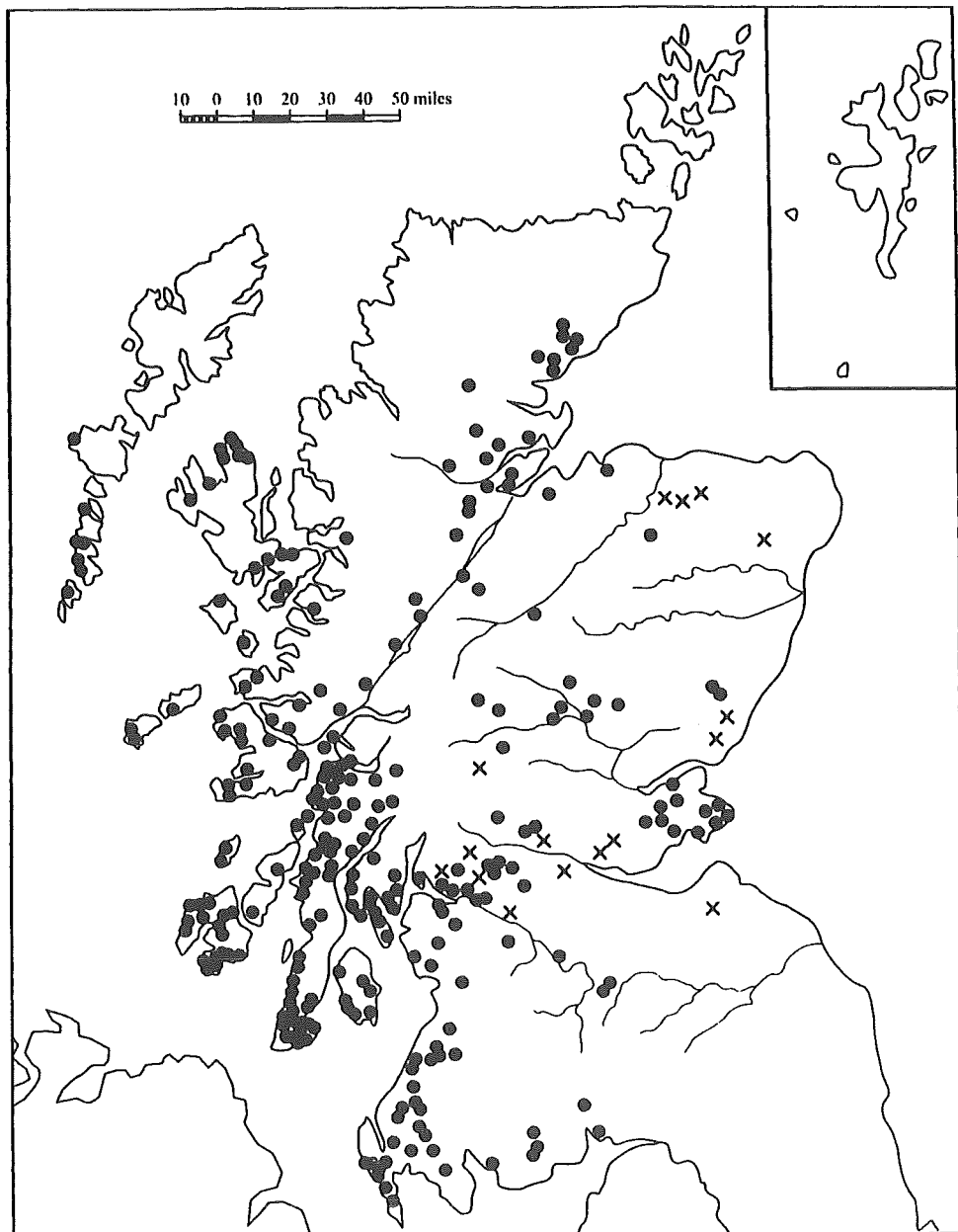
⁴¹ The suggestion has even been made that Irish *Romani* may have worked as evangelists in both Northumbria and southern Pictland after Whitby, because there were not enough English priests to do so (Kelly 1975, 36).

⁴² Although the royal foundation of Abernethy, a sometime episcopal centre, may have an origin in the seventh century (Macquarrie 1992, 116-117).

⁴³ HE V 21.

⁴⁴ Adomnán was quite simply an extraordinary man, amongst others things the champion of a school of thought which wished to create a more peaceful society in which a king was inviolate, ruled peacefully, and where there was an orderly and legitimate form of succession upon his death. As such, he was involved in ecclesiastical and secular politics throughout northern Britain and Ireland, counting many kings as his personal acquaintances and friends. See, for example, Enright 1985.

Fig. 1. - *Distribution of place-names containing cill- and both- (with religious associations) (reproduced with kind permission of Dr Simon Taylor and Scottish Cultural Press).*



known for the Law of the Innocents (*Cain Adomnán*), ratified in 697 at Birr, Co. Offaly, which bound several kingdoms, including Pictland, to the protection of clergy, women and children from violence. Being a guarantor is no proof of having Roman sympathies⁴⁵, but amongst them are several names which suggest that romanising influences were exerting some pressure on Pictland⁴⁶: the king, Bruide mac Derile (695-706; Nechtán's elder brother), and a bishop called Curetán.

Scottish traditions from as early as the twelfth century relate to someone called Curetán and someone called Boniface, but these are obviously conflated and appear to refer to the same person who changed his name to Boniface to mark allegiance to Roman practices. Boniface reputedly built 150 churches in Pictland; Rosemarkie was apparently his principal church but he is also said to have had a second sphere of influence in Angus and the Mearns where Restenneth is also dedicated to St Peter⁴⁷, the saint whose cult is associated with romanisation. It is therefore possible, if all the confusing sources are indeed referring to the same man, that Curetán represented a romanising element within the Irish church and was instrumental in introducing this to the northern Picts⁴⁸, perhaps even as far north as Orkney. Here Raymond Lamb⁴⁹ has pointed to an even geographical distri-

⁴⁵ Picard 1984, 65; Sharpe 1995, 52. Bishop Coeti from Iona was not a Romanist.

⁴⁶ Kirby 1973, 16.

⁴⁷ Kirby 1973, 17; MacDonald 1992.

⁴⁸ Kirby 1973, 17-18.

⁴⁹ Lamb 1993.

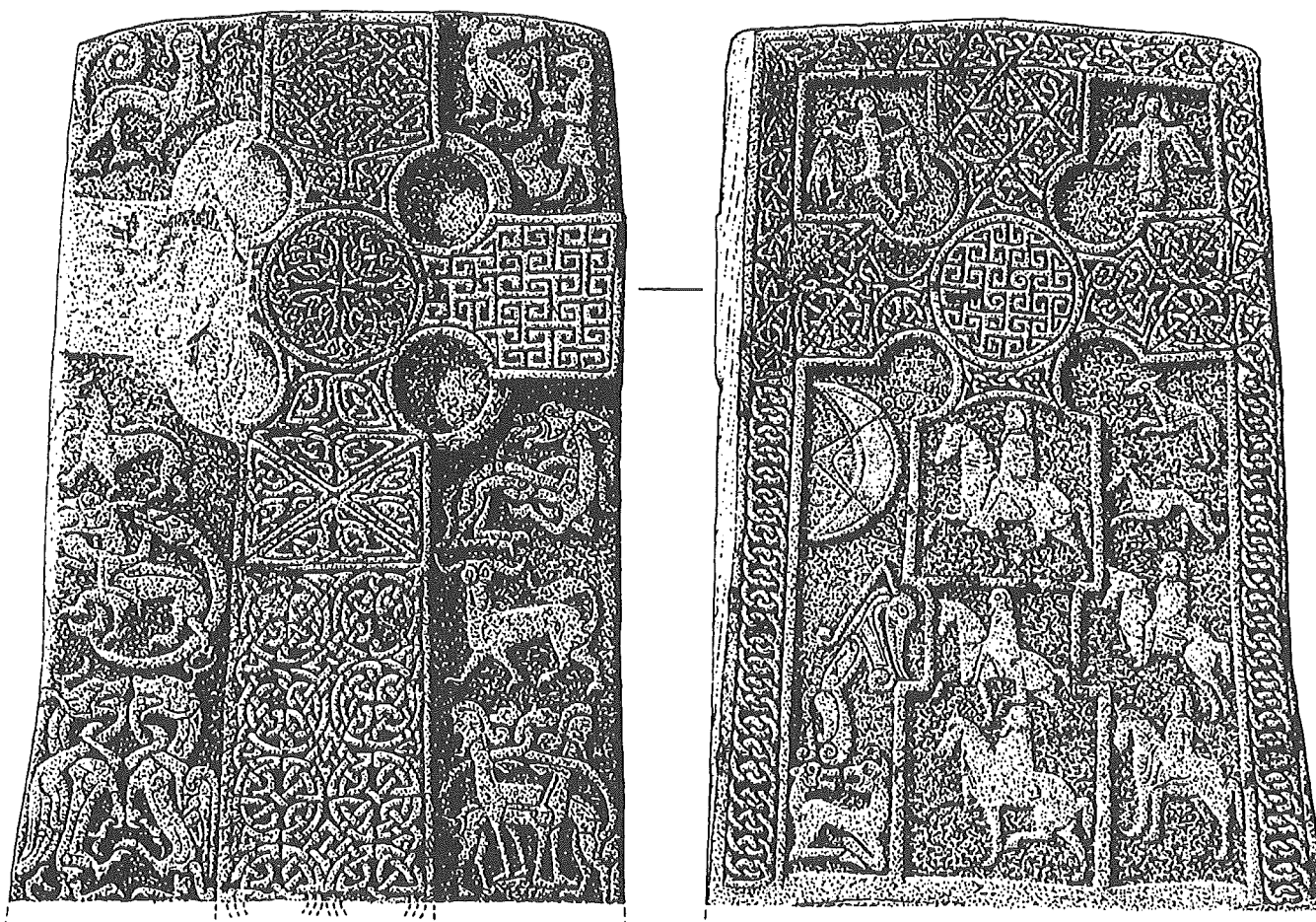


Fig. 2. - Example of an eighth century Pictish cross-slab, from Rossie, Perthshire and Kinross (Crown Copyright: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland).

bution of definite and possible dedications to St Peter in Orkney, each referred to as a kirk rather than a chapel, grander than might have been expected, and sited on the top of broch mounds⁵⁰. According to legend, St Tredwell, a holy virgin, accompanied Boniface on his mission to the Picts. Dedications on Papa Westray to them both suggest that a Northern Isles bishopric may have been intended for here, at a central location⁵¹.

It does therefore seem that monks and probably clerics with a romanising tendency could have been active in Pictland prior to the boosts such efforts received from Nechtán. What is even less clear is who gave Nechtán the inspiration, encouragement and/or incentive to bring the Picts to the 'way of truth' in the 710s, and how much of what I just have described

actually post-dates this. Did Nechtán's influences predominantly stem from Northumbria because of the existence of a southern Pictish church which still had Northumbrian links, the legacy of Cuthbert's contact between the *Niduari* and Melrose⁵² (and Ninian before that), or did they issue from Iona, perhaps via some of the Columban foundations in Pictland⁵³?

New place-name research may shed some light (Fig. 1). Taylor has examined the evidence for *cill*-place-names in eastern Scotland, which are the earliest datable Gaelic place-name element, dating to the period before about 800. There are several clusters which he hypothesises from the use of Gaelic saint names spread from Irish or Dál Riata monastic centres, and which were consciously modernising

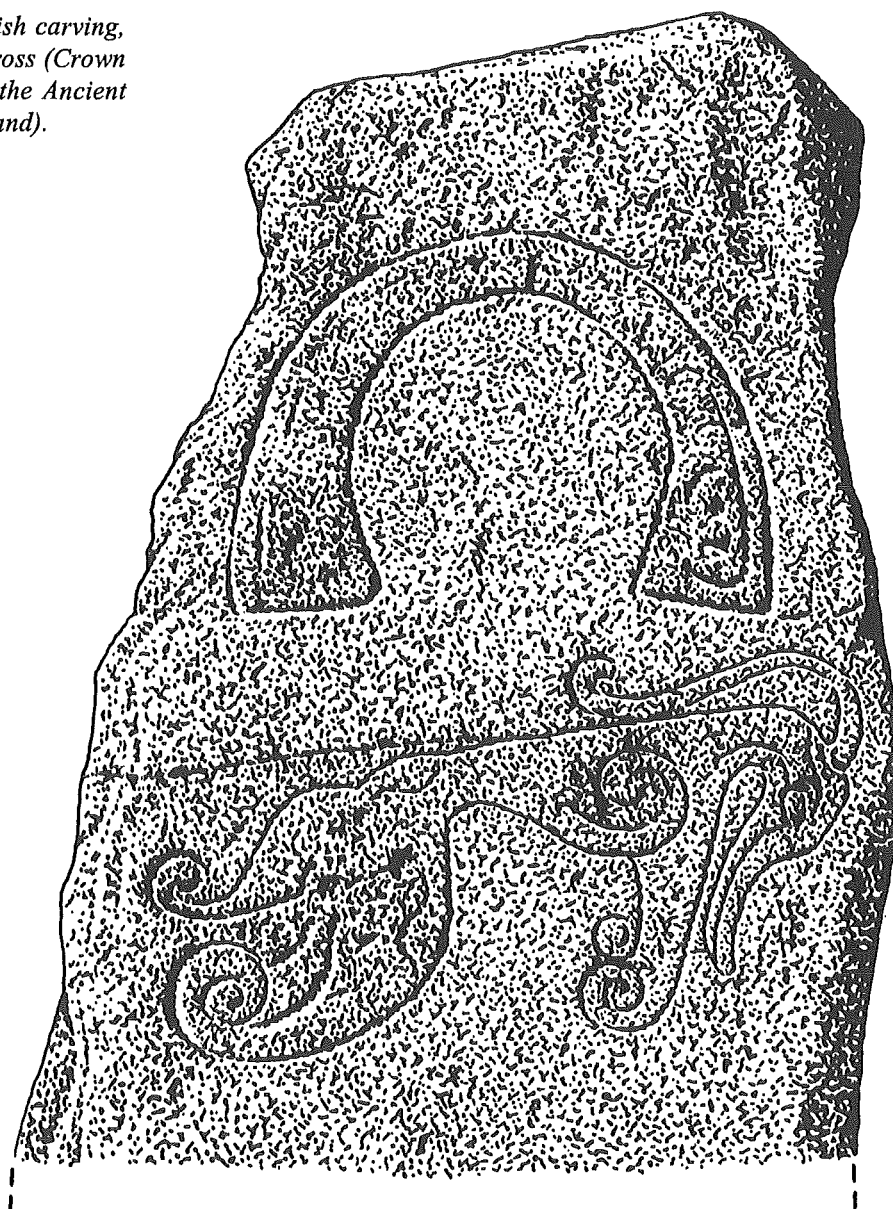
⁵⁰ Brochs are high-status prehistoric settlement sites which we might anticipate were gifted by secular rulers to the church.

⁵¹ MacDonald suggests this main area of work was in fact Angus, under the aegis of Nechtán, and that he then could have retired to the north (MacDonald 1992, 41).

⁵² Kirby 1973, 19; Macquarrie 1993 tentatively identifies St Serf as a Pictish saint who had filled the vacuum north of the Forth after the demise of the Abercorn diocese.

⁵³ This may be a question of which individual was the more important influence: the Northumbrian Egbert, Kirby 1973, 19; Duncan 1981; Bullough 1982, 93; or Dúnchad, abbot of Iona (707-17) under whose auspices the Roman practices were accepted at the monastery in 716 (Taylor 1996; unpublished arguments by Thomas Clancy promote this link by suggesting that Nechtán was in fact a Gael).

Fig. 3. - Example of a Class I Pictish carving, from Bruceton, Perthshire and Kinross (Crown Copyright: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland).



and promoting Roman usages in accordance with the wishes of Nechtán⁵⁴. Notable clusters are around St Andrews and Logierait. St Andrews, founded between 729 and 747, and clearly a royal foundation, also has dedications to Dúnchad, the name of Adomnán's successor, in the vicinity. Logierait was the chief church of Atholl and the earliest form of its name (*Login Mahedd*) almost certainly contains the name of St Coeti, the bishop of Iona who died in 712. In and around this area (Strath Tay), a cluster of five place-names including Adomnán's name make it possible he himself, or at least his romanist followers,

were a presence in Pictland at the turn of the seventh/eighth centuries and provide further evidence of a link with Iona⁵⁵. There is also a cluster of *cill*-names around Rosemarkie and south-east Sutherland, which Taylor is tempted to associate with Curetán⁵⁶.

Motivation behind Nechtán's reforms

Our understanding of what may have been the motivation behind Nechtán's reforms rather depends on our views on whether he got his impetus from Iona

⁵⁴ Taylor 1996, 99-100 suggest that Nechtán was specifically not using Northumbrians for this purpose because the area had so recently been under their domination.

⁵⁵ Taylor 1996, 102.

⁵⁶ Most interestingly, Taylor (1996, 101) also notes in Fife a

different suite of place-names, with *both*- which have a complementary distribution to the *cill*-names. These, he suggests, relate to St Serf, a Pictish saint who may also have been reorganising his church along Roman and Pictish lines (Macquarrie 1993), but outwith the area of Irish or Dál Riata influences.

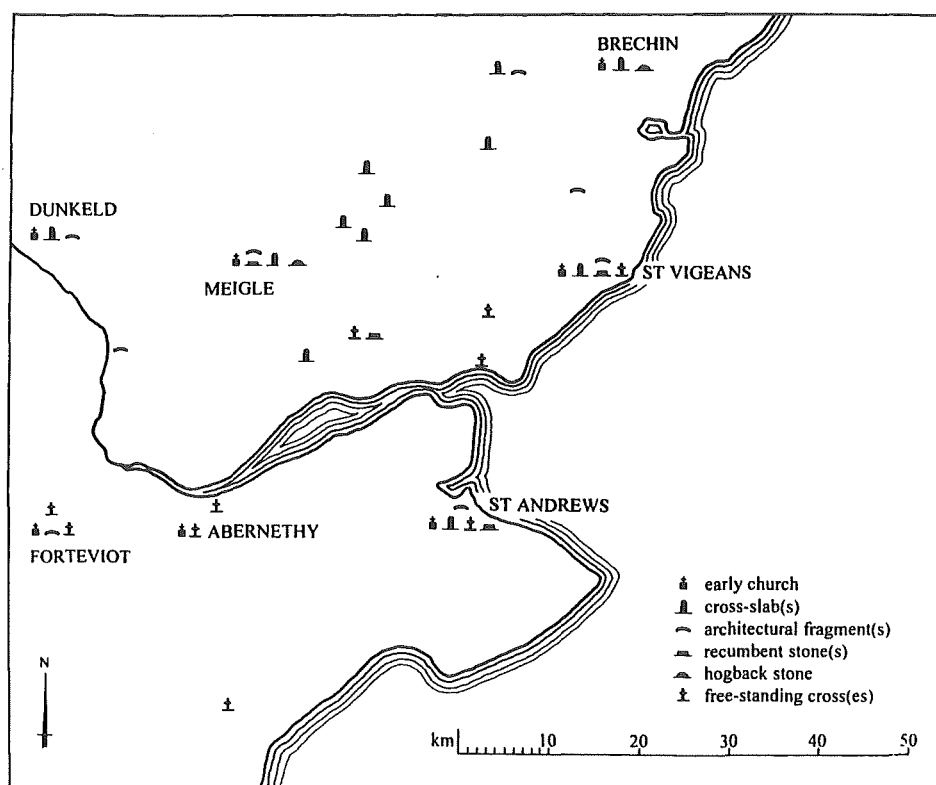


Fig. 4. - Distribution of eighth to tenth century sculpture in the Meigle area, Perthshire and Kinross (reproduced with kind permission of Dr Anna Ritchie and Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal).

rather than Northumbria and our appreciation of the changes which he wanted to effect by adopting Roman practice. His reaction to the 'familia of Iona; who would not convert to the Roman ways, of expelling them from Pictland in 717 remains, in a sense, our only handle on this.

Personally, I feel that we must continue to take the line that Nechtán's reaction was a direct consequence of the power which the Columban monks had achieved for themselves in Pictland⁵⁷ – in other words they were a notable presence in Pictish society, by implication were significant land owners and, to quote Sharpe, "perhaps some refusal on the part of the Columban clergy to accept the king's command made him aware that here in his kingdom were people owing allegiance to an authority outside his political control"⁵⁸. That they owed allegiance to an external authority implies Iona's *paruchia* had a non-territorial component, which is contrary to modern understandings of Irish practice. Although seemingly a pious king, Nechtán's motives appear largely political. He was opting for universalism and Europeanism as opposed to insularity and parochialism⁵⁹; a Church which explicitly forged strong links with kings by

offering Christian legitimisation of kingship through the mediation of the church⁶⁰; and for a Church whose form of organisation tallied with the secular forms of administration which he himself was wishing to consolidate.

The practice of Nechtán's reforms

Evidence for the nature of the reformed church is slim. As already mentioned, we know of the existence of a bishop, but the nature of any establishments which were founded is largely vague. What is clear is the extent to which royalty and nobility participated in the reforms, the main indicator being the cross-slabs of eighth century Pictland (Fig. 2)⁶¹. Erected in the years following Nechtán's approach to Northumbria⁶², they indicate that the local aristocracy gave the Church its full support. Their greatest preponderance lies to the south of the Mounth, possibly because Nechtán's mission was strongest close to home, or because there were already believers in this area. As far as we know, they were not used to mark individual burials, but were

⁵⁷ Kirby 1973, 12, note 31; Macquarrie 1992, 115.

⁵⁸ Sharpe 1995, 34, 76. The implication from Adomnán, etc is that Columban foundations formed part of Iona's *paruchia*.

⁵⁹ Farmer 1965, 15.

⁶⁰ Clancy & Márkus 1995, 33; Sharpe 1995, 60-62; Enright 1985.

⁶¹ So-called 'Class II' stones.

⁶² The timing cannot be more precise, given the difficulties of ascribing a tight date to the individual sculptures.

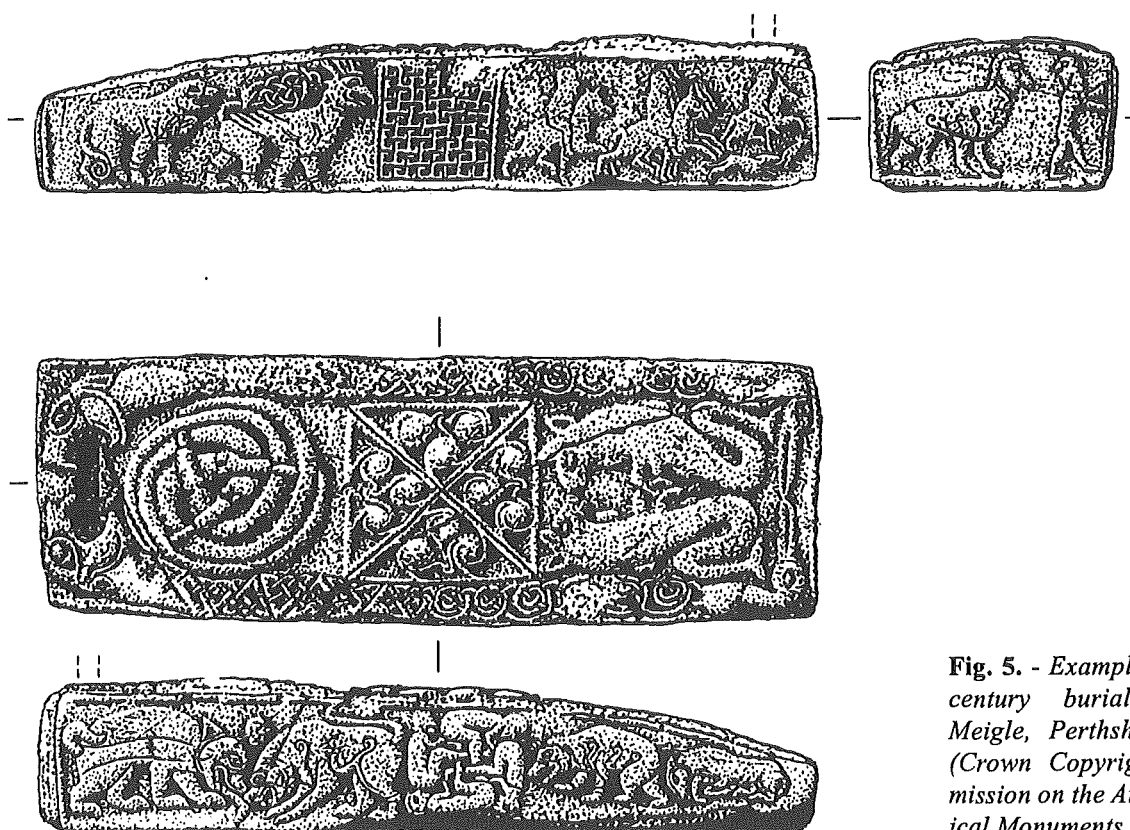


Fig. 5. - Example of a ninth/tenth century burial marker from Meigle, Perthshire and Kinross (Crown Copyright: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland).

public statements about the beliefs of the wider community and the taste and sophistication of their patrons.

Their form and the adoption of interlace are an imaginative and distinctive response by Pictish masons to the artistic and technological inspiration of their Northumbrian counterparts⁶³, a legacy of the close relationship between the two kingdoms. More importantly, their content encapsulates the changing political scene. On one side of them can be found a magnificent cross, whilst somewhere – front or more often reverse – is reserved for images of the secular patrons, who are usually male. Their status is reinforced by their recurrent depiction in the noble pursuits of hunting and riding; the emphasis is on association with a high-status activity rather than (as far as we can tell) depiction of readily identifiable individuals). These are juxtaposed with revamped Pictish symbols, whose relevance is obviously transferable to a Christian context.

I have argued⁶⁴ that the symbols were first used on Class I stones (Fig. 3) to evoke aspects of religious belief and the high-status pagan individuals in control of this, and that they were employed in situations

where they affirmed and enhanced both the status of the elite (who had godly attributes) and respect for the gods (with whom the elite interceded). Applied subsequently in a Christian context, the use of the designs can be understood at several levels. Firstly, the designs evoke both the status and ritual authority of the secular patrons, aspects of which have now passed to the Church. Yet at the same time the designs are being employed in a familiar 'votive' context – invoking godly favours – and their message would still be understood by a wider public. At a third level, they consciously refer to the sense of Pictish identity, an identity promoted on the Class I stones but now applied to bolster a new, politically-motivated ideology, radiating from southern Pictland.

The location, nature and content of sculptural assemblages can give us a further insight into the relationship between the church and secular authorities. Abernethy may have been a seventh century royal foundation⁶⁵, but Nechtán's church is the first certain royal foundation built, as we know from Bede, in the Roman manner. It is not described as a *monasterium*, but, according to Macquarrie, Bede's words "might be taken to imply that Nechtán's foundation

⁶³ See, for example, Henderson 1994, 84.

⁶⁴ Foster 1996, 76-7, 95; I am much in sympathy with the

work of Driscoll 1988.

⁶⁵ Macquarrie 1992, 114-118.

was staffed by priests and monks and had an extensive jurisdiction throughout the Pictish kingdom”⁶⁶. It is from this period that we find more numerous foundations and greater initiative by lay persons in their foundation, hence their proximity to high status centres (Fig. 4). Examples include St Andrews, which I have mentioned previously, Meikle – known to have been the burial place of at least one king and St Vigean which was also patronised by royalty⁶⁷. These include some centres which in due course appear to have also had elaborate stone churches. Anna Ritchie, in her recent study on lay patronage in Tayside⁶⁸, argues that both Meikle and St Vigean, each with their large assemblages, were in fact centres of lay patronage rather than monasteries in the traditional sense. I would add, however, that there is no evidence that such ecclesiastical foundations need not have been *monasteria* in the wider sense applied by Sharpe (see above). Meikle and St Vigean would seem to equally fit the picture of well-patronised mother-churches, established with royal authority, which also fulfilled an important function as high status burial centres, particularly during the ninth and tenth centuries (Fig. 5). In seeking the location of dependent churches and/or church lands, I would suggest that we need look little further than the cross-slabs which have a wider distribution in the neighbouring countryside. Place-names are adding another dimension, which there is not time to go into here,

except to say that several local studies infer the presence of mother churches and their subsidiaries/pre-parish structures for pastoral care in the eighth/ninth centuries, and the question is how far back these can be pushed⁶⁹.

To conclude, whatever his religious motives, by adopting the Roman practice, Nechtán killed several political and religious birds with one stone, and in doing so promulgated a unified church for the Picts, throughout Pictland. The conscious introduction of a reformed Church appears an effective way of both consolidating and extending royal authority, not least to areas which may still have been ripe for conversion. Land could be granted to the Church whose monks and clerics, in tandem with the nobility, presumably acted as the king’s local agents and representatives. But the real success appears to be the extent to which the nobility apparently granted land and its associated material and human resources to the church. It is these transactions, which I would suggest, are marked by the erection of many of the cross-slabs, testifying to the relationship between the church and the donor of the land. Any associated pastoral system, however limited, was also a means of extending and establishing an ideology which was pro-‘State’ and supported the wider aspirations of a Pictish king attempting to consolidate and legitimise his rule through peaceful means.

⁶⁶ Macquarrie goes further, and suggests Scotland resembled Anglo-Saxon England in the sense of having mother-churches and arrangements for pastoral care (Macquarrie 1992, 114-115).

⁶⁷ Clancy 1993 interprets the inscription on the Drosten Stone as *i ré Uoret* and associates with Pictish king Uarad, son of Bargoit, hence suggesting a close dating of the stone to 839 x 842.

⁶⁸ Ritchie 1995.

⁶⁹ For example, Barrow’s work in Badenoch and Strathspey suggests that places of worship were pervasive and associated with small territorial land divisions – davochs and half-davochs – some of which were ultimately selected in the process of parish formation as suitable for parochial status. “I would suggest that at some remote period there was an intention, not invariably realised but effective in many cases, to provide a place of worship, where mass could be offered and the faithful baptized and buried, in many of the davochs and even in many half-davochs. In the process of parish formation, largely during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, certain of these places of worship ... were selected, for one reason or another, as suitable for parochial status. They would be given the half-davochs or (in a few instances) the davochs in which they were situated as endowments, or at least the bishop would claim the land as his to hold on behalf of the church. Of the remaining places of worship, some would remain as dependent chapels often associated with a half-davoch or davoch, while others, many of which have perhaps left no trace save an ephemeral burial-site or sculptured stone, were allowed to disappear. Such a hypothesis would help to account, incidentally, for the very large number of ecclesiastical place-names in *cill*, **egles-*, *cladh* etc. which have survived in record, tradition and current use, far in excess of the total of known parishes” (Barrow 1989, 9-10). Clancy 1995, following the Irish lead, suggests that in Scotland the term *andóit* describes ‘a church in a superior relationship to others, but still potentially functioning at a local level, and involved in the provision of pastoral care, and more specifically ... in receipt of certain pastoral dues both from its constituent and its subordinate churches’. *Annaid* ultimately derives from Latin *ant(i)tatem*, ‘ancient/prior foundation’; in Scotland it has little correlation with major monastic foundations. MacDonald 1973, had previously interpreted this as churches which had been abandoned and subsequently replaced – ‘the old church (site)’. Definitions of *andóit* found in early Irish legal material suggest the primary meaning is ‘a church which has prior claim or precedence over other churches’ and which was generally used in context of local pastoral provision (Clancy 1995; Clancy 1996, 96, 100; Etchingham 1993, 154-5). Looking at the Scottish names, most of these are unfortunately compound names, so there is no need for these to be the place referred to as *annaid*. The church in question may be a *kil-* name. With regard to the *annaid* names, his overall conclusion is that in both eastern and western Scotland they commonly refer to the location of a proto-parish church or land which it owned of unknown date(s), but possibly falling between 800 and 1100.

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Dr. Sally Foster
Inspector of Ancient Monuments
Historic Scotland
Longmore House, Salisbury Place
EH9 1SH Edinburgh
Scotland, UK

María Pilar García Cuetos

El Culto a las Reliquias en Asturias. La Cámara Santa y el Monsacro, Oviedo, Asturias, España

1 Origen y desarrollo del culto a las reliquias de San Salvador de Oviedo

En un reciente y esclarecedor estudio, la profesora Suárez Beltrán analiza el desenvolvimiento del culto a las reliquias de San Salvador de Oviedo y el origen del primer relicario de las mismas, la Cámara Santa de Oviedo, edificio que, a su vez, el profesor Ruiz de la Peña sitúa, a mi juicio definitivamente, en su magnífico estudio sobre la Monarquía asturiana¹ en el reinado del rey Alfonso II, el Casto.

El origen del culto a las reliquias es, según Suárez Beltrán, tan antiguo como la propia ciudad de Oviedo, una ciudad en la que Alfonso II erigió un complejo político-religioso que comprendía la basílica de San Salvador y los doce Apóstoles, una iglesia-panteón de los monarcas asturianos dedicada a Santa María, un palacio y una capilla relicario palatina, que hoy conocemos como Cámara Santa y en la que se custodia el Arca Santa. Dicha Arca, como bien resumió Eloy Benito Ruano², acogería el contenido de otra, nombrada por ello Santa, en la que los apóstoles habrían depositado en Jerusalén numerosos objetos sagrados atañentes a las personas de Cristo, la Virgen María, profetas, santos y los propios apóstoles. Además, y *extra archam*, se custodiaban en Oviedo otras reliquias que aún hoy pueden verse en la Catedral: una de las hidrias de las bodas de Caná y la Cruz de la Victoria, donada por Alfonso II. Es, pues, el Arca Santa, la de la nueva Alianza, remedo de la de los judíos y, como ésta fuera guardada dentro del Templo de Jerusalén, la ovetense fue alojada en la

Cámara Santa, la capilla-relicario del palacio del rey Alfonso II. Las reliquias en ella contenidas protegerían al monarca y al reino y, posteriormente, fueron objeto de culto masivo, como veremos a continuación.

Esta hipótesis sobre la Cámara Santa, profundamente arraigada en la tradición, ha sido puesta en cuestión recientemente por César García de Castro³. En su opinión, la Cámara Santa sería una capilla-panteón episcopal, erigida sobre el 884-885, que hasta comienzos del siglo XII no pasó a alojar el relicario de San Salvador y a convertirse en centro de peregrinación. No es este el lugar adecuado para comentar detenidamente estas hipótesis y la prolija argumentación que las sustenta, pero sí de dejar claro que disiento de sus afirmaciones sobre que el culto a las reliquias de San Salvador, del Arca Santa, se inició con la deposición de la misma en el piso alto de la Cámara, llamado Capilla de San Miguel, a finales del siglo XI. Analizando las fuentes epigráficas y documentales, expuestas por el propio García de Castro⁴, lo que parece quedar fuera de toda duda es la importancia de las reliquias guardadas en algún lugar del conjunto tejido alrededor de San Salvador de Oviedo, a las que se hace mención expresa en una donación⁵. Y sobre lo verídico de la existencia de una capilla relicario palatina, considero que no puede ser más explícita la transcripción de la lápida que en su momento se incrustó en la fortificación que Alfonso III (886-910) mandó levantar inmediata a la actual catedral y que tenía como finalidad, tal y como se expresaba en ella, defender el “*aula thesauri*” sita junto a San Salvador de Oviedo⁶. Ese Aula del Tesoro no

¹ SUÁREZ BELTRÁN M^a.S., Los orígenes y la expansión del culto a las reliquias de San Salvador de Oviedo, en: *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela y San Salvador de Oviedo en la Edad Media*, Oviedo, 1993, 37-55; RUIZ DE LA PEÑA SOLAR J.I., *La monarquía Asturiana (718-910)*, León 15, especialmente 73-82.

² Vid: BENITO RUANO E., Quien va a Santiago y no a San Salvador, en: *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela y San Salvador de Oviedo en la Edad Media*, Oviedo, 1993, 15-16.

³ GARCÍA DE CASTRO VALDES C., *Arqueología Cristiana de*

la Alta Edad Media en Asturias, Oviedo, 1995, 345 y ss.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 345-347.

⁵ Un análisis de la misma: *ibid.*, 245-246.

⁶ La transcripción expuesta por el propio García de Castro recoge textualmente que se erigió la fortificación para defender el Aula del Tesoro de la iglesia de San Salvador de Oviedo, vid: *ibid.*, 84-85, asimismo, García de Castro cita reiteradamente el aula del Tesoro en cuestión, pero no la relaciona con la Cámara Santa.



Fig. 1 - Cámara Santa. Interior capilla superior.

es otra que una capilla aulica, palatina, cuya tipología queda clara en el propio término "*Aula*", iglesia o capilla de una sola nave, y en la que se custodiaba el Tesoro, que, como es bien sabido, en la Edad Media designaba objetos de valor, como parece deducir García de Castro, pero también, y más aún, lo máspreciado: las reliquias.

La devoción local por las reliquias ovetenses es, por lo tanto, tan antigua, o más, que el culto a Santiago de Compostela, aunque, tras el período de la Monarquía Asturiana, el relicario ovetense parece aletargarse y no será hasta el siglo XI cuando comience a detectarse en Oviedo un interés claro por revalorizar su santuario, rivalizando incluso con el compostelano. Se vivía entonces en Asturias un proceso incipiente de reactivación económica y parece que el auge peregrinatorio sería uno de los factores

que propiciaría el desenvolvimiento de la región y muy especialmente, de Oviedo, la capital⁷. Lo que podemos considerar como el "lanzamiento", la difusión del culto por las reliquias, se inicia con el intento de apertura del Arca Santa, efectuado bajo el obispado de Ponce de Tavérnoles, y se fue afianzando por el interés de monarcas como Fernando I y Alfonso VI, quien asistió a la apertura del Arca, acaecida en Oviedo en el año 1075, ceremonia teñida de un carácter milagroso, que engrandeció la imagen del rey y contribuyó a convertir el relicario ovetense en el segundo centro de peregrinación español, después de Santiago. Las primeras referencias documentales de la expansión del culto por las reliquias vienen de la mano de una especie de catálogoguía elaborado por los obispos ovetenses y destinado a informar a los peregrinos⁸. La Mitra será, desde el principio, la en-

⁷ Sobre el tema de las peregrinaciones a San Salvador y su repercusión vid: URÍA RIU J., La peregrinación a Oviedo en relación con la Compostelana, en: LACARRA, URÍA & VAZQUEZ DE PARGA, *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela II*, Madrid, 1949, 457-496; FERNANDEZ CONDE F.J., El atractivo de

las reliquias de San Salvador, en: *Historia de Asturias IV*, Ayalga, Vitoria, 1979, 210-215; RUIZ DE LA PEÑA SOLAR J.I., *El comercio ovetense en la Edad Media. I de la civitas episcopal a la ciudad de Mercado*, Oviedo, 1990, cap. I.

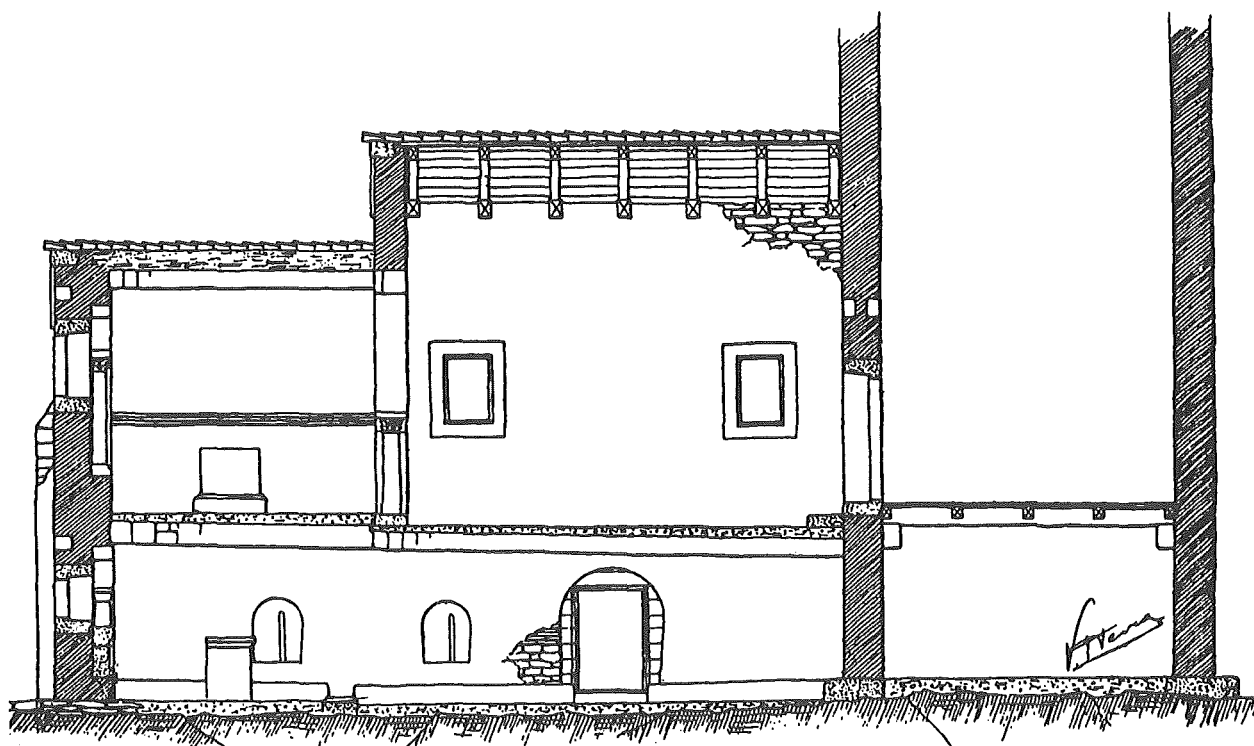


Fig. 2 - Cámara Santa. Sección antes del siglo XII, según Victor Hevia.

cargada de difundir fuera de nuestras fronteras el culto de San Salvador de Oviedo.

2 La Cámara Santa. El relicario palatino y sus transformaciones.

Para erigir la capilla relicario de Alfonso II, se eligió la tipología de edificio rectangular de dos plantas que seguiría, según la tesis más extendida, la tradición de los *martiria* cristianos, herederos, a su vez, de los mausoleos paganos⁸. Al momento de la primera construcción correspondería, por lo tanto, una concepción del edificio que, en palabras del pro-

fesor Bango Torviso, "coincide con los restantes oratorios privados europeos en la síntesis de su doble funcionalidad de relicario y uso regio"¹⁰ y cuyas dos plantas superpuestas responden a esa doble función: la cripta alojaría los restos de los Santos Eulogio y Leocricia¹¹ y bien pudo ser utilizada por los obispos ovetenses como lugar privilegiado de enterramiento por su cercanía a las tumbas de los mártires, toda vez que los reyes tenían su propio panteón¹², y el piso alto fue concebido como capilla u oratorio privado que acogería el Arca Santa. Entre ambas dependencias no existiría, tal y como bien señala García de Castro, una *fenestella confesionis*, comunicación entre la cripta y la capilla, pero esta circun-

⁸ Sobre el tema vid: SUAREZ BELTRAN, *ob. cit.*, 46 y ss. Una transcripción de dos narraciones del traslado de las reliquias en FERNANDEZ CONDE F.J., *La Iglesia de Asturias en la Alta Edad Media*, Oviedo, 1972, docs. II y III.

⁹ La tesis, expuesta por diferentes autores, entre ellos Krautheimer, es la que expone la profesora Etelvina Fernandez Gonzalez en un brillante estudio en el que se establecen diferentes precedentes del tipo de la Cámara Santa, sobre el tema vid: FERNANDEZ GONZALEZ E, *Estructura y simbolismo de la Capilla Palatina y otros lugares de peregrinación: los ejemplos asturianos de la Cámara Santa y el Monsacro*, en: *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela y San Salvador de Oviedo*, Oviedo, 1993, 335-397. Además, la profesora Fernandez Gonzalez defiende la propuesta de que la Cámara Santa es una capilla u oratorio palatino, una hipótesis que sigue las expuestas por Helmut Schlunk y más recientemente por los profesores Joaquín Yarza e Isidro Gonzalo Bango Torviso, que ella resume muy acertadamente en su trabajo.

El documento que manejo ha sido publicado recientemente por la profesora María Josefa Sanz Fuentes. Vid: *Narración del traslado del Arca Santa desde Jerusalén a Oviedo, Liber Testamentorum Ecclesiae Ovetensis*, doc. 4, M. MOLEIRO ed. 1996, 408-415 y 456-461.

¹⁰ BANGO TORVISO I.G., *El arte Asturiano y el imperio Carolingio*, en *Arte Prerománico y Románico en Asturias*, Villaviciosa, Gijón, 1988, 31-88.

¹¹ Al respecto de los mártires enterrados en la cripta, remito a las conclusiones del doctor García de Castro, expuestas en su *ob. cit.*, 349-350.

¹² Esta tesis ya la había expuesto hace años Iñiguez, quien señala que el edificio que custodiaba las Santas Reliquias sería considerado por ello un recinto funerario de gran prestigio, al hablar de los *martiria* cristianos, vid: IÑIGUEZ J.M., *Síntesis de arqueología cristiana*, Avila, 1977, 77-78, el mismo autor fue citado por la profesora Fernandez Gonzalez en su obra, ya citada, p. 345; asimismo, un estudio fundamental y esclarecedor

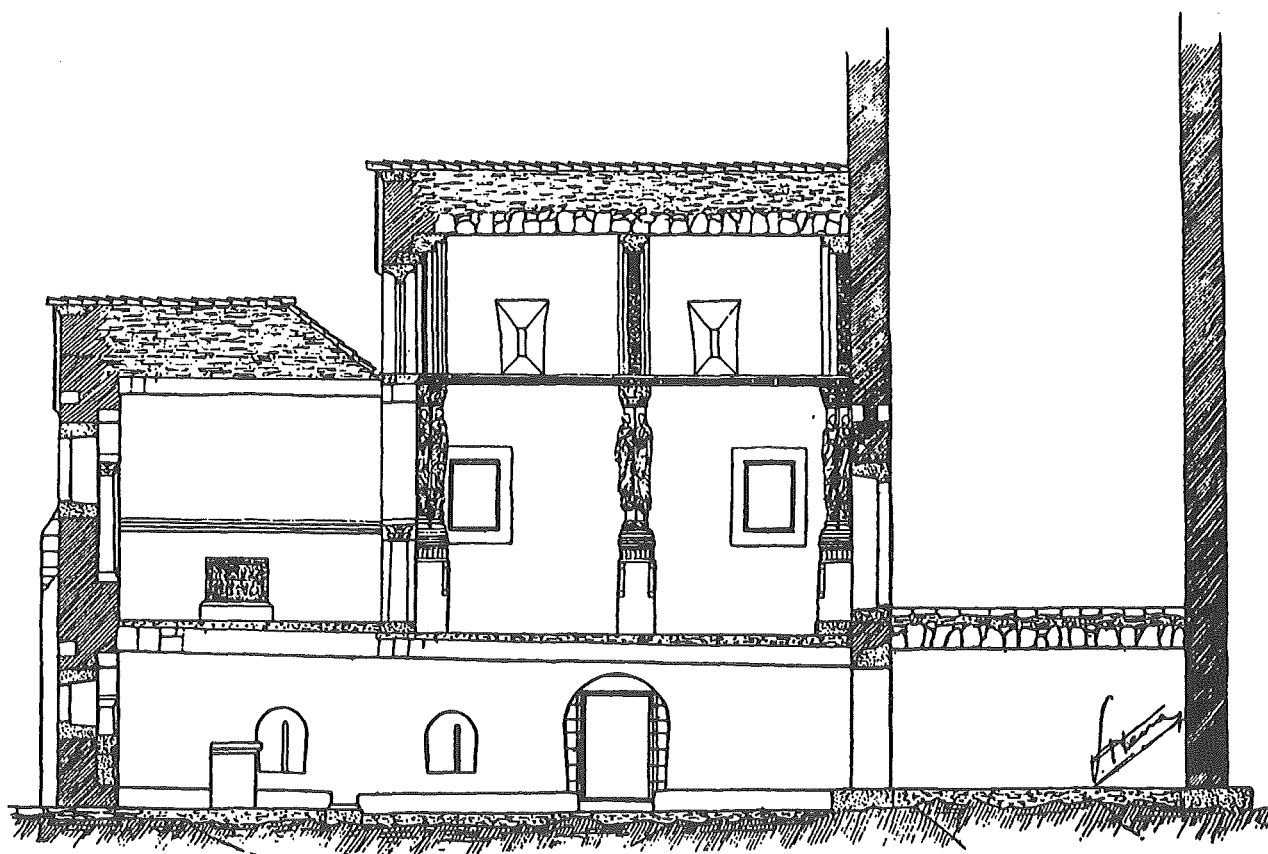


Fig. 3 – Cámara Santa. Sección después del siglo XII, según Victor Hevia.

stancia, al contrario de lo expuesto por el autor, en nada invalida la hipótesis tradicional de un edificio concebido para un uso privado y no abierto en su origen a la recepción de peregrinos.

La siguiente etapa sí supone la apertura de la Cámara Santa a la peregrinación y a un culto esencialmente vinculado con Cristo y las reliquias venidas de Tierra Santa, que debemos inscribir en el ambiente favorable desatado por la Primera Cruzada. Como adelanté, la apertura del Arca, acaecida en el año 1075, marca un punto de inflexión en el desarrollo del culto por el relicario ovetense y aquella fue recubierta por placas de plata repujada¹³ cuya iconografía ha sido analizada en diferentes trabajos por el profesor Serafin Moralejo, quien interpreta la ovetense como una Nueva Arca de la Alianza¹⁴ en unas acertadísimas reflexiones. Y, ciertamente, a mi juicio, el Arca Santa de Oviedo sería, a los ojos de la

Mitra ovetense y de los peregrinos medievales, el Arca de la Nueva Alianza porque acogía las reliquias del Salvador, la Virgen y los apóstoles, procedentes de la tierra en la que habían tenido lugar los acontecimientos de la Salvación. Semejante conjunto de reliquias era difícil de igualar, más si se localizaba de camino hacia el principal centro de peregrinación: Compostela, y la romería fue en ascenso. De esta manera, y en palabras de Suárez Beltrán¹⁵ "puede decirse que, a mediados del siglo XII, la peregrinación al relicario ovetense inicia su etapa de mayor esplendor", coincidiendo, y esto es muy importante, con la previsible pérdida de los Santos Lugares, con la caída de Jerusalén. En un momento álgido de la peregrinación, y en medio de una psicosis colectiva para la cristiandad, que se veía ya despojada de los lugares emblemáticos de la vida, la pasión y la resurrección de Cristo, el relicario ovetense reforzaría su

sobre los espacios privilegiados de enterramiento en: BANGO TORVISO I.G., El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados en la arquitectura medieval española, *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte IV*, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1992, 93-132.

¹³ Sobre el tema Vid: FERNANDEZ GONZALEZ E., *op. cit.*, 349.

¹⁴ Concretamente: MORALEJO S. 1980: "Ars Sacra" et sculp-

ture romane monumentale: le Trésor et le Chantier de Compostelle, *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuixá*, nº 11, Juillet 1980, 206 y: Les arts somptuaires hispaniques aux environs de 1100, *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuixá XIII*, 1982, 288-289.

¹⁵ SUAREZ BELTRAN M^a.S., *ob. cit.*, 55.

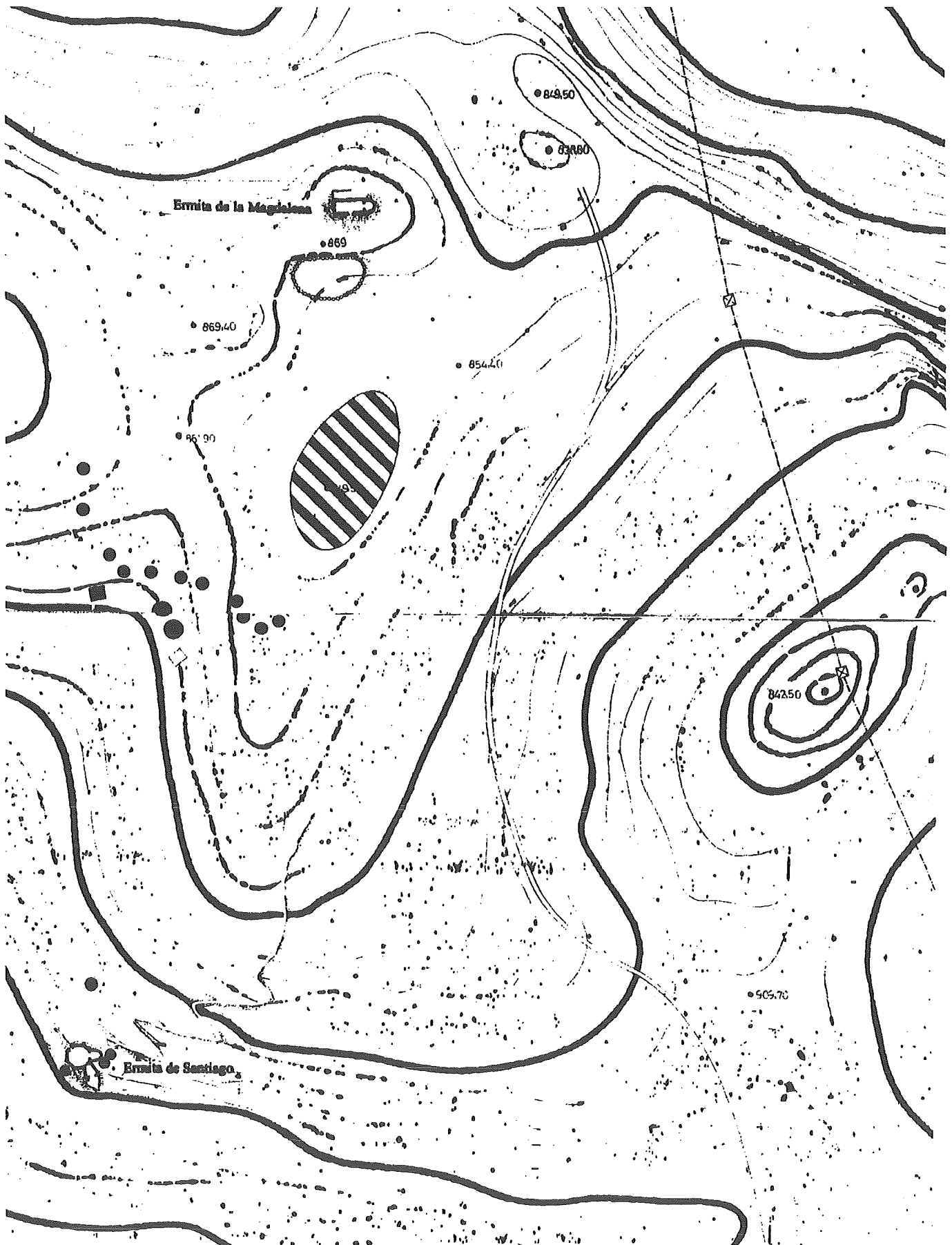


Fig. 4 - Capillas de Santiago y la Magdalena del Monsacro. Situación.

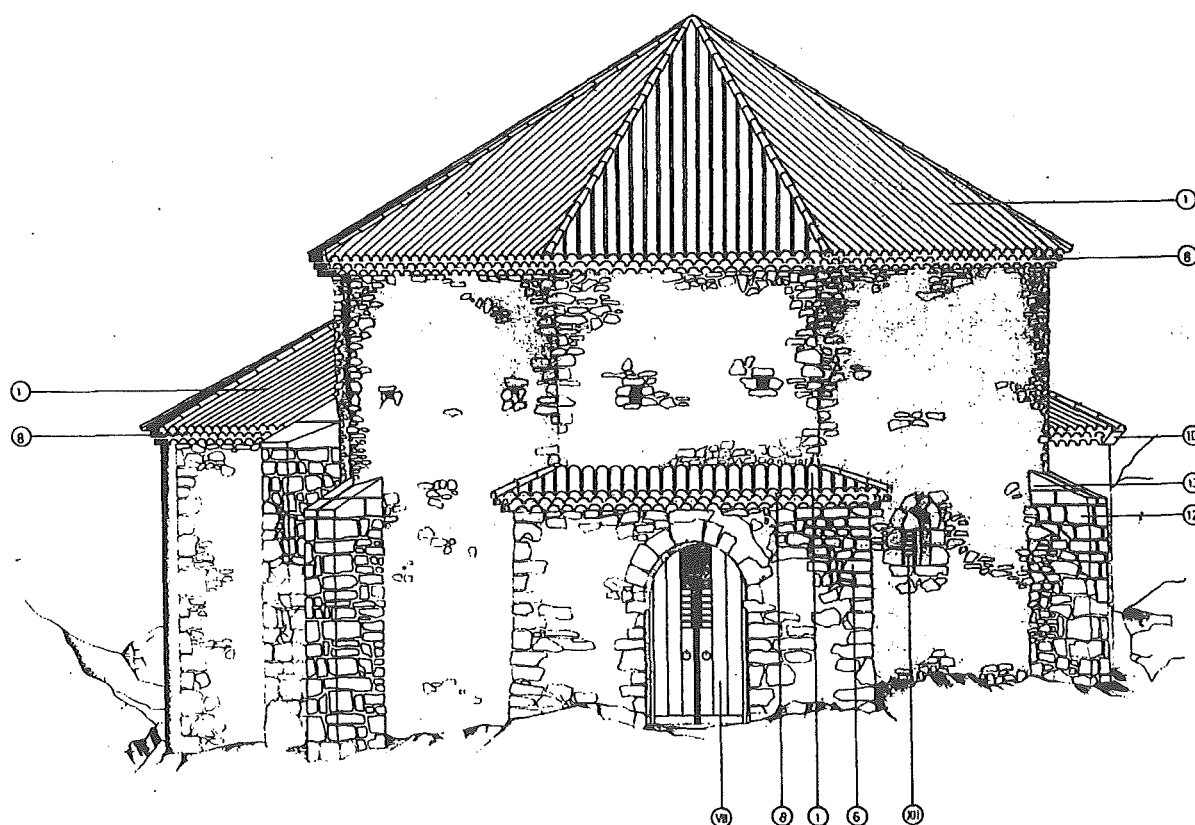


Fig. 5 - Capilla de Santiago. Alzado después de la restauración, según Miguel Angel García-Pola y Carlos Marqués.

atractivo, razón por la cual, a finales de la decimo-segunda centuria¹⁶, se procedió a reformar la capilla de San Miguel, la Cámara Santa donde se veneraba el Arca. La primitiva cubierta demadera de la nave de la capilla se sustituyó por una bóveda de cañón reforzada por fajones, si bien lo más destacado es la decoración escultórica, que viene de la mano de las estatuas columnas que soportan los arcos de la bóveda y en las que se representó el apostolado y de un calvario con cabezas esculpidas, que se han conservado, y cuerpos pintados, cuya policromía se ha perdido, dispuesto sobre la puerta de ingreso. Han sido varios los investigadores que se han ocupado de la escultura de la Cámara Santa de Oviedo, pero aquí mencionaremos únicamente el muy acertado estudio iconográfico de la misma, efectuado recientemente por la profesora Etelvina Fernández González, quien concluye tal decoración convierte la Cámara Alta del relicario ovetense en un espacio simbólico que recrea la "Jerusalén Celeste" continente del Arca Santa¹⁷. Una concepción inseparable, como analiza la autora, del destino para el que fuera concebida la capilla:

custodiar las reliquias y el Arca Santa. Un Arca que, en contra de lo expuesto por García de Castro, fue siempre el altar de la capilla, dado que estaba concebida como *axis* del cielo y la tierra, al renovarse sobre ella, mediante la Eucaristía, el sacrificio de la Cruz, la Nueva Alianza. Sería, en definitiva, la capilla, una nueva Arca, construida en piedra, el relicario que acoge el relicario. Y, además, como también señala la autora, esta concepción enlazaría con la expuesta para la construcción prerrománica de Alfonso II por el profesor Moralejo, quien, siguiendo textos de finales del siglo XII, describe al monarca asturiano como un nuevo Salomón que emularía en Oviedo, y mediante su relicario, a la ciudad de Jerusalén y su Templo. Una identificación entre ambos monarcas que queda patente en la narración que en el Liber Testamentorum del Obispo Pelayo se hace del traslado del Arca a Oviedo y su deposición en la Cámara Santa, en la que, asimismo, se describen los primeros años del Arca en Asturias guardada en tiendas, como la de la Alianza¹⁸ y Alfonso II como el rey que construyó una iglesia para guardarla.

¹⁶ Según la Profesora Fernández González, la reforma hubo de llevarse a cabo en la década de 1175-1185 merced a los dones y privilegios donados al cabildo ovetense por el rey Fernando II y bajo el obispado de don Rodrigo (1175-1188), vid. su obra, ya

citada, p. 357.

¹⁷ Vid: FERNANDEZ GONZALEZ, *ob. cit.*, 358 y ss.

¹⁸ El documento que manejo ha sido publicado recientemente por la profesora María Josefa Sanz Fuentes. Vid: Narración del

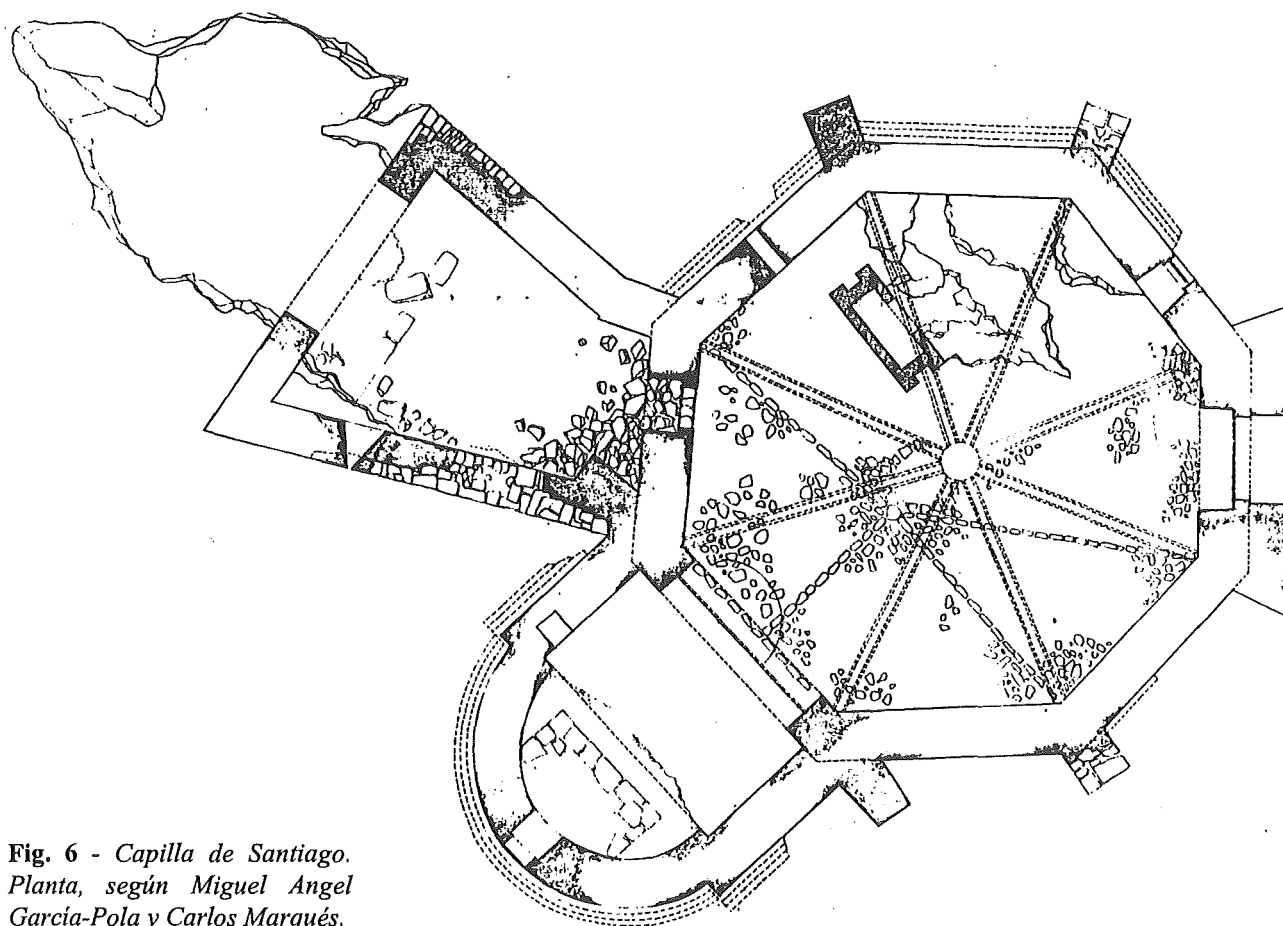


Fig. 6 - Capilla de Santiago.
 Planta, según Miguel Angel
 García-Pola y Carlos Marqués.

3 El Monsacro, santuario filial de la Cámara Santa de Oviedo. Origen de las capillas y su relación con el culto a las reliquias de San Salvador de Oviedo.

Las tradiciones del Monsacro. Culto dolménico y culto cristiano.

El Monsacro es una montaña, localizada en las inmediaciones de la ciudad de Oviedo y en las estribaciones de la Sierra del Aramo, en la que se levantan dos capillas, la de Santiago, de planta octogonal y la de la Magdalena, de planta basilical, estrechamente relacionadas con la romería de San Salvador de Oviedo, aunque la sacralización de la montaña es anterior al cristianismo. En este monte, el *Monsacer* de los romanos, se funden dos tipo de tradiciones, la que enlaza con los vestigios de la cultura tumular y la cristiana de las reliquias.

En un momento determinado, que debemos situar alrededor del siglo XIII y muy cercano a la reforma de la Cámara Santa, ya se hacen referencias claras a que fue el Monsacro el lugar donde los cristianos que llegaban fugitivos de la Toledo invadida por los árabes habían depositado las reliquias, que luego fueron trasladadas a la catedral de San Salvador. Posterior-

mente, esta tradición cristiana, elaborada desde la catedral, desde la Mitra ovetense, se funde en la mentalidad popular con los elementos ancestrales de la cultura tumular. Así, alrededor de la montaña se tejen dos tipos de leyendas que hablan del origen de las reliquias y de las capillas. Una nos lleva hasta Oviedo, la Cámara Santa y su relación con la peregrinación jacobea y la Monarquía Asturiana; la otra hace referencia a la presencia en el Monsacro de Santo Toribio, obispo de Astorga, quien habría traído consigo las reliquias. La primera es una tradición culta, pero que se fue impregnando de elementos populares, la segunda tiene una raíz netamente popular.

Desde este doble origen, que se va haciendo cada vez más oscuro, el culto al Monsacro fue dando lugar a un complejo mundo de tradiciones. Pero, en sustancia, el culto de las capillas del Monsacro es filial de el de las reliquias de la Cámara Santa y cristalizó en sus elementos fundamentales a lo largo de los siglos XII y XIII. Si la ovetense es una peregrinación subsidiaria de la jacobea, el del Monsacro es, a su vez, un culto reflejo de el de San Salvador. Esta circunstancia pone en evidencia, una vez más, cómo el Camino Jacobeo dinamiza toda Europa, cómo la ruta principal se va convirtiendo en el eje de otros lugares secundarios de peregrinación, nuevos hitos

en el camino de quienes peregrinaban a Santiago o centros de atracción local de un determinado territorio, siempre prestigiados por esa relación por el primer circuito europeo de peregrinación.

Como adelanté, en los primeros años del siglo XII ya circulaban varias versiones sobre el origen de las reliquias en las que la narración que podemos adjectivar como *culta* se entreteje con los elementos populares, siendo la llamada Crónica Silense la más relacionada con ellos¹⁹. Todas las narraciones señalan que las reliquias procedían de Tierra Santa y, por diversos avatares, terminaron en Toledo, desde donde, una vez que los musulmanes habían invadido España, fueron traídas hacia el norte huyendo de los invasores. Según una versión de finales del siglo XII, ya en tierra asturiana, fueron escondidas en el Monsacro, montaña cercana a Oviedo, y posteriormente habría sido Alfonso II quien las alojara en el relicario de San Salvador²⁰. Se trata de una elaboración netamente medieval cuya intención es exaltar el valor de las reliquias de Oviedo, en el seno de la pugna que mantenían los diferentes santuarios en la Edad Media por poseer las más importantes, competencia que se aviva especialmente una vez que se pierden los Santos Lugares y se desata en la cristiandad un interés colectivo por las reliquias procedentes de Tierra Santa. El siglo XII parece haber sido el de arraigo definitivo del culto al Monsacro como el primer refugio de las reliquias del Arca Santa. Además, decorada con elementos taumatúrgicos, esta tradición pasó a las crónicas francesas de los siglos XII y XIII y, desde este momento, podemos pensar que la peregrinación a la montaña debió adquirir un carácter internacional, que muchos romeros atraídos por el relicario de San Salvador visitarían el Monsacro y que, al calor de la romería y entrado el siglo XIII, se erigieron las dos capillas en la cima de la montaña.

En la cristalización del Monsacro como centro filial de peregrinación debieron pesar dos factores: la cercanía a Oviedo y el que se tratase de un lugar sacralizado desde época remota donde se habían

mantenido unas tradiciones culturales. Unas tradiciones que analizó en su momento José Manuel González²¹ y que se centran en la leyenda relativa a la presencia en el Monsacro de Santo Toribio de Astorga, que habría llegado a la montaña portando las reliquias desde Tierra Santa. Siempre según González, el relato popular entronca con cultos preromanos y se originó a partir de la presencia en la zona de una serie de túmulos, que el mismo investigador reconoció²².

Idéntica relación entre el culto tumular y el de Santo Toribio se reproduce en el monasterio de Liébana, Santander, tal y como analiza asimismo González. En Santo Toribio de Liébana se cree igualmente que el Obispo, procedente de Jerusalén, llegó hasta el lugar portando unas reliquias que depositó allí. En este caso nos encontramos, como en el Monsacro, con una tradición que arranca tardíamente, ya que la advocación a Santo Toribio sustituye a la original, de San Martín de Turieno y arraigada en los tres siglos precedentes²³, a partir del siglo XII, la misma centuria en la que aparece la del Monsacro.

José Manuel González aclara que la ermita de Santiago del Monsacro se erigió sobre una estructura dolménica, cuya cámara funeraria se correspondería con el llamado Pozo de Santo Toribio alojado en su interior, una oquedad en la que la tradición popular señala que se alojaron las reliquias y sigue a Cabal²⁴ al señalar que en la devoción popular asturiana se asimila a Santo Toribio con los dólmenes, de los que se convierte en una suerte de patrón, como también lo es San Bollo en Galicia de los mismos²⁵. Siempre según González, esa circunstancia se explica porque en ambos casos se produce un fenómeno lingüístico de convergencia fonética, ya que entre las denominaciones de los montículos y túmulos funerarios prehistóricos existe una fonéticamente semejante a Toribio, que tendría una base asimilable, *taurus*, término muy extendido en todo el ámbito mediterráneo y cuyo equivalente medieval sería *tuero*, montículo²⁶, con amplias repercusiones en la toponimia asturiana

traslado del Arca Santa desde Jerusalén a Oviedo, *Liber Testamentorum Ecclesiae Ovetensis*, doc. 4, M. MOLEIRO ed. 1996, 408-415 y 456-461.

¹⁹ FERNÁNDEZ CONDE F.J.: *La iglesia de Asturias en la Alta Edad Media*, I.D.E.A., Oviedo, 1972, 50-52.

²⁰ *Narración del traslado y contenido del Arca de las Reliquias de Oviedo*, XII-XIII, Biblioteca de Cambrai, Ms. 804, f. 68 r.-69 v., Biblioteca de Sir Thomas Philipps, en Cheltenham, f. 1-16, publicada por CH. KOHLER, *Revue de L'orient latin* 5, 1897, y recogida por FERNÁNDEZ CONDE F.J., *La Iglesia de Asturias en la Alta Edad Media*, Oviedo, 1972, 162-178.

²¹ Vid: GONZÁLEZ J.M., El monsacro y sus tradiciones, *Archivum* VII, Oviedo, 1958, 48-81. Más recientemente, Fernández Conde & Santos Del Valle hacen nueva referencia a las tradi-

ciones del Monsacro en un artículo que debe gran parte de sus datos al precedente, pero en el que aportan datos toponímicos y se reconstruyen las rutas de acceso a la montaña utilizadas por romeros y ganaderos, vid: FERNÁNDEZ CONDE F.J. & SANTOS DEL VALLE M., Toponimia y tradiciones del Monsacro, *Lletres Asturianes* 23, Oviedo, 1987, 112.

²² GONZÁLEZ J.M., *ob. cit.*, 55 y 67-70.

²³ SÁNCHEZ BELDA L., *Cartulario de Santo Toribio de Liébana*, Madrid, 1948, XXI, cit. J.M. González, *ob. cit.*, 76.

²⁴ CABAL C., *Alfonso II el Casto*, Oviedo, 1943, 253.

²⁵ ROHLFS G., Aspectos de toponimia española, *Boletín de Filología* XII, Lisboa, 1951, 264, citado por González, 77.

²⁶ González utiliza como referencia las aportaciones de: DAUZAT A., *La toponymie française*, Paris, 1946, 220-221 y

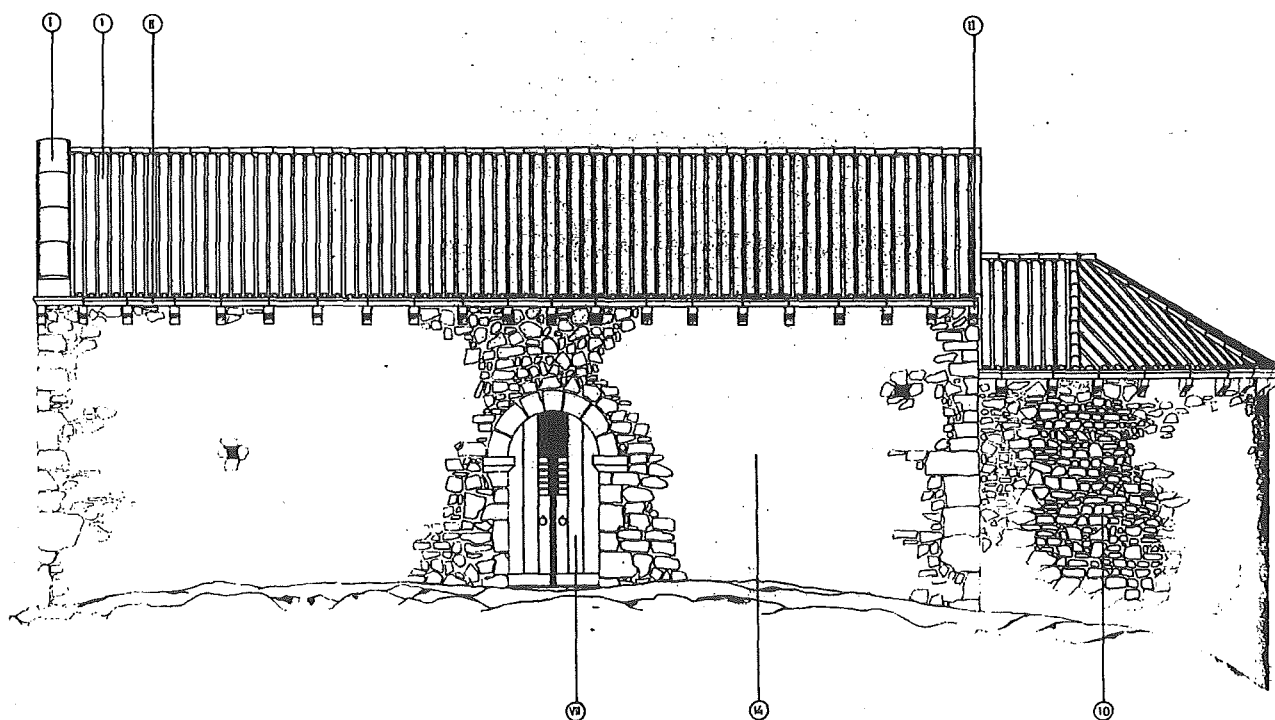


Fig. 7 - Capilla de la Magdalena. Alzado después de la restauración, según Miguel Angel García-Pola y Carlos Marqués.

y del que derivaría también el término *turumbo* y su diminutivo dialectal *turiello*, o *toriello*, que castellanizado sería *torillo* y que nos conduce a la misma forma fonética que el antropónimo Toribio, palatalizando el grupo bi. Si a esta circunstancia de la analogía fonética del hagonímico y el orónimo, unimos la sacralización que se hace de los túmulos, que se definen como *Santos*, es fácil entender que el lugar se denominase popularmente *Santo Torillo*, y que finalmente se asimilase a Santo Toribio, dando lugar a la misma tradición en Monsacro y en Liébana.

Evolución de las tradiciones del Monsacro en la bibliografía

En el seno de la bibliografía asturiana, las tradiciones del Monsacro evolucionaron, siempre determinadas por la necesidad de enlazar la referencia a las reliquias de San Salvador y Alfonso II el Casto y la leyenda de Santo Toribio. De esa manera, Carballo señala que las reliquias habían sido depositadas en el Monsacro por el primer rey asturiano, Pelayo, y por el santo y que éste último se habría retirado al lugar construyendo la capilla de Santiago y alude al pozo de Santo Toribio alojado en su interior, que define como *sepultura tallada en la roca*²⁷. Cabal sigue a Carballo, pero plantea la existencia de un dolmen bajo la capilla, describiendo el pozo del santo, Quadrado hace una alusión sumaria a la montaña²⁸ y Canella hace una reseña muy similar²⁹. Por su parte,

Vigil transcribe los inventarios de las reliquias de San Salvador y señala que en todos se alude a su paso por el Monsacro³⁰ y el primer análisis científico del Monsacro y sus tradiciones se debe, como ya sabemos, a José Manuel González, a cuyo trabajo siguieron en el tiempo la memoria que elaboré para la consejería de Cultura del Principado de Asturias con motivo de la restauración de las capillas, efectuada en 1985, y posteriormente, los artículos de Fernández Conde y Santos del Valle y Etelvina Fernández. Las primeras fotografías de las capillas fueron publicadas por González y por Menéndez-Pidal³¹.

La cuestión de la vida monástica en el Monsacro

Tomando como referencia ciertos documentos y los topónimos, se ha planteado la posibilidad de que en el Monsacro se hubiese asentado una comunidad

CABAL C., *Los Dioses de la vida*, Madrid, 125, 11-12. Para seguir más extensamente el tema vid: González, *ob. cit.*, 78-79.

²⁷ CARBALLO L.A. DE., *Antigüedades y cosas memorables del Principado de Asturias*, Madrid, 1695.

²⁸ QUADRADO J.M., *Recuerdos y Bellezas de España. Asturias y León*, Barcelona, 1885.

²⁹ CANELLA SECADES F., *El Libro de Oviedo*, Oviedo, 1887, y BELLMUNT O. & CANELLA F., *Asturias*, III, Gijón, 1900.

³⁰ MIGUEL VIGIL C., *Asturias Monumental, Epigráfica y Diplomática, Imp. Hospicio Provincial*, Oviedo, 1887, t. I.

³¹ MENENDEZ-PIDAL L., *Los monumentos en Asturias. Su aprecio y restauración desde el pasado siglo*, Madrid, 1954.

eremítica. Junto a la capilla de la Magdalena se ubica el llamado *huerto del Ermitaño* y junto a la capilla de Santiago la *casa del peregrino* y la referencia documental viene de la mano de un documento de donación de Fernando I, con fecha de 1 de Julio de 1158, mediante el que hace concesión de Coto a *Frater Rodericus Sebastianez* y a los *frates de Montesacro*, aludiendo, quizá, a un monasterio familiar, basado en la explotación agropecuaria, que luego pasaría a pertenecer al monasterio de San vicente de Oviedo, en cuyo archivo se guardaba la mencionada donación³². Aunque estos datos son muy sumarios y pocas conclusiones podemos extraer de ellos, sí parece factible que en algún momento se instalasen en el Monsacro unos eremitas y penitentes, contra los que lanzaron excomuniones los párrocos de Santa Eulalia de Morcín por negarse a pagar a la parroquia los fondos recaudados en el santuario³³.

Cuestión aparte sería la de ubicar el lugar donde se hubiesen podido instalar estos ermitaños. Se había supuesto que se alojarían en la *casa del peregrino*, la estructura adosada a la capilla de Santiago, pero la prospección arqueológica efectuada parece descartar esta hipótesis, puesto que no hay indicios de una habitación continuada en el recinto. Parece, más bien, que nos halláramos ante una "casa de novenas", en la que los romeros descansaban y pernoctaban la víspera de la romería celebrada alrededor de las capillas. En su interior, un pequeño muro con un desagüe recogía el agua filtrada y junto al caño de piedra aparecieron restos de cerámica que se dataron a partir de la época medieval³⁴. Para comunicar este recinto con la capilla se practicó una puerta y se lo protegió de la intemperie mediante bóveda bastante torpe fabricada con lajas de piedra. Desde el exterior, su frente recuerda a la famosa Fuente Prerrománica de la Foncalada de Oviedo.

Las capillas de Santiago y la Magdalena.

Las capillas del Monsacro pueden datarse en el siglo XIII, se fabricaron con mampuesto muy simple y la presencia de soluciones como la bóveda de cañón apuntada y su depuración ornamental permiten relacionarlas con otros edificios del tardorrománico asturiano del mismo siglo y en los que se detecta un peso sustancial de la estética cisterciense.

LA CAPILLA DE LA MAGDALENA

La capilla de la Magdalena está emplazada en el extremo norte de la majada de las capillas, orientada este-oeste sobre una plataforma de aspecto artificial y tiene adosado un recinto que pudo servir como

cementerio. Consta de nave única rectangular y ábside semicircular precedido de tramo recto. La única puerta se localiza en el costado sur y se orienta hacia la capilla de Santiago. Se iluminaba mediante una estrecha saetera abierta en el centro del ábside y otra idéntica dispuesta en el imafronte. Para cubrir la nave se recurrió a la bóveda de cañón apuntada, un recurso usual en el tardorrománico asturiano del siglo XIII. El tramo recto cuenta con bóveda de cañón y el hemiciclo con bóveda de horno. Los muros se fabricaron con mampuesto, reforzado en las esquinas con sillar, el mismo material utilizado en la portada. Al exterior, distinguimos nítidamente los volúmenes de la edificación, diferenciándose la nave respecto a la cabecera, levantada a menor altura. El arco triunfal que separa nave y ábside se fabricó con sillares regulares y descansa sobre impostas lisas y jambas sin decorar, la portada es igualmente sumaria y la cornisa y los cancellos muy simples. El exterior estaría tratado con enlucido y pintura, que señalarían la capilla respecto al entorno y ocultarían la pobreza de los materiales.

LA CAPILLA DE SANTIAGO

La capilla de Santiago se levanta al suroeste de la majada de las capillas. Su planta es octogonal, con añadido de tramo recto y un ábside semicircular al este, y de una dependencia de trazado irregular al sur, casi trapezoidal, que enlaza la capilla con la ladera de la montaña y una gruta. En su frente noroeste se adosa un cuerpo saliente rematado mediante un sencillo tejazoz y en el mismo se abre la portada principal. Se construyó también con mampostería irregular reforzada con sillares y en los ángulos del octógono se adosaron unos contrafuertes que se rematan en talud y se levantan hasta media altura, sobresaliendo la parte alta sobre ellos, a modo de cimborrio.

La capilla se cubre con una bóveda de ocho plementos que arranca de los muros sin ningún elemento intermedio y al exterior se evidencia tal solución con un tejado de otras tantas vertientes. La cubierta podemos definirla como una estructura pseudocupuliforme, que no guarda relación con las solu-

³² La referencia a la donación y su análisis en la obra de José Manuel González que vengo citando.

³³ GONZÁLEZ J.M., *ob. cit.*

³⁴ Las conclusiones de la prospección arqueológica en: FERNÁNDEZ CONDE F.J., Informe sobre las excavaciones en las Capillas del Monsacro. Septiembre de 1986, *Excavaciones Arqueológicas en Asturias 1983-1986*, Principado de Asturias, Consejería de Cultura, 1990, 193.

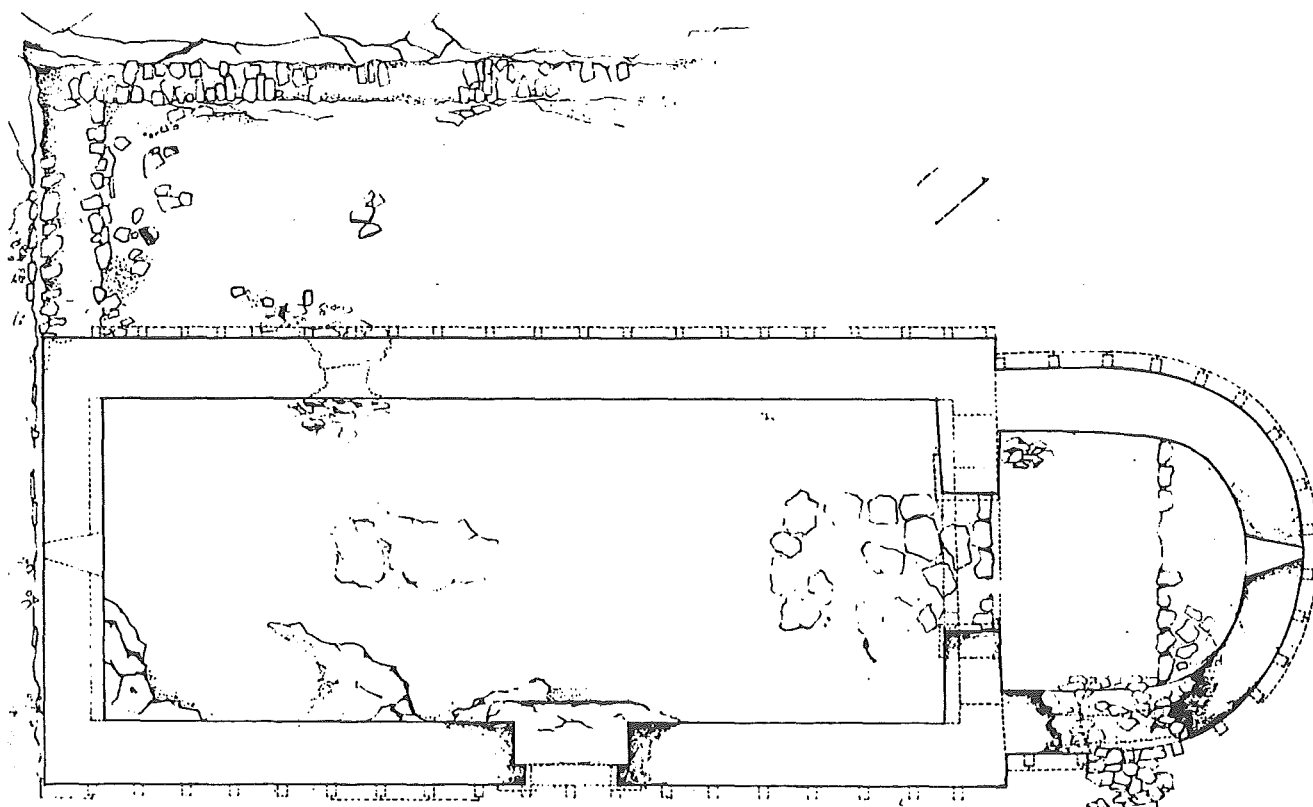


Fig. 8 - Capilla de La Magdalena. Planta, según Miguel Angel García-Pola y Carlos Marqués.

ciones del *gótico clásico*, cuyos los plementos se levantan mediante hiladas concéntricas de piedra toba que adoptan una disposición abombada. Este sistema, en mi opinión, tiene su origen en la bóveda llamada *aquitana*, y que Lampérez definió como *aquitanoespañola*³⁵. Los nervios que refuerzan la bóveda no parecen poseer una clara función estructural y convergen en una clave central de forma un tanto torpe. Semejante estructura no tiene parejo en Asturias, aunque hay una serie de edificios en los que se manejan soluciones similares y que se han venido definiendo de forma genérica como *protogóticas*, caso de la capilla mayor de la iglesia de Piedeloro, Carreño, la de Santa María de la Oliva de Villaviciosa, la capilla de los Argüelles de la iglesia de San Tirso de Oviedo, la capilla funeraria del monasterio de San Salvador de Cornellana, etc.; todas ellas posteriores a la que nos ocupa, ya que pueden datarse en los siglos XIV e incluso XV³⁶.

Uno de los aspectos que diferencia con mayor nitidez la capilla de Santiago del Monsacro respecto a los demás edificios que he enumerado es la ausencia de decoración, ya que ni su portada, ni la clave, ni los nervios, ni el arco triunfal, se han tratado con ornamento alguno. Es más, los nervios, de sección aquillada, no reposan en ménsulas, sino que se rematan mediante culdelamps estilizados de estética cisterciense. Originalmente, la capilla, al igual que la de la Magdalena, estaba pintada y en los años cincuenta aún eran visibles restos de imágenes en el ábside³⁷, pero hoy se han perdido. Del ornamento primitivo resta únicamente una representación de la Cruz de los Angeles, que se ha conservado en la clave de la bóveda octogonal, pintada en tonos rojizos.

Como adelanté, el cuerpo octogonal tiene añadida una cabecera compuesta por un tramo recto y un ábside semicircular, cubiertos, respectivamente, con bóveda de cañón y de horno.

³⁵ Lampérez define las bóvedas *aquitanoespañolas* como aquellas cuya plementería se despieza en anillos concéntricos que no forman un casco único, sino que cada sección entre nervios se realiza de forma independiente, combándose en el centro y alaveándose hacia los nervios, vid: LAMPÉREZ V., *Arquitectura cristiana española en la Edad Media*, Espasa-Calpe, Madrid, 1930. En este momento sería necesario hacer una revisión de la hipotética «españolidad» de estas bóvedas, que

aparecen en ejemplos franceses, pero este no es el lugar para ello.

³⁶ Reseña de los edificios mencionados en: MADRID ALVAREZ V. DE LA, *El románico del Cabo Peñas*, Univ. de Oviedo, 1989, y ALONSO ALVAREZ R., Las capillas funerarias en Asturias. Siglos XIV y XV, *Boletín del Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, B.I.D.E.A.* n° 147, Oviedo, 1996, 91-101.

³⁷ Estas pinturas fueron fotografiadas por José Manuel González.

El edificio presenta en la actualidad varios vanos, algunos resultado de reformas posteriores a la primera campaña constructiva. De todos ellos, el único que puede calificarse de original es la saetera abierta en el ábside. También se han remodelado la cubierta y el alero, sustituyéndose los canecillos románicos que veíamos en la capilla de la Magdalena por un alero fabricado con hiladas de tejas dispuestas a cobija.

Dentro de la capilla de Santiago, se conserva una oquedad que José Manuel González identificó con la cámara del hipotético túmulo localizado allí y que la tradición popular señala como el Pozo de Santo Toribio, porque allí hubo de depositar el eremita las reliquias. Al haber estado en contacto con ellas, y dado su poder curativo, la tierra del interior del pozo se considera igualmente milagrosa, y aún se mantiene la tradición, en franco retroceso, de que los romeros la recojan para hacer con ella emplastos a los que se atribuye la cualidad de aliviar algunos pequeños males, como el dolor de muelas. En la actualidad, sobre el Pozo se levanta una especie de altar muy sumario, compuesto de tres grandes losas de piedra, pero parece que en el siglo pasado se adornó con un arco de piedra neogótico del que colgaba la imagen del santo. En el transcurso de las prospecciones arqueológicas efectuadas en la capilla, aparecieron en el interior de la oquedad restos del mismo.

También aportó la prospección arqueológica otro dato de sumo interés, como es que el actual solado de la capilla, un enguijarrado dispuesto en tramos a modo de rayos partiendo del centro, no es el original. El edificio se construyó en parte sobre la roca viva, especialmente para respetar la oquedad del pozo de Santo Toribio, y a lo largo de toda la Edad Media y en la Moderna, hasta el siglo XVIII, no tuvo más suelo que la propia roca y la tierra. Esta solución no puede ser más coherente con el culto establecido en el interior de la ermita, en la que lo importante era la veneración del lugar donde se habían guardado las reliquias del Arca Santa.

El culto a las reliquias de Tierra Santa, el Santo Sepulcro y El Salvador.

Por último, nos queda por aclarar el significado de las Capillas del Monsacro. Y la primera pregunta que habría que responder es la siguiente: ¿por qué es pre-

cisamente en el siglo XII cuando parece cobrar auge la tradición de las reliquias traídas de Tierra Santa, veneración que finalmente vemos arraigar en el Monsacro?. El hecho es que en 1187 Saladino toma Jerusalén y la obsesión por el reino perdido, por la Ciudad Santa y los Santos Lugares, se extiende por todo el occidente cristiano. El Santo Sepulcro es desde ese momento, y más que nunca, el edificio emblemático que parece estar detrás de todos los santuarios-relicario y se confunde habitualmente en la mente de los hombres de la Edad Media con la mezquita de la Cúpula de la Roca³⁸ y muy probablemente, también, aunque no se haya señalado, con el octógono de la Natividad de Belén. Hasta que el pensamiento de los arquitectos renacentistas italianos introduzca otras referencias, el templo centralizado no ocupará el puesto determinante y las iglesias medievales de planta central se asientan sobre las ideas del culto a las reliquias y de Cristo Salvador, fundidas ejemplarmente en el Santo Sepulcro. La devoción a la Santa Cruz, El Santo Sepulcro o San Salvador y a las reliquias vinculadas a Tierra Santa, responde a un mismo concepto y en su entorno aparecen sistemáticamente las plantas centralizadas y las cubiertas abovedadas, como muy acertadamente señaló en su momento Raymond Oursel³⁹.

En este momento, los europeos se volcaron en la veneración de toda suerte de reliquias relacionadas con Tierra Santa y, además de los grandes santuarios tradicionales, como Santiago y Oviedo, cobraron importancia otros, poseedores de reliquias presuntamente hierosolimitanas o en los que la peregrinación, los peregrinos muertos, fueron recordados con estructuras que traerían a la mente de los hombres y mujeres de los siglos XII y XIII el referente del Santo Sepulcro. En la mentalidad del momento, todo edificio centralizado y cubierto con cúpula podía ser una transposición de aquél, si bien el prototipo octogonal o la planta circular son los más obvios.

A lo largo del camino español a Santiago, se desarrollan, en algún caso como centros de peregrinación secundarios, una serie de hitos relacionados con el culto funerario y el de las reliquias de Tierra Santa erigidos entre los siglos XII y XIII. El culto a los peregrinos fallecidos se identifica con el del Salvador, con Cristo que resucita, y la tipología de los edificios vinculados al mismo trae a la memoria el referente del Santo Sepulcro. Lacarra⁴⁰ relacionó acer-

³⁸ Sobre este tema remito al sugerente trabajo de RAMIREZ J.A., *Edificios y sueños (Ensayos sobre arquitectura y utopía)*, Secretariados de publicaciones de las universidades de Málaga y Salamanca, Málaga, 1983, Cap. II, 47-121.

³⁹ Raymond Oursel señaló que estas iglesias centralizadas relacionadas con la peregrinación y el Salvador remiten al

testimonio monumental más significativo de la redención y al escenario mismo de la resurrección. Sobre el tema vid: OURSEL R., *Las rutas de peregrinación*, Colección La Europa románica nº 5, Madrid, 1983.

⁴⁰ Sobre el tema ver la obra, ya reseñada de las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela.

tadamente con esta veneración la capilla del Sancti Spiritus de Roncesvalles, localizada junto a la iglesia de Santiago y que aglutinaba a su alrededor sepulturas de romeros. En opinión de Lambert, esta capilla puede datarse en el siglo XII y tiene su origen en una tradición entre culta y popular, dado que se creía que la había mandado levantar Carlomagno sobre la tumba de Roldán y sus compañeros y, por esa razón, se la conoce también como Capilla de Roldán. Se erigió, como la de Santiago de Monsacro, sobre una cueva, utilizada como osario de los peregrinos fallecidos en el hospital de Roncesvalles, es de planta cuadrada y estaba, al parecer, rematada mediante una linterna como las de Eunate, Torres del Río o La Vera Cruz de Segovia. El mismo Lambert, relaciona todas estas iglesias que acabo de enumerar señalando que tienen idéntica función de rendir homenaje a las víctimas de la peregrinación, recordar la Salvación y que su referente es el Santo Sepulcro⁴¹. Por último, una historia similar a la del Monsacro la volvemos a encontrar en otro templo burgalés, San Pantaleón de Losa, cuya tradición nos habla de nuevo de reliquias procedentes Palestina, ya que en el lugar, sobre la Peña Salvada, transposición del Mont Salvat, se habría guardado nada menos que el Santo Grial para defenderlo de los enemigos de la Fe. La iglesia tiene ábside semicircular, nave cuadrada cubierta con una cúpula sobre unas pechinas muy elementales y fue consagrada en el año 1207, circunstancia que nos sitúa ante cronología muy similar a la del resto de las iglesias que vengo reseñando⁴².

Fuera de España, el caso francés ha sido analizado por Raymond Oursel, quien refiere cómo se desarrollan, a lo largo de las rutas de peregrinación a Santiago, una serie de santuarios relacionados con diferentes *cuerpos santos* que el peregrino debía visitar⁴³ y que en la ruta jacobea de Vézelay y en las que conducían a Tierra Santa, aparecen una serie de iglesias relacionadas también los Santos Lugares, el Santo Sepulcro y el Salvador, difundándose una especie de devoción que lleva a situar todo el Poitou bajo la advocación de la Santa Cruz. Este sería el caso de la rotonda añadida al muro norte de Saint Leonard de Noblat, llamada *el sepulcro* y cuya estructura central, con ocho columnas y deambulatorio anular, supone

un *lóculi* depósito de reliquias que copia el modelo de la Anástasis, del oratorio circular de Liget, de la cripta de Tavant y del Neuvi Saint sepulcre en Berry, similar a Saint Leonard. Y en Italia también encontramos estructuras similares, caso de las iglesias-rotonda de la Lombardía, como Santo Tomás in Lémene o San Salvatore D'Almeno.

Comprobamos, entonces, que esta devoción vinculada al Santo Sepulcro arraiga profundamente entre los siglos XII y XIII y que el fenómeno que comenzamos analizando en Monsacro es más amplio de lo que podría suponerse *a priori*.

Así pues, la capilla de Santiago o Santo Toribio del Monsacro aún, como queda patente en sus dos advocaciones, dos tipos de tradiciones, una más popular y ligada a cultos precristianos y otra relacionada con la romería de San Salvador de Oviedo y con la llegada a Asturias de la corriente que difunde el culto por todas aquellas reliquias supuestamente venidas de Tierra Santa y por el Santo Sepulcro, en un momento en el que el occidente cristiano experimentaba el trauma de la pérdida de los Santos lugares. Ambas tradiciones confluyeron en un lugar que, por su arraigo cultural y su estratégica localización, se convirtió en un destacado santuario filial de San Salvador de Oviedo y en el que la liturgia oficial convivió con cultos precristianos de tipo solar que todavía en fechas recientes han podido constatar⁴⁴.

Pero, analizando el conjunto del Monsacro, podríamos ir más allá, puesto que la presencia de la capilla de la Magdalena permite hacer una lectura más compleja. En una primera reflexión, y tal y como expone Etelvina Fernández González, puede concluirse que esta segunda ermita podría estar relacionada con la necesidad de contar con un recinto más acorde con la liturgia de la misa que la capilla octogonal de Santiago⁴⁵, reservada al culto martirial, y en su momento ya señalé que entre ambos edificios se efectuaba un rito procesional, que se ha mantenido hasta fechas muy recientes, enlazándose de esa manera ambas capillas y conformándose en la majada de las mismas un espacio ritual que va más allá de los muros de los templos y dota al lugar de connotaciones sacras⁴⁶.

Pero, en una reflexión más detenida, y acorde con lo que expuse al hablar del culto al relicario de San

⁴¹ Sobre este tema vid: LAMBERT E., *L'Architecture des Templiers*, Paris, 1955.

⁴² LAMBERT E., *Románico en Castilla*, Col. La Nuit des Temps, éd. Zodiaque, 23 I.

⁴³ OURSEL R., *Las rutas de peregrinación*, Colección la Europa Románica 5, Madrid, 1983.

⁴⁴ Este es el caso de la costumbre de recoger en la montaña cardos, flor solar, o elaborar emplastos con la tierra procedente del Pozo de Santo Toribio. Sobre estas tradiciones: Gonzalez,

obra ya citada y FERNANDEZ CONDE F.J. & SANTOS DEL VALLE M., *Toponimia y Tradiciones del monsacro*, *Lletres Asturianas* 23, Oviedo, 1987, 99-112.

⁴⁵ FERNANDEZ GONZALEZ, *ob. cit.*, 344.

⁴⁶ GARCIA CUETOS M.^aP., *Memoria histórico-descriptiva de las Capillas de Santiago y la Magdalena del Monsacro*, Morcín. *Proyecto de restauración del conjunto*, Consejería de Educación, Cultura y Deportes del Principado de Asturias, 1985.

Salvador de Oviedo, creo que puede afirmarse que las dos capillas del Monsacro, una centralizada y otra basilical, suponen una reproducción más literal de lo que, en principio, podría suponerse de los prototipos de los Santos Lugares. Hemos visto que puede aceptarse que en Oviedo habría intentado reproducirse una Nueva Jerusalén y hemos aclarado que el referente bajomedieval de los templos centralizados es el Santo Sepulcro. Sin embargo, al hablar de éste, los autores mencionados hacen referencia exclusiva a una parte del conjunto del Santo Sepulcro, la rotonda de la Anástasis y, como es bien sabido, el conjunto constantiniano del Santo Sepulcro constaba de la rotonda, pero también de una basílica, y la liturgia celebrada en el lugar se acompañaba de procesiones entre ambos edificios⁴⁷. Se trataba de un complejo característico de la arquitectura paleocristiana, en la que se aunaban la basílica y el *martiria*, y que vemos asimismo reproducido en la iglesia de la Natividad de Belén, donde se unieron un *martiria* octogonal y una iglesia de cinco naves. El conjunto de Belén ha llegado hasta nosotros sin demasiadas transformaciones, y el Santo Sepulcro sufrió diferentes desastres y remodelaciones, aunque se mantuvo la rotonda añadiéndosele en el 1099 una basílica, de modo que no se transformó, en sustancia, esa doble concepción a la que vengo haciendo referencia.

Si *martiria* centralizado y basílica eran la base de los conjuntos conmemorativos de los Santos Lugares, y si en el Santo Sepulcro entre ambos se llevaban a

cabo procesiones, esto es lo que vemos plasmado en el Monsacro, que se descubre como una suerte de Santo Sepulcro reproducido cerca de la Nueva Jerusalén ovetense y nacido al calor del culto por la Nueva Arca de la Alianza de San Salvador. Leído de este modo, el aparentemente modesto conjunto del Monsacro cobra una nueva dimensión y se descubre como uno de los intentos bajomedievales de reproducir el prototipo hierosolimitano más acabados e interesantes; es más, todo el culto de las reliquias ovetenses muestra una dimensión más elaborada y culta, si esto es posible. Es obvio que detrás de la complejidad ideológica del conjunto del Monsacro, hubo de estar el clero de la catedral de Oviedo, y la propia Mitra, comprometidos ambos en acrecentar el prestigio de su relicario y conocedores del modelo que se pretendía imitar.

Esta tradición se mantuvo viva a lo largo de los siglos, y llegado el siglo XIX, la relación entre el Monsacro y la Cámara Santa queda todavía clara, pues en un artículo publicado en el Boletín Oficial del Obispado de Asturias con motivo de la visita episcopal a las capillas, acaecida el 6 de junio de 1889, se alude, literalmente, a la capilla de Santiago como "cueva bendita" y se califica a la montaña como "lugar seguro, tabernáculo grandioso para nuestras reliquias" y de "inexpugnable fortaleza" y se explica cómo desde la montaña podía verse la catedral en días despejados⁴⁸.

⁴⁷ Sobre el tema de la disposición del conjunto del Santo Sepulcro y la liturgia celebrada en él vid: DIEZ FERNANDEZ F., La basílica del Santo Sepulcro, y ROYO VAZQUEZ J., La liturgia de Jerusalén según el diario de la peregrina Egeria, en: *La Orden del Santo Sepulcro. I Jornadas de Estudio*, Madrid, 1991, 331-338 y 349-356, respectivamente.

⁴⁸ *Boletín Eclesiástico del Obispado de Asturias*, año 1889, número 26.

María Pilar García Cuetos
Universidad de Oviedo
Departamento de Historia del Arte y Musicología
C/ Teniente Alfonso Martínez, s/n
Campus de Humanidades
33011 Oviedo
España

L'ex-voto au Moyen-Age. Un phénomène sous-estimé

*Tout le reste est si fort paré de voeux riches
de tant de lieux et princes, qu'il n'y a jusque
à terre pas un pouce vide, et qui ne soit couvert
de quelque lame d'or ou d'argent. J'y pus trouver
à toute peine place, et avec beaucoup de faveur,
pour y loger un tableau dans lequel il y a quatre
figures d'argent attachées: celle de Notre-Dame,
la mienne, celle de ma femme, celle de ma fille.[...]*

Ce fut le 25 avril que j'offris mon voeu.

Michel de Montaigne, *Journal de voyage en Italie*.

*Comment mettre un frein à cette douce manie des
bonnes âmes qui s'imaginent plaire à
Notre Seigneur, à la Sainte Vierge et aux
Saints du Paradis en faisant accrocher aux
murailles des chapelles une de ces petites
plaques de marbre que tout le monde a vues,
sinon lues ? Tout cela est couvert
d'inscriptions souvent incorrectes, presque
toujours insignifiantes ou prétentieuses
parfois même nettement hérétiques.*

Bulletin de la conférence d'histoire et d'Archéologie
du diocèse de Meaux, T. II, 1899, p. 105.

En France, l'étude des ex-voto¹ a jusqu'à une date récente concerné des domaines bien spécifiques: ex-voto antiques, peints, marins. La recherche commencée par des médecins et des folkloristes s'est ensuite étendue aux historiens et aux ethnologues, sans que les historiens d'art et les archéologues interviennent assidûment². Le Moyen-Age est, de plus, longtemps

resté *terra incognita* dans ce domaine, à tel point que l'on a longtemps pensé que le phénomène antique connaissait une mystérieuse résurgence à l'époque moderne.

La tendance s'inverse actuellement, à partir de quelques articles fondateurs³ des études récentes envisagent l'ensemble des problèmes posés par l'existence et la multiplicité des voeux, en particulier à l'époque médiévale.⁴

Signalons en outre qu'il s'agit d'un phénomène qui jusqu'au XVIème siècle a concerné l'ensemble de la chrétienté tant romaine qu'orthodoxe, jusqu'à ses plus lointains confins (Mésopotamie, Syrie ...)⁵ et que malgré les efforts de la Réforme, il est resté présent jusqu'à l'époque moderne dans les terres protestantes.

Un dernier point pour souligner le grand manque des études votives médiévales: celui des objets eux-mêmes. En effet sauf exceptions rarissimes – miraculeuses ? – 'nous ne possédons plus d'ex-voto médiévaux, ils ont tous disparu dans les refontes, les pillages, les destructions⁷ ou simplement par obsolescence et désuétude.

1 Qu'est ce qu'un ex-voto ?

Théoriquement c'est un don quelconque fait à une divinité soit en demande soit en remerciement d'une faveur. Cette différence est habituellement marquée chez les antiquisants par deux termes différents: ex-voto: c'est le voeu propitiatoire⁸, pour appuyer la demande, et l'ex-dono, c'est le voeu gratulatoire, en remerciement. Pour le Moyen Age les textes nous

¹ J'utiliserai dans ce texte de façon strictement synonyme le terme latin ex-voto et le vieux mot français voeu, qui, jusqu'au XIX ème siècle, est lié au support matériel de la demande.

² Sigal, Bautier.

³ Sauf en ce qui concerne les ex-voto antiques grecs, Étrusques et gallo-romains en particulier.

⁴ Par ex. Bénézet, Bourgeois, Charuty, Prigent.

⁵ Cf. Peeters.

⁶ Voir Lillich, Morvan, Radford.

⁷ Y compris les destructions volontaires effectuées par le clergé qui estimait désuet, ridicule ou même sacrilège ces témoignages de piété.

⁸ Certains auteurs emploient le terme "rogatoire".

montrent cette dualité des offrandes⁹, sans que l'on puisse distinguer de véritables règles: parfois rien avant, parfois rien après, parfois un objet de peu de valeur avant et un objet plus cher après¹⁰; dans certains cas, c'est la visite au sanctuaire qui est l'offrande propitiatoire, l'offrande gratulatoire venant si le vœu est accompli, c'est le cas par exemple de tous les dépôts de béquille.

A l'intérieur de ce cadre l'ex-voto peut être de nature diverse et adopter une multitude de formes.

On peut en fonction des textes médiévaux et modernes, et à partir des persistances contemporaines, distinguer les démarches suivantes:

- *Le vœu actif*, c'est celui qui implique un effort, une dépense de la part du demandeur, citons en vrac: les pèlerinages, et tous les grands déplacements, les fondations de chapelles, les dons en argent, en une fois ou sous forme de rentes, les dons d'objets précieux, ou longs à fabriquer (broderies, tapisseries), les messes à dire, ou même les dons d'enfants aux abbayes ...

Cette catégorie est très fréquente au Moyen-Age, dans la longue liste des miracles de Saint Louis¹¹ plus de la moitié des vœux sont des vœux d'effort: "Saint loys rend moi ma fille et je te la contrepoisera en froment", "Le Vendredi je ne veterai de chemise que moi souveigne", "Ne boirai plus de vin le vendredi pendant VII ans", "ne filerait plus que le samedi".¹²

On peut ranger dans cette catégorie le sacrifice de la chevelure féminine, attesté à la période contemporaine à San Jose de la Montaña à Barcelone, où l'on a l'offrande d'une grande natte pour remercier "de la conversion de mon père sur son lit de mort".

- *Le vœu figuratif*, c'est celui qui consiste à offrir, avant ou après, une représentation du vœu, du miracle lui-même, ou de l'objet, de l'animal, de la partie du corps concernés par les dits vœux. Ce type d'ex-voto existe depuis le Moyen-Age sous de nom-

breuses formes, il peut être peint, sculpté, estampé, modelé, construit, (maquettes).

Notons qu'il existe deux formes particulières d'ex-voto figuratifs:

- l'ex-voto réaliste qui est formé des objets eux-mêmes ayant un rapport avec le vœu: pièces de vêtements, bonnet pour le nourrisson ou jarretelle pour le mal de jambe par exemple, les béquilles, les chaînes et les fers de prisonniers¹³, les armes pour les blessures, et à l'époque moderne, tout ce que l'on peut imaginer: des vélos, des pièces de carrosserie, le maillot jaune de Robic à Sainte Anne d'Auray, "le stylo avec lequel j'ai passé mon bac" ...¹⁴

- L'ex-voto réaliste masqué qui concerne essentiellement le domaine sexuel: les épingles offertes à Saint Foutin ou à Saint Greluchon, les crapauds offerts en Alsace et en Allemagne, ou encore, à la limite de la catégorie suivante, les oeufs offerts à la Bonne Mère, pour demander la fécondité¹⁵.

- Enfin *le vœu symbolique* consiste en toutes représentations, ou objets, qui évoquent le "miracle" sans le décrire vraiment.

Pour les ex-voto peints ce sont, par exemple, les représentations de personnages en prière¹⁶; pour les objets, tous les cierges ou les ficelles; les représentations religieuses dont la plus connue est le Sacré-Coeur de Jésus; le don de toute petite monnaie (parfois même de jetons sans valeur ou de médailles pieuses); enfin l'ex-voto écrit, qui existe sur papier¹⁷ ou sur plaque de métal, de marbre (et même directement sur les murs de la chapelle¹⁸), qui est de loin le type le plus fréquent dans les périodes récentes.

Il faut remarquer que plusieurs types peuvent se combiner et s'additionner: on offre un cierge à sa taille et à son poids¹⁹, ou bien un cierge et une figuration, une peinture figurative mais avec une inscription, un ex-voto figuratif avec une partie réaliste²⁰, une somme d'argent et une figuration, un coeur et une inscription.

⁹ Albe: miracle I, 17 : un chevalier offre 4 dents d'argent après sa guérison; miracle I, 25: une femme promet un nez d'argent si elle est guérie; miracle I, 40 : un homme offre deux chevaux de cire pour la guérison de ses palefrois; miracle III, 4 : la ville de Mende offre une image de cire de la ville qui a été protégée des routiers

¹⁰ Albe : miracle II, 39 : un chevalier blessé offre une image de cire avant et une image d'argent, avec la flèche, après.

¹¹ "Vie de Saint Louis par le confesseur de la Reine Marguerite" in *Recueil* p. 123 sq.

¹² "Vie de Saint Louis" p. 130, 142...

¹³ Voir par exemple les fers représentés derrière la sainte, sur le tympan de Sainte Foy de Conques.

¹⁴ Voir aussi pour la période actuelle à Saint Josef de la Montaña à Barcelone et dans la petite église de Saint André de

Teixide en Galice.

¹⁵ Bertrand, 178.

¹⁶ Ce type existe également en tôle estampée à l'époque moderne: par exemple en France, Benoit & Gaignières, 26, 31; en Allemagne, Brauneck, pl. 42; ou en Yougoslavie parmi les ex-voto de la Cathédrale de Dubrovnik ou parmi ceux exposés au musée de Korcula.

¹⁷ Bonnet, 22-23 et 220-234 par ex.

¹⁸ Van Gennep, 467.

¹⁹ Je ne résiste pas, après Sigal, 18 note 41, au plaisir de citer la ravissante formule médiévale utilisée dans ce cas, on offre "son gros et long". Nombreux exemples dans *Recueil*.

²⁰ Par exemple à Sainte Anne d'Auray en 1649, une tête de cire grandeur nature avec une dent de fourche plantée dedans. Cf. [240] Buléon & Le Garrec, 107-110.

Typologiquement et techniquement ensuite, tout est possible. On note l'emploi de la pierre, du plâtre, de tous les métaux: or, argent, bronze, fer, plomb, ces métaux étant utilisés sous différentes formes: forgés, moulés, estampés ...; apparaissent également le bois, sculpté ou découpé, la cire, extrêmement abondante au Moyen-Age²¹, et à l'époque moderne et contemporaine dans certaines régions²², le verre, le carton et le papier, la pâte à pain, et de nos jours les matières plastiques.

La terre-cuite employée dans l'Antiquité, surtout en Grèce et en Etrurie, plus marginalement chez les romains et gallo-romains, semble disparaître complètement durant le Moyen-Age, seul un grand "vase" énigmatique représentant des malades, retrouvé dans l'église d'Andenne en Belgique et daté du XII^e s., pourrait attester d'une production céramique très particulière²³. Une fouille récente à Lille a par contre mis en évidence pour le XVII^e s. un atelier de production de figurines en terre-cuite, produisant une série d'ex-voto, en particulier des enfants emmaillotés²⁴.

Le rôle prédominant de la cire est sans doute actuellement dû à son faible prix et à la facilité de fabrication. Il devait en être de même au Moyen Age, la cire présentant en outre une charge symbolique non négligeable (cf. infra).

La fabrication de ces objets était souvent assurée par des artisans spécialisés dans les différents matériaux²⁵, nous savons toutefois que dans certains cas, pour la cire, (et le bois ?), c'est le pèlerin lui-même qui pouvait façonner l'objet²⁶. Pour la cire, au Moyen Age, un article récent a mis en évidence la fabrication (par moulage) et la commercialisation des ex-voto par les apothicaires.²⁷ En France quelques textes de la fin du XV^e siècle nous indiquent une fabrication par un apothicaire et un "fruitier de l'ostel du roy".²⁸

Sur le plan iconographique, outre la diversité des ex-voto peints dont nous savons peu de choses pour le Moyen-Age, la figuration la plus fréquente est celle du corps humain; c'est le siège de la maladie ou de l'accident qui est alors directement évoqué.

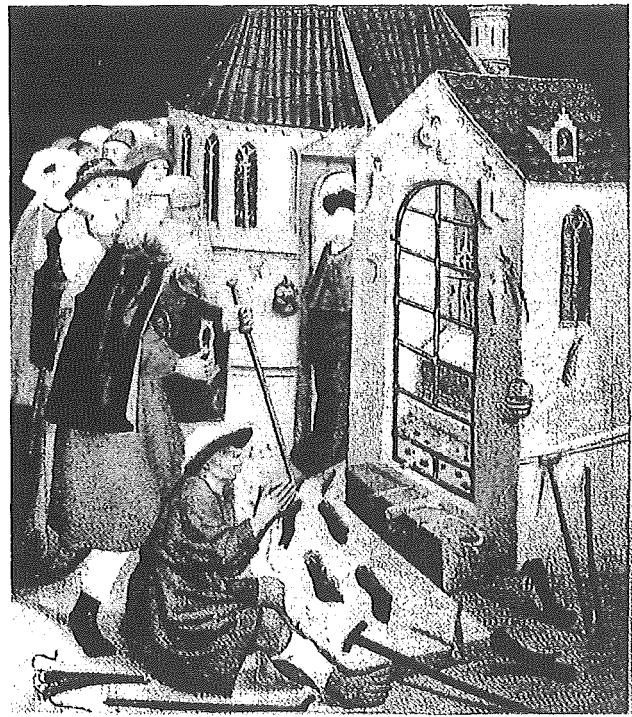


Fig. 1. - Pèlerins offrant des ex-voto à Saint Wolfgang de Piping (vers 1480) (Musée de Munich).

Tous les types sont fréquemment décrits dans les textes médiévaux: P.A. Sigal décompte 244 mentions d'ex-voto anatomiques (dont 240 en cire) avec un tiers de membres inférieurs, 15 % d'yeux et de rares représentations d'organes internes (un estomac, trois viscères, un rein et une représentation d'hémorroïdes)²⁹. A-M. Bautier pour la période antérieure en a recensé 56 mentions avec une majorité de membres supérieurs.³⁰

On peut noter la présence constante, et l'extrême abondance des yeux, ce qui s'explique bien entendu par l'importance des problèmes de vision, mais la fréquence de la représentation de cet organe a peut être été renforcée par son caractère apotropaïque et son rôle symbolique.

Les organes sexuels sont représentés soit de façon réaliste, surtout à l'époque moderne³¹, car ce type de

²¹ Nous le savons par les textes: cf. Bautier & Sigal.

²² La présence d'ex-voto en cire est attestée dans toute l'Europe (Espagne: Vertet; Pologne: Oledsky). L'Allemagne et la Belgique semblent avoir privilégié ce type d'expression. A Munich le Münchener Stadtmuseum et le Bayerisches Nationalmuseum présentent d'extraordinaires collections d'ex-voto en cire (Angeletti, 133-161). En Belgique le musée du Vieux Nimy (Mons), le musée du folklore à Tournai et le Musée du folklore de Bruges exposent des ex-voto en cire et des moules ayant servi à leur fabrication.

²³ Mordant (R.), 50-51.

²⁴ Cf. Blicek

²⁵ *Pictor et factor*: Bautier, 259; fabricant de bateaux en cire à Tréguier: Sigal, 27; menuisier fabriquant des moules à ex voto: Paravy, 90.

²⁶ Bautier, 259; Sigal, 27.

²⁷ Benezet.

²⁸ BN Ms franç. 6758, Compte de dépenses de l'Hôtel de Louis XI, cité par V. Gay, 479.

²⁹ Sigal, 22.

³⁰ Bautier, 258-259.

³¹ Voir par exemple Vidal, 57.

représentations semble rare au Moyen-Age³², soit de façon camouflée, en particulier pour les femmes. L'exemple typique est celui du crapaud, qui figure l'utérus, la matrice. Ces organes, dès l'Antiquité, durant tout le Moyen-Age et à l'époque moderne, sont en effet considérés comme des sortes d'animaux, susceptibles de se déplacer à l'intérieur du corps, ce qui explique certaines maladies, en particulier nerveuses³³, et même à l'extérieur du corps.³⁴

Autre type fréquent, les animaux. A l'époque moderne le phénomène est bien attesté en milieu rural, pour la guérison d'épizootie ou de maladies diverses. En Bretagne Saint Cornely est protecteur des animaux à corne et jusqu'à la dernière guerre sa statue était souvent accompagnée de photographies d'animaux, les poissons existent en bord de mer pour les pêcheurs. Au Moyen-Age les mêmes représentations animales sont attestées pour les animaux domestiques: ânes, chevaux de trait, mulets, bovins³⁵, et dans les milieux socialement plus avantagés pour les animaux familiers: chien, chevaux, colombes, faucons.³⁶ On peut joindre à cette série les fers à chevaux, voeux liés aux animaux bien sûr, mais également aux voyages en général.

Dernier type: les ex-voto skeuomorphes, essentiellement représentés au Moyen-Age par des représentations de bateaux, de maisons³⁷, ou même de villes³⁸; dans de rares cas il existe des figures en cire représentant des pièces de vêtements, surtout bonnets et chapeaux³⁹ ou des objets liés à la viticulture: barils, grappes⁴⁰; de nos jours, en Grèce par exemple, les bateaux, automobiles, maisonnettes en tôle estampée, sont encore fréquents. Dans la Turquie de rite arménien du début du siècle les maisons en métal sont assez fréquentes, et actuellement à Barcelone le seul ex-voto en cire ne représentant pas une partie du corps humain est une petite maison.

A titre d'exemple, pour montrer la diversité des ex-voto, en milieu religieux officiel, je cite ici intégralement un inventaire de voeux, réalisé en 1307

pour la canonisation de Thomas Cantilupe, dans l'église d'Hereford en Grande-Bretagne, et publié par R.C. Finucane⁴¹:

- 170 bateaux d'argent
- 41 bateaux de cire
- 129 images d'argent de corps humains ou de membres
- 436 images d'homme, complètes, en cire
- 1200 parties de corps ou membres en cire
- 77 figure de chevaux, animaux et oiseaux (en cire ?)
- une quantité incommptable d'yeux, oreilles, dents et seins (en cire ?)
- 95 vêtements (langes ?) d'enfants en soie et en lin
- 108 cannes et béquilles
- 3 charrettes
- 1 charrette de cire
- 10 grandes chandelles carrées
- 38 vêtements de soie et d'or
- nombreuses ceintures
- nombreux bijoux de femmes dont
 - 450 anneaux d'or
 - 70 anneaux d'argent
 - 65 broches en or
 - 35 broches en argent
 - diverses pierres précieuses
- des chaînes de fer offertes par des prisonniers
- des ancres de bateaux
- des lances, épées, sabres et couteaux.

Remarquons au passage l'importance économique du phénomène induite par ce type de liste: hors la présence des bijoux et métaux précieux, les quantités de cire mises en oeuvre indiquent des activités (matière première, fabrication, commercialisation) dont le coût est loin d'être négligeable.

L'église devait en retirer d'importants bénéfices,⁴² ainsi que les différents intermédiaires.

Evoquons pour terminer la disposition des ex-voto dans les sanctuaires. Nous possédons pour le bas Moyen-Age un certain nombre de tableaux nous

³² Sigal, 22 n'en dénombre que deux, masculins.

³³ La danse de Saint Guy, qui est en fait la danse de Saint Vit.

³⁴ Il y aurait sans doute des rapprochements à faire avec les contes de fées, où c'est la méchante femme qui crache des crapauds et des serpents dès qu'elle ouvre la bouche, et où le vilain crapaud se transforme en joli prince quand on l'embrasse. Il y en a, à l'évidence, avec le Séducteur, les Vierges folles et les Vierges sages de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg.

³⁵ Sigal, 24.

³⁶ Albe: miracles I, 40; II, 12; III, 9. Gay, 479 cite deux textes de 1469 (BN Ms franç. 6758: deux lévriers en cire, et trois oiseaux en cire.

³⁷ Sigal, 24; Bautier, 260-261.

³⁸ Albe: miracle III, 4.

³⁹ Sigal, 24; Bautier, 260-261.

⁴⁰ Sigal, 24.

⁴¹ Finucane, 98.

⁴² Surtout si l'on admet que l'ex-voto est un matériau recyclable: récupération de la cire, revente des plaquettes votives. Nous ne possédons pas de textes médiévaux explicites sur ces pratiques (dans l'état actuel de la recherche), mais elle est bien attestée à l'époque moderne et est encore pratiquée dans l'église grecque: les cierges sont systématiquement éteints et revendus et les plaquettes métalliques, sont remises en vente au fur et à mesure de leur accumulation. On peut toutefois remarquer qu'à l'inverse les chapelles à ex-voto espagnoles et portugaises ne se livrent pas à cette "manipulation".

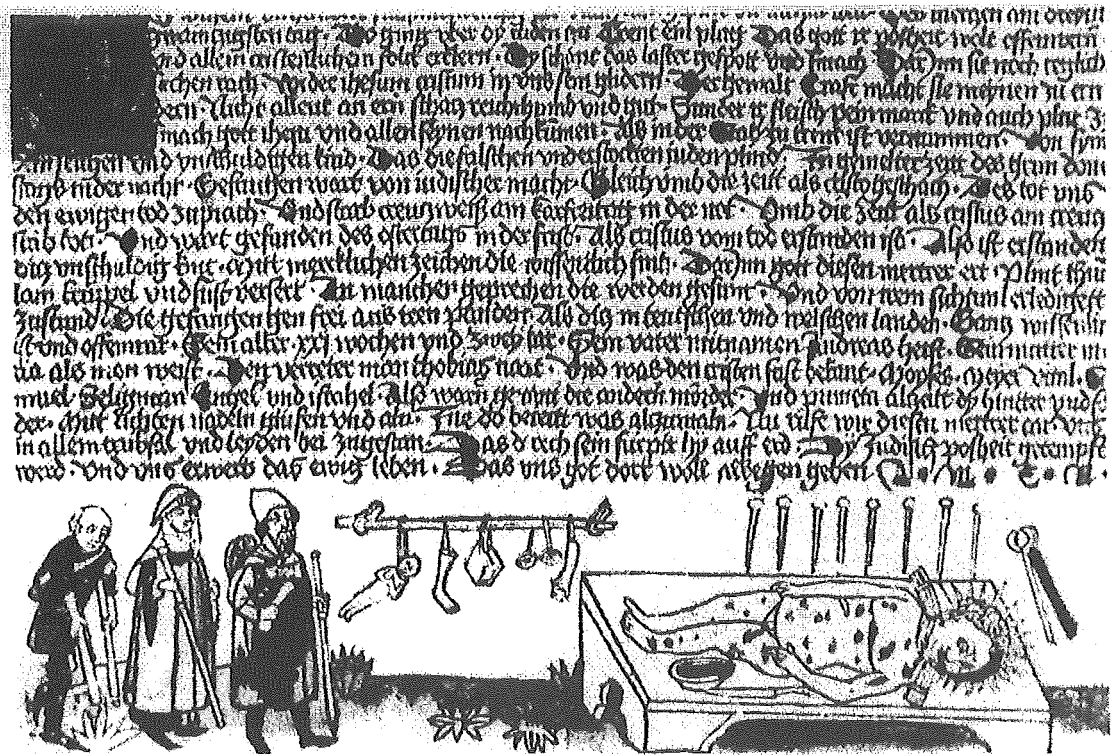


Fig. 2. - Feuillet de pèlerinage à Saint Simon de Trente. (Gravure sur Bois, Nuremberg vers 1480).

montrant leur disposition dans les églises.⁴³ Ceux-ci sont la plupart du temps accrochés aux voûtes, disposés au pied des statues ou autour de celles-ci, et nous savons d'autre part que les ex-voto pouvaient accompagner le défunt dans sa tombe⁴⁴. Pour les saints ou personnages importants dont on possédait le tombeau, les vœux étaient directement déposés sur le tombeau, au moins pour une durée limitée.⁴⁵

2 Signification de l'ex-voto: religion populaire⁴⁶ et religion officielle

La "doctrine" habituelle des folkloristes et des historiens a longtemps été une opposition entre la religion officielle et les pratiques des cultes guérisseurs, souvenirs lointains d'un paganisme nocif.

S'il est certain que ce phénomène est en effet lié à l'origine aux pratiques païennes, en particulier liées au

culte de l'eau, et s'il est évident que l'église a lutté contre ces pratiques, soit par la répression soit par la récupération (sanctifications des fontaines, constructions de chapelles à côté des points d'eau), il est également clair qu'à toutes les époques l'église a encouragé le phénomène votif, en le liant au culte de la Vierge et des saints, de façon directe en suscitant les pèlerinages divers et les dons, ou de façon indirecte, par exemple en acceptant aux portes des églises la commercialisation d'objets votifs. J.C. Schmitt⁴⁷ a mis en évidence les différents modes d'approche de l'église face aux "superstitions", montrant en particulier que pour l'église ce n'est pas la pratique elle-même qui est superstitieuse, mais son contenu symbolique⁴⁸.

La doctrine officielle a, en particulier, encouragé la pratique ritualisée de la chaîne complète: pèlerinage – vœu propiatoire – vœu gratulatoire, en appuyant le tout sur un symbolisme fort: l'oeil, au delà de l'organe malade et des superstitions sur le mauvais

⁴³ Voir Kriss-Retinbeck & Pares, 23: deux retables barcelonais du XV^e s.

⁴⁴ Découverte d'Exeter: cf. Radford.

⁴⁵ "Vie de Saint Louis" 28^e miracle, 151: "un vult de cire en la semblance d'une cuisse et la mit sur le tombeau."

⁴⁶ J'emploie ce terme faute de mieux, mais il est bien certain qu'en aucune façon populaire ne doit être entendu comme "dévalorisé économiquement, socialement, culturellement". Le dépôt

d'ex-voto, au moins jusqu'au XVIII^e siècle, appartient à toutes les classes de la population comme le montrent les textes médiévaux, le texte de Montaigne, la liste publiée par Finucane...

⁴⁷ Schmitt, 455-456 sq.

⁴⁸ Il cite en particulier (Schmitt, 456) un passage de Saint Thomas d'Aquin qui stipule que le chrétien ne doit pas faire d'incantations en ramassant des herbes médicinales, "sauf à se munir du Symbole divin (le Credo) et de la prière dominicale".

oeil, est à la fois le miroir de l'âme et l'instrument du dialogue entre le pèlerin et l'intercesseur⁴⁹, les nombreuses figurations de bébés font souvent référence à la représentation de l'âme sous forme d'un poupon, thème iconographique médiéval fréquent⁵⁰, et enfin la cire même est chargée d'une forte valeur: elle est l'image même du corps du Christ tiré de la substance même de la Vierge, de la même façon que la cire est tirée de la substance même des abeilles.

Jacques de Voragine explique que le cierge est l'image même du Christ: la cire est le corps, la mèche est l'âme et la flamme la divinité.

Dans l'esprit de l'église médiévale, l'ex-voto est avant tout une prière et/ou une action de grâce matérialisée.

Cette matérialisation lui a conféré une autre utilité, celle de témoin du miracle, de preuve de celui-ci et il est à ce titre fréquemment utilisé dans les procès en canonisation.⁵¹

Dans la pratique populaire, qui favorise l'ex-voto propitiatoire, autour des sources et fontaines et dans les petites chapelles rurales, l'ex-voto devient très facilement l'un des éléments d'une relation d'échange entre le demandeur et le saint. Si cet échange peut-être simplement un don contre une relation privilégiée avec l'intercesseur, dans nombre de cas on en arrive à de véritables relations "commerciales": le don n'est réalisé que si la demande est exaucée, on offre d'abord de la cire puis de l'argent, on a même l'exemple de marins qui offrent une bourse pleine d'argent, mais qui la suspendent au mât du bateau et ne la donnent vraiment qu'après le voyage.⁵²

On pourrait ajouter dans cette logique d'échange les "punitions" de saints, coupables de ne pas avoir exaucé vœux et prières.

Enfin la pratique des vœux a, dans de nombreux cas, subi de nombreuses déviations, en particulier dans le domaine des demandes "sexuelles", où le recours fréquent à l'épingle (jetée dans les bassins, piquée dans le genou du saint) lié à l'usage de la cire renvoie à des pratiques d'envoûtement bien connues.

Il est toutefois certain que, quotidiennement, la différence entre pratiques licites et illicites ne devait pas être facile à faire et que dans certain cas la sépa-

ration entre superstitions et prières ne s'appuie que sur des limites matérielles, censées être révélatrice du contenu symbolique. J.B. Thiers dans son *Traité des Superstitions* publié en 1679, pointe toutes les pratiques superstitieuses et condamnables recensées: il évoque à deux reprises les figures de cire: dans le chapitre VII, celles-ci sont strictement condamnées lorsqu'on les baptise pour se livrer à des envoûtements, dans ce cas le contenu "sacrilège" est manifeste. Toutefois dans le chapitre V qui traite des phylactères ou préservatifs, la pratique des vœux n'est ni mentionnée ni condamnée explicitement; une seule pratique superstitieuse est citée: celle qui consiste à "offrir aux saints de la cire, ou quelque autre chose, et y mêler des cheveux d'un homme malade, ou du poil d'un animal malade, afin de guérir plus aisément".⁵³ En simplifiant, la pratique de l'ex-voto propitiatoire ne devient illicite qu'à partir du moment où la personne à guérir est personnalisée autrement que par le verbe de la prière.

Ces éléments rejoignent ce qu'a dit J.C. Schmitt sur l'interpénétration entre les cultures "populaires", "folkloriques", et la culture "ecclésiastique"⁵⁴, l'une adaptant les modèles ecclésiastiques, tandis que l'autre normalise les éléments folkloriques.

3 De l'antiquité à nos jours: réinvention, résurgence ou continuité ?

Les différents auteurs se partagent entre ces trois hypothèses: pour les "théologiens" et certains folkloristes, l'ex-voto est une constante religieuse, périodiquement réinventée, les mêmes causes produisant les mêmes effets⁵⁵; pour les folkloristes la coutume païenne (romaine ou celte) des ex-voto se continue pendant le haut Moyen-Age, puis disparaît, mais elle reste étouffée, souterraine et connaît une résurgence à partir de la fin du Moyen-Age et à l'époque moderne; enfin les archéologues pensent plutôt, même si leur discours est rarement explicite, qu'il existe une continuité entre l'Antiquité et nos jours.

Dans un livre récent sur l'oppidum de Bibracte, C. Goudineau et C. Peyre remarquent, pour un site de source⁵⁶, la reprise de pratiques votives "gauloises", (en fait gallo-romaines), à l'époque moderne.

⁴⁹ On peut noter le même phénomène pour l'oreille à l'époque antique: les paires d'oreilles fréquentes dans les sanctuaires ne sont pas les indices de maladies auriculaires, mais bien plutôt le symbole de l'écoute de la divinité.

⁵⁰ On pourrait ajouter à ces figurations des exemples plus récents: l'orant, le Sacré Cœur de Jésus, les communiant.

⁵¹ Voir par exemple dans le procès de canonisation de Charles de Blois, duc de Bretagne (1320-1364): "... et que la démon-

stration suffisante de ces miracles est donnée ... par des ex-voto de cire exposés dans l'église des Frères mineurs de Guingamp...", cité par Prigent, 477.

⁵² Bautier, 278.

⁵³ Thiers, 151.

⁵⁴ Schmitt 1976.

⁵⁵ Voir par exemple Van Gennep, 189 sq.

⁵⁶ Goudineau et Peyre, 89.

Toutefois il semble difficile de faire la liaison entre les pratiques strictement gauloises et celles mises en évidence pour le Moyen-Age et l'époque moderne.

Si la pratique du sacrifice et du dépôt d'objets est bien attestée avant la conquête dans des sanctuaires strictement laténiens, il est impossible d'en faire des ex-voto au sens exact du terme; en tout état de cause l'ex-voto anatomique antique est d'origine strictement méditerranéenne, les peuples du nord ou de l'Europe Centrale semblent n'en avoir pas fait un élément constitutif de leur pratique religieuse. Il s'agit sans doute à l'origine d'une habitude grecque, qui trouve son accomplissement maximal chez les Etrusques où l'abondance et la multiplicité d'ex-voto anatomiques est extraordinaire. C'est sans doute d'eux que les Romains ont hérité cette habitude avant de la diffuser largement dans tout leur empire. Les ex-voto anatomiques en bois abondants sur le territoire de la Gaule n'apparaissent qu'après la conquête romaine. Cette pratique, même adoptée d'enthousiasme par les populations gauloises, semble étroitement liée à la romanisation.

Il est d'ailleurs éclairant de constater qu'un des rituels majeurs de la religiosité gauloise, le dépôt d'armes "sacrifiées": épées, lances, bouclier ..., n'a survécu pour les gallo-romains que sous une forme édulcorée, qui se rapproche alors de l'ex-voto skeuomorphe: les armes et outils miniatures. Cette pratique semblant d'ailleurs plutôt liée aux rituels funéraires qu'à la relation de demande et d'échange qui sous-tend le phénomène votif.

Quoiqu'il en soit on peut affirmer la continuité entre des pratiques et des rites que l'on retrouve pratiquement identiques du début de la période gallo-romaine jusqu'à notre époque, aussi bien pour le dépôt votif au sens propre que pour ses aspects les plus populaires, ceux qui sont liés en particulier aux cultes de l'eau.

La continuité de la pratique des vœux est assurée, l'absence apparente au Moyen-Age, en particulier dans les travaux des folkloristes et dans les découvertes archéologiques, disparaît dès que l'on prend la peine d'interroger les textes. Pour le Haut Moyen-

Age la plupart des mentions sont négatives mais éclairantes. Un premier texte cité par Saintyves⁵⁷, est extrait de la *Vita Eligii*, texte rédigé au VIII^{ème} siècle: "Nul ne se permettra de former ou d'accomplir des vœux auprès des oratoires [fana], des pierres et des fontaines". L'expression "former et accomplir des vœux" est révélatrice, elle est employée durant tout le Moyen Age et l'époque moderne, pour l'aspect matériel de la dévotion. Deux autres textes, un peu moins explicites, sont également révélateurs: le canon 21 du Concile de Paderborn en 785 (celui qui fera des vœux aux sources...)⁵⁸ et le *Decretum libri / Corrector sive medicus* de Bouchard, évêque de Worms écrit vers 1008-1012. Nous possédons d'autre part la preuve d'existence d'ex-voto dès la fin du VI^{ème} siècle dans les communautés chrétiennes orientales.⁵⁹ Pour la suite du Moyen-Age, les textes – positifs pour cette période – abondent: le travail d'A.-M. Bautier, pour la période antérieure au XIII^{ème} siècle, le Livre des Miracles de Roc Amadour pour la fin du XII^{ème} siècle, les textes cités par P.-A. Sigal pour les XIII^{ème}-XV^{ème} siècles, de nombreux autres textes,⁶⁰ et d'abondants documents iconographiques⁶¹ à partir du XV^{ème} siècle sont à cet égard révélateurs; pour l'ensemble du Moyen-Age, les preuves, les textes sont nombreux, probants, et il suffirait de chercher pour en trouver bien d'autres.

On peut également affirmer que la continuité du culte de l'eau est certaine, je renvoie ici aux travaux de P. Saintyves⁶², entre autres, qui inventorie et cite la plupart des textes, là encore négatifs, de Grégoire de Tours jusqu'au XIV^{ème} siècle, concernant le culte des fontaines et des sources. Le travail de J.C. Schmitt sur les "superstitions" montre également l'importance des fontaines dans les pratiques condamnées par l'église⁶³, et ce aussi bien pendant le Haut que le bas Moyen-Age.⁶⁴ Même si l'on admet une part certaine d'exagération et d'habitudes répétitives dans les canons des conciles et les textes hagiographiques, l'abondance et la précision des interdits nous renvoient bien à des pratiques abondantes et bien enracinées dans les pratiques quotidiennes de la religiosité populaire.⁶⁵

⁵⁷ Saintyves, 178, d'après MGH, SRRM, IV, 706-708.

⁵⁸ Saintyves, 178.

⁵⁹ Cf. Peeters.

⁶⁰ Voir par exemple des textes datés des XI, XII et XIII, XIV et XV^{ème} s. en Catalogne (Guidol, 177; Pares, 18-21); de 1306 à Paris (Gay, II, 479); du XII^{ème} siècle en Bohême et de 1332 dans le nord de la France (Texier, col. 726-727), des XIV et XV^{ème} siècles en Bretagne (Prigent, 476-478).

⁶¹ Voir Kriss-Rottenbeck, 25-26 et fig. 4, 5, 9, 10 et 11.

⁶² Saintyves, Chap. V.

⁶³ Schmitt, 446, 452, 522...

⁶⁴ Schmitt, 450: Homélies de Saint Césaire d'Arles (mort en 542), 451: Pénitentiel d'Halitgaire de Cambrai (817-831), 522: culte de la source à Planhes (près de Toulouse) vers 1440.

⁶⁵ Voir par exemple le *Corrector sive medicus* (vers 1008-1012) de Bouchard de Worms: art 66: "As tu fait ta prière ailleurs qu'à l'église ... à savoir près d'une source, près des tas de pierres, près des arbres ou aux croisées des chemins". Cf. Vogel C. 1969 et 1974, et Brunel & Lalou, 566-568.

Signalons plus particulièrement, par exemple, au début du VI^{ème} siècle Césaire d'Arles qui dans ses sermons condamne les bains dans les sources, les marais ou les fleuves⁶⁶, et plus tard un texte peu connu, extrait des "Miracles de Notre Dame de Roc Amador", ouvrage rédigé vers 1170.⁶⁷ Il s'agit d'un miracle négatif, celui du présomptueux: un pauvre homme a les yeux blessés et, au lieu de se fier à la Vierge, il va se laver les yeux,... et il meurt! Le lavement des yeux doit être ici une référence directe à un culte de l'eau, une simple ablution à l'eau claire ne mériterait pas une punition aussi extrême: en plein cœur du Moyen-Age, la moralité est claire, mieux vaut aller déposer un petit ex-voto à la Vierge, plutôt que d'aller traîner autour de sources malsaines.

A. Rousselle a d'ailleurs fait remarquer l'habileté de l'église primitive qui a tenté de transférer les pratiques liées au culte de l'eau au culte des martyrs en assimilant leur sang à la source et en faisant de ce bain de sang l'équivalent symbolique du bain rituel.⁶⁸

La continuité culte de l'eau/ex-voto apparaît donc bien assurée entre l'Antiquité, le Moyen Age et l'époque moderne.

Ce phénomène s'est poursuivi quasi sans interruption et sans grande modification jusqu'au début du XX^{ème} siècle. Les enquêtes des folkloristes nous décrivent juste avant la Première Guerre Mondiale des pratiques directement comparables à celles du Moyen-Age.

De nos jours, sauf de rares exceptions, la dévotion aux fontaines a quasiment disparu, mais le phénomène votif persiste, soit sous des formes intellectualisées (inscriptions, cahiers de remerciement ...), soit dans les pays à forte religiosité populaire, sous les formes anciennes: en Espagne, au Portugal, en Amérique Centrale, en Amérique du Sud et surtout en Grèce où les dévotions actuelles orthodoxes (circumambulation dans l'église, baisers aux icônes, offrandes diverses, accumulation des plaques estampées, ...) donnent, *mutatis mutandis*, une bonne image des pratiques médiévales qui nous restent encore largement inconnues.

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Pierre-Jean Trombetta
10 rue Georges Clémenceau
78 250 Meulan
France

Peter Carelli

Thunder and Lightning, Magical Miracles. On the Popular Myth of Thunderbolts and the Presence of Stone Age Artefacts in Medieval Deposits

Every now and then Stone Age objects come to light in medieval archaeological excavations. These finds are usually explained away as curious random finds, residues from Stone Age deposits, settlements or graves. This explanation proved unsatisfactory when four new Stone Age artefacts came to light at four different excavations in the medieval city centre of Lund, Sweden, during the years 1990-1993.

In order to discover how frequent these finds are in medieval urban contexts a survey was carried out in Lund. The survey was limited to six different types of artefact, namely axes, chisels, daggers, scrapers, spear-heads and arrow-heads. The inventory covers all known finds from the town centre of Lund, *i.e.* the area enclosed by the medieval rampart. The deposits in the centre of Lund date from the end of the 10th century onwards, and archaeological excavations, with surface collection of finds have been carried out here since the late 19th century.

On completion of the survey an amazing number of 83 Stone Age artefacts had been recorded. The assemblage shows a great variety in both artefact-types and dates, the latter from the Late Mesolithic period to the Bronze Age. However, the Middle Neolithic period predominates. What is more interesting is that the assemblage does not correspond to normal south-western Scanian finds assemblages of Stone Age date, the number of stone axes in proportion to that of flint-axes being far too large. The quantity of Stone Age artefacts found in the medieval city of Lund and the considerable variations in the find assemblage indicate that a different explanation is required.

There are a number of historical records which connect Stone Age artefacts with ritual and magic. Amongst them, Pliny the Elder (23-79 A.D.) writes about stone axes, *ceraunia*, and their magical properties. There also is archaeological evidence for such a kind of magical or ritual use of Stone Age axes. In England more than 40 Neolithic axes have been found in Roman contexts, and in France more than 24 stone axes have been found on Romano-Celtic temple sites.

From ethnographic sources, we know that a popular oral tradition concerning thunderbolts was universal, at least during the 19th century. This tradition is more or less the same throughout the world: it is believed that the thunderbolt is thrown from the sky when lightning strikes. The lightning is caused by the falling stone, while the loud noise and the possible fire are secondary effects.

This tradition was known in the Middle Ages. The poem *Liber lapidum* or *Liber de gemmis*, written between the years 1067 and 1081, describes the magical characteristics of thunderbolts. This concept of their magic nature was probably deeply embedded in popular culture during the Middle Ages, inasmuch as 17th-century scholars, such as the Dane Ole Worm (1588-1654), could not explain the origin of the thunderbolts although they were sceptical about the popular theory.

Denmark and Scania provide us with a number of narrative records from late 19th and early 20th century. These show, with great consistency, that Stone Age artefacts were regarded as thunderbolts, as supernatural in origin. From the records, we know that they were mainly used as a means of protection, *e.g.* to safeguard buildings from fire, but they also helped to cure illnesses. The latter was achieved through the use of a powder made by scraping a thunderbolt.

So far we have demonstrated the presence of a large number of Stone Age artefacts in the Medieval city of Lund and the existence of a world-wide popular oral tradition concerning thunderbolts. However, it is extremely difficult to link these two phenomena archaeologically. To prove the existence of mental structures, such as ideas of ritual and magic, archaeology must graduate from a positivistic tradition to higher-level humanities where theories are argued in discussion and assessed according to credibility, not to formulas and statistics.

Although we know that religious and magical concepts were of tremendous significance for all people during the Middle Ages, great difficulties still remain when it comes to identifying the material remains and reflections of these mental structures. The

stone axes from Lund are good examples of this. Although 83 Stone Age artefacts have been found in Lund since 1890, no one has yet linked them with the well-known popular myth concerning thunderbolts. Instead they have been considered as proof of Stone Age settlement.

The large assemblage from Lund should instead be seen as evidence of a unifying idea, a mentality, that prevailed during the Middle Ages. From medieval and later written sources, we know that stone axes were regarded as supernatural, precious objects. These objects were not identified as Stone Age tools – as seen by modern archaeologists – until the 17th-18th

centuries, or even later. Most of the objects were presumably collected in the vicinity of Lund, but some are so rare that they were probably brought to the city over long distances.

If ethnographic analogies are applied, the extensive Stone Age assemblage from Lund begins to make sense. The most plausible explanation for these objects must derive from the popular tradition concerning thunderbolts, which probably was well-known in Lund during the Middle Ages. Therefore, the Stone Age objects found in Lund are the material remains of this ritual and magical tradition.

Peter Carelli
Lunds Universitet
Arkeologiske Institutionen
Sandgattan 1
223 50 Lund
Sweden

Benoît Chauvin

Congrès Anselme Dimier, abbaye de Noirlac, fouilles cisterciennes européennes, bilans nationaux

Noirlac est sans conteste l'une des plus complètes et des plus belles abbayes cisterciennes françaises. Sauvée pour avoir servi de porcelainerie au XIX^e s., débarrassée de sa gangue industrielle par un ecclésiastique éclairé puis acquise en 1909 par le Département du Cher, elle a fait entre 1950 et 1985 l'objet de plusieurs campagnes de restauration qui ont abouti à une remise en état intégrale des lieux. Près de 50000 personnes visitent désormais chaque année ce passage obligé de tout pèlerinage cistercien.

Le Conseil général du Cher estima à bon escient qu'il convenait de clore une telle entreprise par une manifestation scientifique en rapport étroit avec le monastère dont 1986 marquait par ailleurs le 850^e anniversaire de la fondation. L'organisation d'un *Congrès* sur le thème des *fouilles cisterciennes européennes* à travers une série de *bilans nationaux* fut proposée et retenue. La disparition dix ans plus tôt du Père Anselme Dimier, pionnier reconnu en la matière, incita à dédier ces travaux à sa mémoire. Quelques comptes rendus en ont été publiés çà et là, sans toutefois donner une vue générale. Les recensions prévisibles des deux volumes d'*Actes* annoncés pour les années suivantes étaient censées y pourvoir. Las, de multiples causes convergentes conduisirent à l'enlèvement progressif de ces ouvrages au point de dépasser les délais de publication les plus déraisonnables...

Mais la volonté réaffirmée du Conseil général du Cher de mener à bien le projet, jointe à la précieuse opportunité d'actualiser la recherche aux importantes découvertes de la dernière décennie ont finalement eu raison des obstacles et l'édition que nul n'attendait plus est en cours: le premier volume vient de sortir, le second est en active préparation. Ces pages ont par conséquent un double objet: rappeler ce que fut ce *Congrès* et présenter les *Actes* qui, adaptés aux circonstances, en sont la suite logique et élargie.

Le Congrès

L'abbaye en lumière estivale servit naturellement de cadre aux manifestations de ces journées. Les

séances se tinrent dans la grande salle des moines aménagée à cet effet. Accueil, secrétariat et stand de librairie furent installés dans le passage y conduisant. Les galeries du cloître se vêtirent de panneaux montrant une douzaine de sites fouillés par les congressistes. Dans le chapitre, les visiteurs purent découvrir une présentation des abbayes cisterciennes du Berry. Le magnifique vaisseau du réfectoire retrouva sa fonction première en abritant repas et pauses des participants. C'est dire la qualité de l'environnement immédiat dans lequel se déroulèrent les travaux.

Conçus et mis sur pied par l'auteur de ces lignes, ceux-ci se tinrent cinq jours durant, du lundi 21 juillet 1986 en début d'après-midi au vendredi 25 en fin de matinée. Le programme fut organisé sur le module de la demi-journée à base géographique afin de couvrir au mieux l'espace européen. Trente-deux exposés meublèrent les séances, à raison de moitié de bilans nationaux destinés à fournir une synthèse sur chaque pays et autant de monographies à titre d'exemples significatifs.

Accent fut mis d'entrée sur l'unité du vieux continent, encore divisé à l'époque. Sous le titre de *l'Est européen*, la première demi-journée offrit trois vues d'ensemble sur les fouilles en Pologne (K. Białoskorska, Instytut Sztuki, Varsovie), Tchécoslovaquie (J. Kuthan, Prague) et Hongrie (I. Valter, Monuments historiques, Budapest). Avec chacun une dizaine de sites fouillés surtout depuis 1960, ces bilans ne pouvaient pas avoir l'envergure de leurs homologues français, allemand ou anglais. Ils offrirent néanmoins le triple intérêt d'être les premiers sur le sujet, de montrer le poids des constantes cisterciennes en dépit des distances et de mieux faire prendre conscience de la part des originalités nationales.

Le 22 juillet fut consacré à *l'Ouest européen*, appellation commode permettant de réunir sous le même chapeau les réalités disparates des îles britanniques. La matinée traita des trois nations celtes, avec bilans pour chacune: Irlande (R. Stalley, Trinity College, Dublin), Galles (D.H. Williams, Caldey) et Écosse (R. Fawcett, Monuments historiques, Edimbourg). Les investigations conduites sur une dou-

zaine de sites par pays permirent de faire la part entre spécificités nationales et héritages anglais. Deux communications sur les chantiers de Grey Abbey (G. Carville, Belfast), Aberconwy, Margam, Neath et Valle Crucis (L.A. Butler, Université de Leeds) complétèrent ces riches approches.

Les fouilles d'Angleterre étaient au rendez-vous de l'après-midi. Leur importance quantitative et qualitative avaient amené à diviser le rapport général en deux, avant et après 1914. L'absence du premier rapporteur (C. Norton, Université de York) empêcha d'entendre confirmer la précocité pionnière et la rigueur du savoir-faire des archéologues anglais d'avant-guerre. L'ampleur et la haute technicité des fouilles poursuivies outre-Manche depuis un demi-siècle furent une nouvelle fois démontrées par le second bilan national (L.A. Butler, Université de Leeds). Les excavations de Bordesley (D. Walsh, Université de Rochester, New York) et de Fountains (G. Coppack, Monuments historiques, Londres) illustrèrent concrètement ces traits, uniques dans l'archéologie médiévale européenne.

Le cas de la France occupa la matinée du 23 juillet. Le bilan national (B. Chauvin, Dijon) essaya d'en cerner les caractères principaux: énorme potentiel d'un demi-millier de sites pour les seules abbayes, destructions après la Révolution, trouvailles généralisées mais inexploitées, augmentation du nombre des dégagements récents, rareté des véritables chantiers, problèmes de protection, déficit de publications...; la tâche reste immense, les informations à attendre d'une exceptionnelle richesse. Des communications sur Coyroux-Obazine (B. Barrière, Université de Limoges), Maubuisson (Ph. Soulier, Service d'archéologie du Val-d'Oise) et Vauclair (R. Courtois, Vauclair) s'imposaient, tant ces fouilles ont fait parler d'elles. Plus discrètes mais bien intéressantes se révélèrent celles de Clairlieu (P. Pégeot, Université de Nancy) et de Faise (J. Gardelles, Université de Bordeaux).

L'indispensable pause de milieu de congrès conduisit l'après-midi à la découverte de l'abbaye de Fontmorigny, alors proche d'une ruine définitive, puis de celle de Lorroy, encore habitée par l'esprit d'Alain Fournier et de son Grand Meaulnes. Faute de temps, il fallut renoncer à la visite prévue de La Prée.

Sous le titre assez large de *Centre européen*, le 24 juillet fut dense avec partage de la journée entre Bénélux, Suisse et Autriche en matinée, deux Allemagne et Scandinavie l'après-midi. Fondés sur une dizaine de sites chacun, les bilans nationaux d'Autriche (F. Gaumannmüller, Heiligenkreuz) et de Scandinavie (O. Schjørring, Musée d'Horsens) montrèrent deux visages bien différents privilégiant l'un l'archéologie d'un imposant bâti profondément re-

manié, l'autre une recherche plus académique et plus dispersée. La part du lion revint au vaste et remarquable rapport sur les fouilles en Allemagne de l'Ouest (M. Untermann, Monuments historiques, Fribourg) qui, comme celles du Bénélux et malgré un potentiel de premier ordre, témoignent curieusement d'un certain retard sauf pour les *Stadthöfe*, urbanisation oblige. Les absences des rapporteurs annoncés pour le Bénélux (M.-C. Laleman, Ville de Gand), la Suisse (H.R. Sennhauser, Ecole polytechnique, Zurich) et l'Allemagne de l'Est (H. Magirus, Monuments historiques, Dresde) furent enfin inégalement palliées par des notes lues devant l'assemblée. Quatre monographies présentèrent les chantiers néerlandais de Ter Hunnepe (J. de Vries, Diepenveen), suisse de Sankt Urban (J. Goll, Ecole polytechnique, Zurich), allemand de Petersberg/Heisterbach (M. Buchert, Bonn) et danois de Øm Kloster (O. Schjørring, Musée d'Horsens).

La dernière matinée s'attacha au *Sud européen*, parent pauvre on le sait de l'archéologie médiévale. Seul l'Italie, avec une dizaine de sites fouillés, semblait appeler un bilan national (M.A. Romanini, Université de Rome) qui, en fin de compte, se révéla prématuré. Les fouilles de l'abbaye de Vittoria (M. Righetti Tosti Croce, Université de Rome) illustrèrent cette originalité. Le nombre insignifiant de chantiers cisterciens dans la péninsule ibérique réduisit la participation des archéologues espagnols et portugais à deux exposés sur les sondages de Huerta (C. de la Casa Martinez, Monuments historiques, Soria) et de Salzedas (M.L. Campos de Sousa Real, Porto).

Tel quel, ce point sur les fouilles cisterciennes européennes se voulait à la fois complet par son tour d'horizon et novateur par sa démarche. Suivies par une centaine de personnes, ces journées prouvèrent la surprenante richesse d'une archéologie qui, sauf dans les îles britanniques, n'en était pourtant qu'à ses débuts. Au-delà des grandes disparités constatées dans l'avancement des investigations, les rapports confirmèrent la somme considérable d'informations variées sur l'ordre de Cîteaux déjà recueillies, très au-delà de ce qu'on pouvait supposer, et laissèrent deviner la somptuosité de celles encore à attendre à condition que les fouilles soient réalisées avec méthodes et suivies de publications. En fait, les archéologues firent bel et bien la démonstration à ceux des historiens encore réticents de la complémentarité incontournable de leur démarche respective... Vaste programme prometteur.

Les Actes

La nouveauté principale du Congrès résidait, on l'a dit, dans l'établissement de bilans nationaux. Hor-

mis quelques défections, ce premier pari a été tenu. Le second était plus difficile. Afin de doter l'archéologie cistercienne d'un instrument de travail utile, l'établissement d'une bibliographie critique systématique en annexe de chaque rapport national avait été demandé. Malgré l'ampleur des recherches à conduire, cette tâche ambitieuse fut menée à bien, quoique de manière inégale, pour les trois quarts des pays. En conséquence, même si les objectifs visés ne furent pas totalement atteints, on ne peut que se réjouir de voir rassemblée pour la première fois une telle somme, sans compter avec les perspectives d'amélioration à terme.

Il était par ailleurs impensable de ne pas tenir compte des travaux réalisés depuis 1986. Tous les rapporteurs nationaux acceptèrent d'actualiser leurs pages en élargissant fond et bibliographie à la dernière décennie. Ce faisant, le retard de parution des *Actes* prenait une tournure bénéfique inattendue. Dans le même ordre d'idées, plutôt que de réduire la pagination prévue des ouvrages à cause des défections enregistrées, il sembla opportun de les ouvrir à des publications de chantiers postérieurs à 1986, français en l'occurrence.

Telle est la genèse de fond des deux tomes des *Actes du Congrès Anselme Dimier, Abbaye de Noirlac, Fouilles cisterciennes européennes, bilans nationaux*. On a d'autre part conservé les normes formelles adoptées pour les *Mélanges... Anselme Dimier* dont ils constituent une sorte de continuation: dimensions in-4^o, reliure sous jaquette, papier, mise en page, typographie, ampleur d'environ 450 pages par volume, présentation des articles et des illustrations sont les mêmes dès lors que celles-ci avaient été bien accueillies.

Comme prévu, le premier tome traite de la France. Deux des communications du Congrès n'y figurent pas: celle sur les fouilles de Faise éditées antérieurement et celle sur Vauclair déjà publiées de tous côtés. Paru en 1997, il propose douze articles. Onze études ou notes numérotées par ordre alphabétique des abbayes abordées constituent la première moitié du volume.

Les ultimes développements encore attendus du chantier de Coyroux (n° 4) et la perspective prochaine d'une *publicatio princeps* de ce chantier exhaustif obligèrent B. Barrière à se limiter ici à une note sur l'évolution du bâti. Le Service départemental d'archéologie du Val-d'Oise donne une vue d'ensemble sur les investigations menées par ses soins sur le site de Maubuisson (n° 7) entre 1978 et 1983, où il s'est installé depuis. La démarche de P. Pégeot pour Clairlieu (n° 3) est identique, limitée aux années 1980-86.

Les autres articles témoignent de l'avancement de l'archéologie cistercienne française après 1986. Quatre

notes font le point sur les sondages inédits de l'église de Cherlieu (n° 3) pratiqués par F. Joly en 1993, autour du lavabo de Fontenay (n° 5) par P. Benoît en 1986-88, dans le réfectoire de Reigny (n° 9) par O. Caillaud en 1990 et dans l'aile des moines du Val (n° 10) par M. Wabont en 1989. Les deux abbayes berri-chonnes de Fontmorigny (n° 6) et de Noirlac (n° 8) font l'objet d'un bilan archéologique par B. Chauvin et J.-Y. Hugoniot. Le lecteur découvre enfin la globalité de l'étonnant chantier de Beaupré-sur-la-Lys (n° 1) de 1992 sous la plume de N. Vanbrugghe et la complexité de l'hydraulique de Vauclair (n° 11) sous celle de T. Preux.

Le bilan national sur les fouilles françaises (n° 12) occupe à lui seul la seconde moitié du volume. B. Chauvin propose une synthèse visant à faire le point sur les différents aspects du sujet: historiographie, thématique, problématique et perspectives sont tour à tour abordées. Il s'appuie pour cela sur une bibliographie critique de 2200 références présentées par ordre alphabétique des quelque 300 sites retenus. L'intérêt de ce nouvel instrument de travail ne saurait échapper.

La préparation du deuxième tome consacré aux autres pays européens est fort avancée. On peut espérer en tous cas une parution avant le... troisième millénaire! Il traduira plus exactement que le premier le déroulement du Congrès. On souhaite qu'aboutissent les démarches en cours pour pallier les principales défections constatées: on a dit que les bilans nationaux d'Angleterre avant 1914, d'Autriche, du Bénélux, de Scandinavie et de Suisse n'avaient pu être menés à bien. On n'y trouvera pas les fouilles de Ter Hunnepe publiées ailleurs, pas plus que celles de Grey Abbey, de Petersberg/Heisterbach, de Øm Kloster et de Salzedas dont les manuscrits n'ont pas été envoyés.

Toutes les autres communications du Congrès seront publiées dans ce second volume. L'ossature sera constituée par neuf rapports nationaux, accompagné chacun d'une bibliographie des sites fouillés. L'Est européen sera vu à travers les trois bilans polonais, tchèque et hongrois. La réunification de l'Allemagne induira logiquement la fusion des deux rapports en un seul dont l'importance de la synthèse et de la bibliographie se rapproche de celles de la France. Inversement, la brièveté du bilan italien traduira le retard du Sud européen. Pays de Galles, Écosse et Irlande auront chacun le leur en compagnie de l'Angleterre, selon des normes un peu différentes. Les monographies seront limitées à cinq annoncées sur les chantiers de Bordesley, Fountains, Sankt Urban, Vittoria et Huerta. Celle traitant des monastères d'Aberconwy, Margam, Neath et Valle Crucis sera intégrée au rapport national gallois.

Seuls les articles sur les sites britanniques seront donnés en langue anglaise, le bilan d'Allemagne et la communication sur Sankt Urban en allemand. Pour des raisons de commodité, tous les autres textes ont été rédigés d'emblée ou seront traduits en français.¹

¹ Commande du tome I à l'adresse suivante : B. Chauvin, L'Hermitage, F - 25870 Devecey, au prix de 850 FF franco. Envoi de facture. Paiement préalable à toute expédition.

Benoit Chauvin
C.N.R.S.
L'Hermitage
25870 Devecey
France

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